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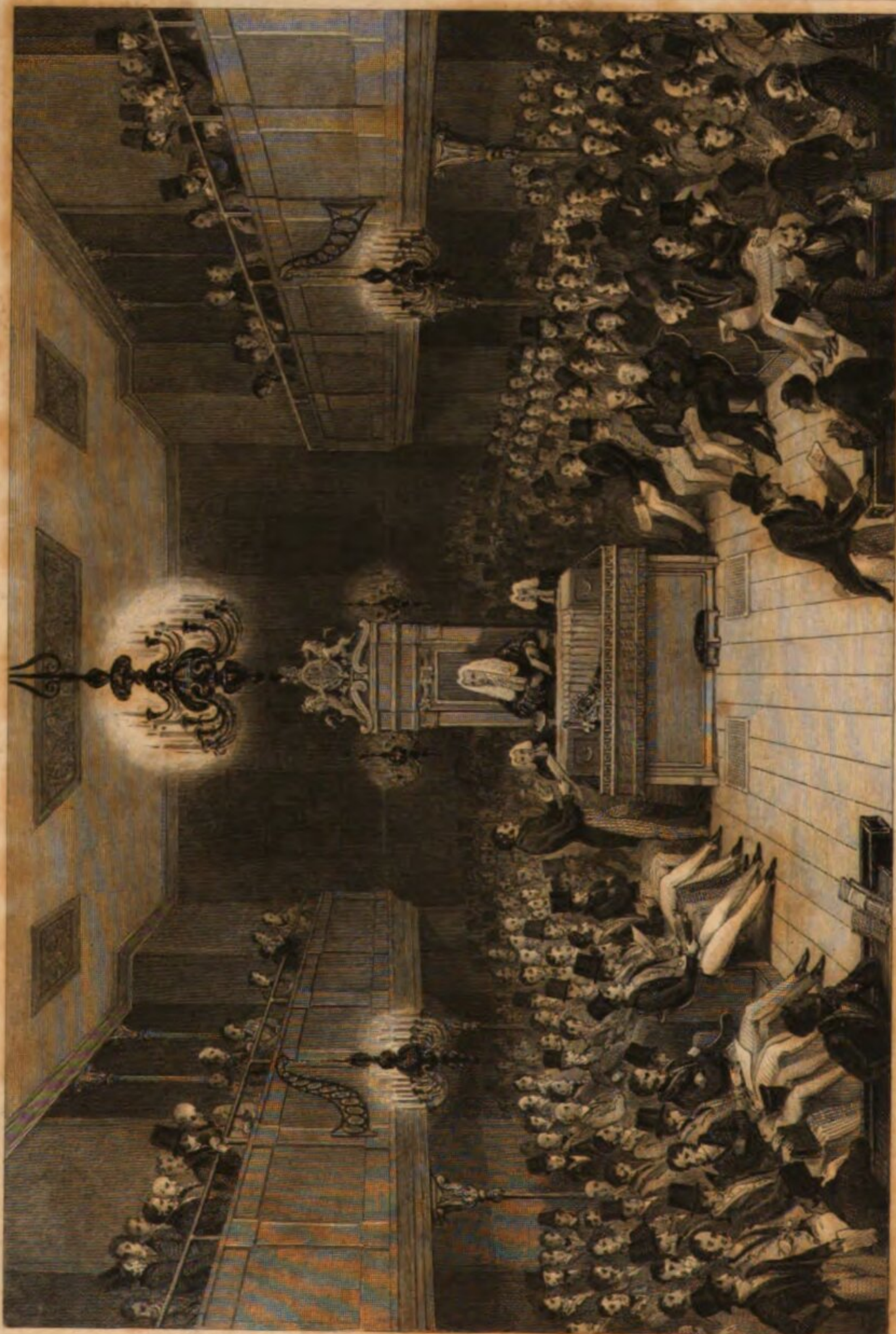












Drawn by H. Melville.

## THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Engraved by H. Melville.

FISHER, SON & CO LONDON, 1832.



BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES  
OF THE  
**REFORM MINISTERS;**

WITH A  
HISTORY OF THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILLS,  
AND A VIEW OF  
THE STATE OF EUROPE FROM THE CLOSE OF 1831.

FORMING A  
*Continuation of "The Life and Times of William the Fourth"*

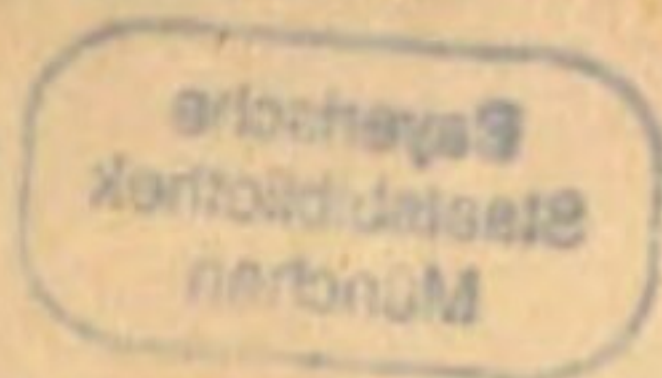
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BY WILLIAM JONES, M. A.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES—CONTINUATION OF HUME  
AND SMOLLETT'S ENGLAND—ALSO, OF DR. RUSSELL'S  
MODERN EUROPE, ETC.

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LONDON:  
H. FISHER, R. FISHER, AND P. JACKSON,  
1832.





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## PREFACE.

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THIS Volume is intended to furnish posterity with an authentic record of the various extraordinary occurrences which have lately transpired, and which may be fairly said to constitute the present era the most eventful period in our history.

The British constitution has long been the boast of Englishmen, and the envy of surrounding nations; yet, it is impossible to deny that its vaunted excellence has hitherto been more in theory than in practice. It is evident, that, under the outward show of free institutions, we have been governed, since the Revolution in 1688, by an oligarchy, limited indeed in number, but selfish in character; and its selfishness has increased as length of years has rendered it more familiarized to the ways of oppression and misrule. Referring to this anomaly, it was long ago remarked by Dr. Paley, that "there is nothing in the British constitution so remarkable as the irregularity of the popular representation. The House of Commons consists of 558 members, (the number in 1785,) of whom 200 are elected by 7000 constituents; so that a majority of these 7000, without any reasonable title to superior weight or influence in the state, may, under certain circumstances, decide a question against as many millions."—"Or, to describe the state of national repre-



sentation as it exists in reality, it may with truth be affirmed, that about one half of the House of Commons obtain their seats in that assembly, by the election of the people; the other half by purchase, or by the nomination of single proprietors of great estates.”\*

This fact, in the opinion of many, sufficiently explains the sympathy which our rulers have generally shewn for the despotic monarchs of the Continent. Their cause has been too much identified. It was this that prompted our accession to the first unholy league that was entered into for the purpose of crushing the infantine liberties of France. Hence our incessant intrigues on the Continent, until the restoration of the Bourbons was achieved. Hence our profuse expenditure in hiring nations and dynasties to fight in their own defence. Hence our coquetting with the holy alliance; and hence the lamentations of a noble Duke and exalted Earl over our secession from that association. The whole of these proceedings, in which the resources of the country have been wantonly squandered and its character compromised, appear to have taken their rise from a conviction that the potentates of Europe, and the oligarchy of England, stand in the same relation to their respective nations, and that their own safety was to be sought in a compact mutually to defend each other against every attempt of those who were subject to their control, to throw off the yoke.

From a system of misrule, under which the fancied interests of the governors have, for a century and half, been systematically preferred to those of the governed—a system under which every amelioration of our social organization has been scornfully and contumeliously rejected—under which the people have been plundered, run into debt, and their wealth squandered upon projects which were either indifferent or prejudicial to their true interests—from such a system, the people of England have, at length, by a bold and vigorous effort, happily emanci-

\* Paley, on the British Constitution, in his Moral and Political Philosophy.



pated themselves, and an entire new order of things must be the result. Those who manage the affairs of the nation must henceforth be the nation's choice—identified with its interests—and of approved integrity and skill. National prosperity and happiness must now become the great concern of government, and neither the king nor the people sacrificed to party.

The destinies of the empire are now, under Providence, in its own hands ; and it will require the utmost exertion of the nation's patient courage, intelligence, and wariness, to rescue it from the perilous situation into which it has been brought by the folly or incapacity of its former rulers. The past we know to our cost—the future is a page which admits of being but dimly scanned. One thing, however, is certain—a thorough reform in many of our institutions, connected with an unflinching retrenchment, must be instantly commenced, and systematically persevered in, if Great Britain is to continue to maintain her rank and superiority among the nations of Europe. A great point has unquestionably been gained, in the defeat of a faction which sat as an incubus on the nation's energies, and grew rich in the same proportion as the country grew poor.

To preserve a faithful record of the means by which this triumph has been obtained, is the design of the following pages ; and it is hoped that the narrative will be found sufficiently circumstantial to answer every useful purpose, and furnish the most interesting NATIONAL REGISTER ever presented to the public. The Biographical Sketches which comprise the former part of the volume, and which have been studiously drawn up with a due regard to impartiality, will enable the reader to form a tolerably correct estimate of the character and competency of the present servants of the crown—the men who have lately fought their country's battles, and fought them with such glorious success. While from their speeches on various constitutional questions, an estimate may be formed of their



general principles and competency in debate, theirs is the rare felicity of a cabinet which can at once transfer the appeal from words to actions—which can call upon their country to judge them, not merely by what they have said, but by what they have done. The promptness with which, as a body, they could consent to resign their offices, and forego their emoluments, rather than compromise their principles, is such a test of character and integrity, as must speak to the dullest understanding.

Upon the whole, the publishers would fain persuade themselves, that in the work now offered to their countrymen, they shall be found not to have disappointed the reasonable expectations which were held out in their prospectus. The engravings which accompany the volume will speak for themselves, and serve, it may be presumed, to satisfy their friends that neither labour nor expense has been spared, to render the publication deserving of an extensive patronage.

*London, Oct. 1832.*



## CONTENTS.

---

|                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------|-----|
| Biographical Sketches of Earl Grey ..... | 1   |
| ..... Lord Brougham .....                | 38  |
| ..... Lord John Russell .....            | 74  |
| ..... Lord Althorp .....                 | 113 |
| ..... Lord Holland .....                 | 155 |
| ..... Lord Goderich.....                 | 233 |
| ..... Marquis of Lansdown .....          | 289 |
| ..... Mr. Charles Grant .....            | 371 |
| ..... Lord Durham .....                  | 398 |
| ..... Lord Viscount Palmerston .....     | 451 |
| ..... Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart.....   | 483 |
| ..... Duke of Richmond.....              | 523 |
| ..... Earl of Carlisle .....             | 537 |
| ..... Sir James Graham, Bart. ....       | 545 |
| ..... Mr. E. G. Stanley .....            | 553 |
| ..... Lord Auckland .....                | 563 |
| ..... Lord Viscount Melbourne .....      | 569 |
| ..... Lord Plunkett.....                 | 579 |
| ..... Sir Thomas Denman .....            | 612 |

---

## HISTORICAL REGISTER.

|                                              |     |
|----------------------------------------------|-----|
| Introductory Remarks .....                   | 635 |
| Section I.     The American Revolution ..... | 637 |
| II.     The French Revolution of 1789 .....  | 640 |



|              |                                                                                                                            |     |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Section III. | The Affairs of Poland .....                                                                                                | 646 |
| IV.          | ----- Belgium .....                                                                                                        | 655 |
| V.           | ----- Italy, and the German States ..                                                                                      | 658 |
| VI.          | ----- Spain and Portugal .....                                                                                             | 675 |
| VII.         | State of France, since the return of the Bourbons                                                                          | 697 |
| VIII.        | State of the British Colonies in the West Indies                                                                           | 723 |
| IX.          | History of the Passing of the Reform Bills ..                                                                              | 738 |
| X.           | Second defeat of Ministers in the Upper House,<br>followed by their resignation .....                                      | 761 |
| XI.          | Recall of the Ministers to Office, and the Re-<br>form Bills carried .....                                                 | 770 |
| XII.         | State of Ireland in 1832, and laws for its relief<br>—State of England—Cholera—Prorogation<br>of Parliament—Appendix ..... | 837 |

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#### EMBELLISHMENTS.

Interior View of the House of Commons, to front the Title.

Portraits of Lords Holland, Goderich, Lansdown, Althorp, Palmerston, Melbourne, Durham, Plunkett, and the Duke of Richmond, to be prefixed to their respective biographies.

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\* \* \* To those Subscribers who are not in possession of the “ Life and Times of William the Fourth,” we beg to recommend an additional Part, (of Plates only,) price 1s. 6d.; comprising an Interior View of the House of Lords; with Portraits of the King and Queen, Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, and Lord John Russell: by which supplement, the Volume will be made still more complete.—In which case, the View in the House of Lords may be placed with that of the House of Commons—the Portraits of the King and Queen, at p. 635,—and those of the three Ministers, before their respective memoirs.



THE  
REFORM MINISTERS.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
CHARLES, EARL GREY DE HOWICK, K.G.

*First Lord of the Treasury.*

THIS justly venerated statesman, the pride and hope of his country, derives his descent from an ancient family of great respectability, in the county of Northumberland—the GREYS of Werke—the original of which is lost in the clouds of antiquity. The family is said to be of Saxon origin, and, as may naturally be supposed, has undergone numerous changes, and given rise to various ramifications. The direct ancestor of the nobleman before us, was Baron Grey, of Werke, who was elevated to the peerage in the reign of James I.; but the title then conferred became dormant, and was revived by a fresh patent, in the person of Sir Charles Grey, a general in the army, about the middle of the last century. He was an officer of great experience, and served under Prince Ferdinand at the battle of Minden, having entered the army as a subaltern at the age of nineteen, and became a field-officer at thirty-two. For the eminent services which he rendered to his country, he was created Knight of the Bath, and appointed Governor of the island of Guernsey.



After several years of peace, he was called forth from his retirement, to command the British army in the war with the American colonies, during which he served under Sir William Howe, and was rewarded for his able exertions by being raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, appointed commander-in-chief of the forces there, and honoured with the red riband. At the commencement of the late continental war, Sir Charles Grey distinguished himself for a short time in Flanders, chiefly in the relief of Ostend and the capture of Nieuport. From thence he proceeded to the West Indies, where, in conjunction with Admiral Sir John Jervis, he succeeded in the capture of the French islands of Martinique, St. Lucie, and Guadaloupe, in the year 1794. In 1801 or 1802, he was created Baron Grey de Howick, and in 1806 raised to the dignity of an Earl—a dignity which he did not long enjoy, as he died at Fallowden House, near Alnwick, on the 14th of November, 1807, in the eightieth year of his age.

Of the gallant officer now mentioned, the present Earl Grey was the eldest son; consequently the heir of his titles and estates. He was born at the family seat of Fallowden, March 13, 1764; and received his education, first at Eton school, and subsequently at King's College, Cambridge, where he acquired as much sound learning as usually falls to the lot of the eldest sons of wealthy noblemen. On quitting the University, at the age of eighteen, he went over to the Continent, with the view of making the tour of Europe, where he visited the principal cities of France, Spain, and Italy. In the course of his tour, he fell in with the late Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, with whom he some time travelled, and so much ingratiated himself, as to obtain a distinguished appointment from the royal Duke, which procured Mr. Grey's introduction to the first personages on the continent. Their acquaintance also ripened into an intimacy, which strengthened on the return of the parties to England, and terminated only with the death of the royal pair. Mr. Grey was in the suites of their Royal



Highnesses, when they were admitted to an interview with the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VI. at Rome, in the year 1786.

Soon after Mr. Grey's return to England, a vacancy in the representation of his native county occurred, in consequence of Lord Lovaine having succeeded to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland, by the death of his father; and being invited by the principal gentlemen of the county, to offer himself, supported too by the ducal interest, he consented, and was returned without opposition, though he had not then attained his twentieth year.

Though elected, Mr. Grey did not take his seat in parliament until he became of age; but he had not long entered the house, before he gave proof of his ability and disposition to take a conspicuous part in its debates. His first speech was delivered on Wednesday, Feb. 21st, 1787, on the subject of Mr. Pitt's commercial treaty with France. It is well known that it was this celebrated measure which established the minister's fame, and to which he was indebted for a large share of the popularity that followed him till the commencement of hostilities with France. The circumstance of this being Mr. Grey's maiden speech, together with the eloquence displayed by him on the occasion, seem to entitle it to somewhat more than an incidental mention, and may probably justify us in giving some account of it in this place: it stamped him as a debater of no common talent; and from this time, he never rose without exciting attention, nor ended without making a strong impression on his hearers.

He rose first in the debate, to declare his disapprobation of the treaty. He insisted particularly on the comparative situation of this country and France, in reference to the trade with America. In his opinion, this was a favourite, he believed he might say, the principal object of the court of France in the negociation of this treaty, and it had already been attended with the most flattering success. In proof of this, Mr. Grey read a letter of the 22nd of October, 1786, from M. de Calonne to Mr. Jefferson, the minister pleni-



potentiary of the United States, which, he observed, was nothing but a long string of concessions on the part of France, without the stipulation of a single act of reciprocity from America, in return. The internal duties upon her oils were taken off in a manner that was indulged to no European nation, and she was allowed to purchase arms, ammunition, and warlike stores. Did France, he asked, expect no equivalent? Yes, she expected an equivalent in a monopoly of that trade which we once enjoyed, and which had supplied us with two-thirds of our commercial marine: she expected an equivalent in the augmentation of her own navy, and the ruin of that of Great Britain. Mr. Grey asked what it was that prevented us from forming such a connection with America, as would, at least, give us a share in the advantages of her commerce? Was it, that it would be inconsistent with the political interests of this kingdom? On the contrary, there was no connection that could be devised, so eligible to Great Britain, or so consistent with the views of sound policy. Was it, that America was averse to any treaty with this country? He had the best reasons for believing that she was both willing and eager to enter into any negotiation with us on fair and equitable terms. Here then was a glorious instance of the pacific disposition of the court of France! She negotiated with us a treaty—a tempting treaty, it had been called—by which she cut us off from the rest of Europe, precluded the possibility of our fortifying ourselves by new alliances, obtained an absolute ratification of the Family-Compact, and laid the foundation of her future greatness in her trade with America. He trusted the house would no longer be blind to French perfidy; to all which the experience of past times had taught us, to all which our sufferings at the moment demonstrated: and he concluded with expressing a hope, that he should not be suspected of opposing the address, from any want of personal attachment to the sovereign; he should always be one of the first, and the most eager, to approach the throne with sentiments of loyalty.



The minister, he hoped, would not imagine that he acted from any personal prejudice towards him, or from any party view. He believed the good of the country was what Mr. Pitt had most at heart, and he trusted that he would render him the same justice, by believing that his conduct, in this instance, was not influenced by any sinister motive.

In the speech, of which this is a meagre outline, we descry the infant Hercules. Mr. Grey was then a mere stripling; but in knowledge of our foreign mercantile relations, which he had carefully studied during his recent tour on the continent, and in ability to describe and reason from them, it was easy to discover the germ of the practical statesman.

In the same session of parliament, we find Mr. Grey in a warm personal altercation with Mr. Pitt, on the subject of certain abuses in the post-office department, which is worthy of a passing remark. On the 15th of May, he brought a complaint against the government, on the ground of their having dismissed the Earl of Tankerville, to whom Mr. Grey was related, from the office of postmaster-general, without a justifiable cause. This nobleman, who was joint postmaster with Lord Carteret, had taken considerable pains to correct the defects in his department, and with that view had suggested several plans of prevention, and communicated them to the minister. The latter bestowed his commendation on that nobleman, and promised him his support in rectifying the abuses; but as Lord Carteret could not be made sensible of the abuses, nor brought to exert the same industry for their cure, the two noblemen were at issue, and could no longer continue to act together. In these circumstances, it seemed natural to expect that the minister would not have dismissed the postmaster-general who had shewn himself anxious for reform, but his colleague, who was a protector of the abuses in question. Lord Tankerville, however, had been dismissed, and that on a sudden, and in a manner the most unexampled and extraordinary. Mr. Grey reasoned upon



these circumstances, and contended that there could be no other motive for the dismissal, than that Lord Tankerville had preferred his duty to every other consideration. He, therefore, conceived that Mr. Pitt had acted in a manner deserving of censure; and in order to bring home his accusations to him and Lord Carteret, he moved, in the House of Commons, that a committee should be appointed to inquire into certain abuses in the post-office.

This bold conduct was evidently throwing down the gauntlet, and the minister had too much pride not to take it up. He declared, that he had no intention to oppose Mr. Grey's motion; on the contrary, he should at all times feel disposed to allow inquiries of this sort, when there was no palpable impropriety in granting them. As to the present charge, he declared it to be wholly unwarranted in fact, and unfounded in any reasonable presumption. But though he granted the inquiry, he seems to have done it, as was remarked by Mr. Fox, under an impression of mind that Mr. Grey would fail in proving his facts, and that the whole would end in his disappointment and disgrace. In this, however, the minister was disappointed, and he shewed considerable testiness of temper. Speaking of the dismissal of Lord Tankerville, Mr. Grey said, that he had been sacrificed in favour of a nobleman, (meaning Lord Hawkesbury) who had seated Mr. Pitt in his present situation, and against whose interest the dismissal of a whole administration did not weigh a feather. He, therefore, moved, that it appeared to the house "that great abuses had prevailed in the post-office; and *that* having been made known to his Majesty's ministers, it was their duty, without loss of time, to make use of such measures as were proper to reform them." The motion was seconded by Sir John Aubrey, one of the lords of the treasury.

Mr. Pitt began by remarking on what he was pleased to style, the singularity of Mr. Grey's conduct, who had commenced his political career with an opposition to a particular measure of government, though accompanying it



with professions of great personal regard to himself, and of a desire, as far as he could do it consistently with his duty as a member of parliament, to give his general support to administration. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Pitt could not but say, that he thought the present a wanton attack upon government; an attack, conducted in a manner highly disrespectful and personal to him, and which savoured of the utmost asperity of party.

Mr. Grey defended himself with great spirit and manliness; he denied that the motion under consideration had sprung from motives of personal pique, or the spirit of party—an idea which he thought unwarrantable, and injurious to his honour; adding, that no man should dare to question the purity of the principles on which he acted! Mr. Pitt answered, that Mr. Grey arrogated too much to himself, if he conceived that he should not take the liberty of calling his motives in question, as often as his conduct warranted such a freedom—if he chose not to have his motives questioned, he must take care that his conduct was such as not to make it necessary. Mr. Grey replied, that he should never act in that house upon any principle which did not appear to him to be honourable; and while he was conscious of the rectitude of his conduct, if any person chose to impute dishonourable motives to him, he had the means in his power, to which it would then be proper to resort.

Mr. Pitt rose again, with much apparent heat; but Mr. Sheridan interfered, in defence of Mr. Grey, remarking, that the minister evidently felt, and felt severely too, the reprehension that had been given him. He denied that Mr. Grey had professed any personal respect for Mr. Pitt, but had merely given him credit for the goodness of his intention, and had asked the same credit in return. If Mr. Grey had said any thing improper, though he were a young member, yet, considering the talents and ability he had displayed he would agree, that such a young member was as little pardonable for any error, as the oldest mem-



ber of the house. On the present occasion, however, he must assert, that he had not merited the reproof which the minister, the veteran statesman of four years' experience, the Nestor of twenty-five, had been pleased to bestow upon him! In conclusion, Mr. Fox replied to what Mr. Pitt had said of Mr. Grey's being a party man, affirming that he was not of that description, but he hoped that by degrees he might become so. As long as there were great constitutional questions, respecting which men differed in opinion—to be a party man, was to act most honourably.

From this time, there could no longer be any reasonable doubt, as to which of the great parties in the state Mr. Grey would attach himself: but, had his speeches in parliament left that point doubtful, the uncertainty must soon have been removed by his becoming a member of the Whig Club; and shortly after that, joining the society known by the name of "The Friends of the People." The avowed object of this last mentioned association was that of furthering the cause of parliamentary reform. It was instituted in the month of April, 1792; and at the head of it appeared the names of Mr. Baker, Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Mackintosh, (now Sir James,) and several other members of parliament. Mr. Fox declined having his name enrolled among them—not because he was unfriendly to the cause of reform, but because, as he said, "though I perceive great and enormous grievances, I do not see the remedy." In a very short space of time, however, the society comprised a number of the most respectable characters, both in the commercial and literary world; and its existence inspired ministers with the most serious apprehensions. After publishing a series of resolutions, and a declaration of their sentiments, it was determined in the society, that early in the next session, a motion should be brought forward for the reform in parliament, and that the conduct of the business be committed to Mr. Grey and Mr. Erskine.

In conformity with the views of the association, on the



30th of April, Mr. Grey rose in the House of Commons to give notice of a motion, which, in the course of the next session, he should submit to the consideration of the house; the object of which was, a reform in the representation of the people. As this motion has an intimate and most important connection with the great measure of reform now in progress, under the auspices of the noble Earl, it may be allowed us to go a little into a detail of the proceedings on this occasion. It is pleasing to look back to the commencement of an undertaking, forty years ago, and trace its progress to its final consummation, which, we trust, is now at hand.

Mr. Grey, in introducing his motion, observed, that the necessity of such a reform, as that which the "Society of the Friends of the People" contemplated, had been allowed and maintained by the most eminent men in both houses of parliament. It had been acknowledged both by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; and he was now convinced, that such was the sentiment of the great majority of the people. The times indeed, he admitted, were critical, and the minds of the people agitated. It was to remove every cause of complaint, and to tranquillize the nation, that he meant to bring forward his motion. He trusted, therefore, that between the present day, and that on which he should bring forward the proposition, gentlemen would well weigh the question, and give it their most deliberate attention; and in that interval, he hoped the sentiments of the people on the subject would be fully ascertained.

Scarcely had Mr. Grey concluded, when Mr. Pitt rose, with unusual vehemence. Apologizing for what was irregular on his part, in entering into any observation on a mere notice of motion, he proceeded to remark, that if ever there was an occasion in which the mind of every man, who had any feeling for the present, or regard for the future happiness of the nation, should be interested, the present was the time when form should be disregarded, and the substance of the debate kept purely in view. Nothing



could be said, nothing could be whispered, on this subject, which did not involve questions of the most extensive, the most serious, the most lasting importance to the people of this country—in fact, to the very being of the state.

Mr. Pitt did not mean to deny that he himself had, at one time, been the advocate for parliamentary reform, and had made some efforts to accomplish it—but at what time was that done? Why, at the conclusion of the American war, when there was a general apprehension that the country was upon the verge of a public national bankruptcy, and a strong sense was entertained of political grievances—a period, too, when the influence of the crown was declared “to have increased, to be increasing, and ought to be diminished.” Many thought at that time, and he among the rest, that, unless there was a better connection between the parliament and the people, the safety of the country might be endangered. But the present was not the time to make hazardous experiments. Could we forget what lessons had been given to the world within a few years! He then noticed the Association, and the advertisements in newspapers, inviting the public to join the standard of reform. He saw with concern, the gentlemen to whom he alluded, united with others who professed not reform only, but direct hostility to the very form of our government—who threatened an extinction to monarchical government, hereditary succession, and every thing which promoted order and subordination in the state. To his last hour, he would resist every attempt of this nature; and if he were called upon either to hazard this, or for ever abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative.

Mr. Fox then rose, with a moderation and coolness which formed a striking contrast to the vehemence of the minister, and reminded the house, that he had never professed to be so sanguine on the subject as the gentleman who had last addressed them; but, although less sanguine, he happened to be a little more consistent! He had early in life formed



an opinion of parliamentary reform, and to this hour he remained convinced of that necessity; and the obvious reason was, that the proceedings of the house were sometimes at variance with the opinions of the public—of which he adduced various instances. Referring to that part of the minister's speech, in which he had taunted Mr. Grey about his allies, Mr. Fox thought he might answer it completely by asking Mr. Pitt, 'Who will you have for yours?' On our part, said he, there are infuriated republicans—on yours, there are the slaves of despotism: both of them unfriendly, perhaps, to the constitution; but there was no comparison between them, in point of real hostility to the spirit of freedom. The one, by having too ardent a zeal for liberty, lost sight of the true medium by which it was to be preserved; the other detested the thing itself, and are pleased with nothing but tyranny and despotism.

Something had been said by Mr. Pitt on the danger of *innovation*; on which Mr. Fox remarked, that he would take the liberty of repeating what he had uttered almost the first time he addressed that house—an observation which some thought quaintly expressed—"That the greatest innovation that could be introduced in the constitution of England, was to come to a vote that there should be no innovation in it." The greatest beauty of the constitution was, that in its very principle it admitted of perpetual improvement. Had his honourable friend consulted him, he should have hesitated in recommending the part he had taken, to him; but, having taken it, he could not see why the period was improper for the discussion.

But to proceed:—The panic which had seized the ministry, in consequence of the Association of the Friends of the People, was now strongly evinced by a measure, which was soon after carried into effect. This was, the issuing of a royal proclamation against the publishing and disposing of seditious writings, and against all seditious and illegal associations; exhorting the magistrates to vigilance in their duty, and the people to an orderly and submissive obedience.



The more immediate object of this proclamation, was avowed by the Master of the Rolls to be Paine's "Rights of Man," a political pamphlet, which was thus indiscreetly raised into ten-fold more consequence than it otherwise would have been, and now dispersed with unexampled rapidity. Mr. Grey, in speaking of the proclamation, professed that he scarcely knew how to express himself upon it; he found it difficult to decide whether the sentiments which gave birth to it, were more impotent or malicious. He mentioned the Association of the Friends of the People, and complained that the ministry, apprehensive of its effects, had concerted this measure with an insidious view of separating those who had been long connected. No man was ever more delighted with these sinister practices, said Mr. Grey, than the right honourable gentleman—he, whose whole political life was a constant tissue of inconsistency, of assertion and retraction—he, who never proposed a measure, without intending to delude his hearers; who promised every thing, and performed nothing; who never kept his word with the public; who studied all the arts of captivating popularity, without even intending to deserve it; and, from the first step of his political life, was a complete public apostate.

On the topic of seditious writings, Mr. Grey censured the conduct of the government severely. Upwards of twelve months had elapsed since the publications, now complained of, had made their appearance. What could they now say for themselves, or what could the public now think of the conduct of the ministers of the crown, who had allowed publications, which we were now told were the bane of public tranquillity, to poison the public mind for a whole year? He wished to know what could be the motives that brought forward, at this time, this sudden show of ardour to subdue disorder. Had it always manifested itself in the conduct of ministers? Was there any remarkable activity displayed in preserving order in the affairs of Birmingham, where there had been actual outrage and violence to the



laws, to liberty, and to order? He remarked as one of the objects of the proclamation, that the King's officers, his commissioners of the peace, and his magistrates, were to make diligent inquiry, in order to discover the authors and publishers of wicked and seditious writings—in other words, a system of espionage was to take place, by order of the crown! The very idea was surprising, as well as odious, that a proclamation should issue from the sovereign of a free people, commanding such a system to be supported by spies and informers.

Although the decided manner in which Mr. Pitt had entered his protest against countenancing any measure of parliamentary reform, left no room to expect any success to the measure, Mr. Grey was not deterred from bringing forward his motion in the next session of parliament.

Accordingly, on the 8th of May, 1793, he presented a petition from the Society of the Friends of the People, which occupied nearly half an hour in the reading. It stated with great propriety and distinctness, the defects which existed in the representation of the people in parliament, and pointed out the evils arising from the length of the duration of parliaments. The petition stated, that a majority of the members of that honourable house was returned by not more than fifteen hundred electors—that the county of Cornwall sent to parliament, within one, as many as the whole of Scotland—it complained of rotten boroughs, of the nomination of members by Peers and other persons, and of various other corrupt practices. After reading the petition, Mr. Grey entered into an elaborate train of proofs of the allegations it contained: having done which, he moved that the petition be referred, with others presented at the same time, to a select committee, to examine and report thereon.

In the course of his able speech, Mr. Grey adverted to the difficulties he had to encounter, in his attempts to procure a reform in the commons house of parliament: for, while the numerous and respectable petitions before the



house, in some measure facilitated his way, by demonstrating the truth of his assertion, they informed the house that they were not the real representatives of the people, which would probably be a very disagreeable confession to be extorted from the members themselves. Respecting the hackneyed objection, that this was an improper time for reform, he observed, that it would be equally rational in times of prosperity and adversity, whether the country was in war or peace. If our situation happen to be prosperous, it is then asked, whether we can be more happy or more free? In the season of adversity, on the other hand, all reform or renovation is deprecated from the pretended risk of increasing the evil and pressure of our situation. Hence it would appear, that the time for reform never yet had come, and never could. By arguments such as these, had reform been hitherto combated; and by similar arguments, he believed, it ever would be attacked, until some dreadful convulsion should take place, which might threaten even the constitution itself with ruin. Many had been the unsuccessful attempts to bring about a reform—but the proper time for it had never yet been found! In 1733, a motion was made in that house, by Mr. Bromley, for a repeal of the septennial act; and that motion was seconded in a very able speech by Sir William Windham. Other attempts had been made in the years 1745, 1758, 1782, 1783, and 1785. Mr. Pitt himself had brought the subject forward in the last three of those years. The same objection as to time was then made, and combated by the right honourable gentleman strongly and powerfully in argument, but without effect.

When Mr. Grey came to take notice of burgage tenures, and the splitting of messuages and hereditaments, for the purpose of multiplying voters, contrary to an act of King William's reign, he quoted an opinion of Lord Thurlow, when sitting as chancellor in the House of Lords, in an appeal cause from Scotland, respecting the right of voters at elections. His lordship said, "If the right of election



could be tried by law, in a court of law in England, as it was in Scotland, he was convinced that an English court of law would not be satisfied with such a mode of election as this—that a nobleman's steward should go down to a borough, with ten or twelve pieces of parchment in his hand, containing each the qualification for a vote, and, having assembled a sufficient number of his master's tenants round a table, should distribute among them the parchments—then propose a candidate—and afterwards collect these parchments, and declare his lord's friend duly elected for the borough.” These elections, Lord Thurlow called a mockery.

A very warm and protracted debate took place on Mr. Grey's motion, seconded as it was by the Honourable Thomas Erskine, who, in a speech of considerable length, entered into an historical account of our ancient parliaments, and observed, that whoever looked at the English history, would perceive, that, in the infancy of that house, and before the confirmation of its high privileges, the commons were uniformly bent on maintaining popular privileges, and formed a real and practical balance against the crown. He contended, that the mighty agitations which at present convulsed and desolated Europe, that the disastrous events of the moment, owed their existence to the corruptions of government, which these petitions sought to do away. Upon a loud laugh issuing from the other side of the house, Mr. Erskine said, there was nothing so easy as that sort of answer. It would, however, be more decent and parliamentary to expose his mistakes by argument and reason. The principle of the remedy for the abuses complained of, must present itself to every mind alike; though different persons might differ in detail. It could be no other than to simplify and equalize the elective franchise, to make each body of electors too large for individual corruption, and the period of choice too short for temptation; and by the subdivision of the places of election, to bring the electors together without confusion, and within every man's reach. Surely this was practicable.



An adjournment of the debate now took place, and the further discussion was resumed on Tuesday, May 7th, of which it may be interesting to the reader to have a few particulars here recorded. Among others, Sir William Young, a considerable West India proprietor, opposed the motion for reform, contending, that the petitioners proposed a measure that evidently tended to throw weight into a scale which too much preponderated already. He contended, that boroughs, bought and controlled by men of property, formed the only balance to the commercial influence, which was increasing by too rapid strides, and which ought to be checked. He was of opinion, that the petitions were ill-founded, and that no alteration ought to take place. This brought up Mr. Francis, who, after animadverting upon what had fallen from preceding speakers, went at considerable length into the necessity of parliamentary reform. He then quoted a letter from Lord Chesterfield to his son, in which he tells him that he had offered five-and-twenty hundred pounds for a secure seat in parliament, but that the borough-jobber laughed, and told him that the rich East and West Indians had secured them all, at the rate of three thousand pounds at least. "You see," said Mr. Francis, "how the case stood twenty years ago. Do you really believe that the purity of boroughmongers, and the morals of the electors of Great Britain, are improved since that time, or the demand for it not so considerable as it has been heretofore?"

The Earl of Mornington rose after Mr. Francis, and, in opposing the motion for reform, entered into a long recapitulation of the blessings which Englishmen enjoy under the present form of government—whence he inferred the practical effect of the present structure of parliament; and concluded with asserting, that the public good required that no alteration should be made in the existing frame of parliament. This nobleman was answered by Mr. Whitbread, in a most energetic speech in favour of reform. In stating some of the abuses in borough elections, he was betrayed into the use of some obnoxious expressions, which led the



Speaker to call him to order. He then addressed the Speaker in the following pointed terms. "Am I too free, sir, in what I am saying? Am I acting against your orders? It may be so. Yet if these things should meet your ear on the very steps of this house, as you descend from the chair, can you contradict them? Sir, you cannot. I do know, and the petitioners who have signed the petition now upon your table, are ready to prove, that many members are nominated by individuals, to serve in this house. Refute the charge! 'We cannot,' you say. Apply the remedy, then! 'We will not consent to that.' Then, at least, tell the people of England, We have investigated your statement, and we find it to be true; but we can prove to you that the country is as well governed, and that things go on as well now, as they would do if the representation was reformed."

Mr. Pitt, in a speech of considerable length, explained his former motives for being friendly to a parliamentary reform, and his objection to it at the present moment. The question, he said, was, whether you will abide by your present constitution, or *hazard* a change, with all that dreadful chain of consequences with which we have seen it attended in a neighbouring kingdom.

Mr. Sheridan rose in reply, refuted his arguments, and pointed out the little of real foundation there was for the fears and alarms of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He remarked, that what soured the temper of the people was, that neither in the church, the army, the navy, or any public office, was any appointment given, but in consequence of parliamentary influence; and that, as a necessary result, corrupt majorities were at the will of the minister. In short, whether the eye was directed to the church, the law, the army, or to parliament, it could only observe the seeds of inevitable decay and ruin in the British constitution. He concluded by affirming, that the object of reform he and his friends had in view, would be persevered in until it should be effectually accomplished.

The debate was closed by Mr. Fox, who pointed out in



strong terms the inconsistency of Mr. Pitt's present conduct with his former professions; and contended that he had no right to say that a motion for parliamentary reform was more dangerous now than his own in 1782. As to the time of attempting a reform, said Mr. Fox, it had been proposed at all times, in war and in peace, but they were all said to be improper. There could be no objection to the motion being made now, except that it was made by his honourable friend, Mr. Grey, instead of the right honourable gentleman. In the pride of his new wisdom, his present self felt such contempt for his former self, that he could not look back upon his former conduct and opinions without a sort of insulting derision. Like Lord Foppington in the play, he might say, "I begin to think, that, when I was a commoner, I was a very nauseous fellow." So the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) began to think that when he was a reformer, he must have been a very foolish fellow. He might, however, have retained some degree of candour for his honourable friend (Mr. Grey,) who had not yet received the new lights with which he was so marvelously illuminated.

Such is an abstract of this memorable debate, on which the house divided—for referring the petitions to a committee, 41—against it, 282. And here may be said to have commenced Mr. Pitt's triumphant majorities, which enabled him to begin and prosecute a war of twenty years' duration—to saddle the country with six hundred millions of debt, and bring it to the precipice of ruin—a tremendous gulf, from which a reform in parliament, had it then taken place, would have secured us; and from which nothing but a reform in parliament, followed by other similar measures, can now extricate us.

In the following year, 1794, the country being plunged into war, Mr. Grey brought a complaint against the government for landing a corps of Hessian troops in the Isle of Wight, without the permission of parliament—a proceeding which, he contended, was clearly unconstitutional, and un-



deniably illegal. He entered into a history of various cases, as applicable to the point in question—called the attention of the house to the act of settlement, and the marine mutiny bill, as well as to sundry acts of parliament, and concluded by moving “That to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom without the consent of parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law.”

This motion gave rise to a warm debate, in which Mr. Pitt and his friends contended, that what had been done in this instance was strictly legal; but they were answered by Mr. Fox, who considered the introduction of foreign troops to be a most dangerous and unconstitutional stretch of prerogative. With his usual ability, he recapitulated every argument against the measure, which had already been brought forward. From the bill of rights, the mutiny bill, and the debates in 1775 on sending foreign troops to Minorca and Gibraltar, he contended that they never could be introduced into this kingdom without the consent of parliament. He conceived the present question to be important in the highest degree. Ministers affirmed that they were not to remain long: but that was not the question; and who were to tell an army of Austrians, of Hanoverians, of Hulsans, or of Dutch, that their further continuance in England was contrary to law? Was the house to wait till it was surrounded with foreign mercenaries, and then present them with a piece of parchment, or the bill of rights, to convince them that they were violating the liberties of Englishmen? He conjured the house to consider that the liberty of Europe had been destroyed by the illegal use of the mercenary arms of kings and princes. He entreated the house not to desert either the liberties of the people, or the privileges of parliament. On a division of the house, however, Mr. Grey's motion was lost; the numbers being 184 to 35.

This important question was again brought before the house by Mr. Grey, March 14, who now reprobated in



strong terms the doctrine of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the former debate. He went over the whole subject in detail, and ably combated the minister's positions. He might be told, he said, that there were precedents to sanction the measure; but no precedent could sanction illegality—that which was unjust, must for ever remain so, notwithstanding the number of instances in which it was repeated. He declared, that he had no other view in the present instance, than to guard against the establishment of a dangerous doctrine, and a dangerous precedent. Whatever might be the pride of ministers, the house was bound to maintain the principles of the constitution. He then directed the attention of the house to the possible effects of a measure like the present. What, he asked, was the security for the freedom of the country, when a king had the power of introducing such a force as would terminate all disputes about rights? What would become of the control of parliament, should such a circumstance take place? What was the remedy he proposed for this evil? A bill of indemnity. Did this hurt the pride of the minister, or was he to be deemed incapable of having erred? What inconvenience could result from such a measure? If the house refused his proposition, what remained on the other side? The law violated; and a precedent established, pregnant with the most dangerous consequences. Mr. Grey ended by moving for a bill of indemnity. The motion, however, though ably supported by the opposition, was negatived by 170 votes against 41.

It was in the course of the same session of parliament, that the minister of the crown brought in his famed traitorous correspondence bill, “empowering his Majesty to secure and detain all persons *suspected* of designs against his crown and government,” &c., founded on the report of a committee appointed for that purpose. On this occasion, Mr. Grey moved a call of the house, that gentlemen might have time to consider a proposition of such importance. In doing this, he replied to some expressions which had



fallen from Mr. Pitt, and, in the course of his speech, declared, that, however much impugned, *parliamentary reform was still a cause which he would never desert ; nor would he, to preserve power, or gratify ambition, ever become an APOSTATE !*

Were it compatible with the limits of this sketch to trace Mr. Grey's parliamentary conduct minutely, we might notice his opposition to the suspension of the habeas corpus act in 1795, and, immediately after this, his effort to open a path for a pacification, by a motion in the House of Commons to the following effect—"that the existence of the present government of France ought not to be considered as precluding, at this time, a negociation for peace." This was prefaced by an extended and animated speech, in which he considered the vast importance of the question, which was to be decided on the broad basis of national interest, as it affected the happiness, the safety, possibly the very existence, of the country. After two years of war, which had drained the country of its blood and treasure, we did not appear to be one point nearer the object for which it was undertaken. From the words of the minister on a former occasion, Mr. Grey inferred, that the war was a contest *usque ad internecionem*, and that nothing short of the utter ruin of this country would induce him to treat for peace. Was the house prepared to go whatever lengths the minister chose? The debate continued till five in the morning, when the motion was negatived by a majority of 164.

It was during the same session, that the affairs of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales were brought before parliament for the second time, and his marriage settlement proposed. Hitherto, the Prince's income had been £60,000 per annum ; but he had become deeply involved in debt, and a plan was proposed for liquidating his deficiencies, and an augmentation of £65,000 a year made to his income. Mr. Grey professed himself equally a friend to the real dignity and splendour of the monarchy with Mr. Pitt, or "any slippery sycophant of a court"—but he



objected to the addition as too great, and proposed £40,000 instead of £65,000. He remarked, that great regard had been professed for the dignity of his Royal Highness ; but what could be more degrading to him, than to tie him down in the manner that was now proposed ? The best dignity and the truest greatness, said Mr. Grey, was to be found in integrity of character ; without which, no respect for rank or greatness would long avail. Let him retire to a situation, where he might, by reflection, qualify himself for the duties of his future station !

The state of the country had at this time become truly deplorable, and its best friends felt no little alarm. A dreadful and oppressive scarcity of corn pervaded the kingdom, and instances occurred of persons who perished through absolute want, while the poor were every where despairing and desperate. Parliament was called together on the 29th of October, 1795 ; and as his Majesty, George the Third, was returning through the Park from opening it, a crowd of persons, estimated at 150,000, assailed the royal carriage with vociferations of "Peace ! Peace ! No famine ! no war ! Give us bread ! No Pitt !" &c. &c. Stones, and other missiles, were thrown—the coach was struck, and almost destroyed. Of these scandalous outrages, the minister availed himself, for bringing in a bill for the more effectually "preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." Mr. Fox and his friends made a vigorous effort to oppose this bill, and, among others, Mr. Grey came boldly forward. He allowed that discontent prevailed in the nation ; but he insisted, that if these discontents were properly traced, they would be found to have originated from the corruption and folly of ministers, in plunging the country into an unjust war, which produced calamities they were unable to alleviate or redress. He went into an examination of the proposed bill, the motion for which he would not suffer to pass without his most marked disapprobation ; considering it, as he did, to be an effort to rob the people of their dearest rights, and enslave the nation. As some of the



members on the ministerial side of the house, had alluded to the persons who had then recently been tried for high treason and acquitted, [Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall,] Mr. Grey took that opportunity of asserting, that he exulted in their acquittal; and considered that British liberty was, in that instance, by the constitutional exertions of a jury, rescued from the most flagitious and daring attack ever made upon it. He believed ministers were deeply affected, that they had not succeeded on that occasion; but it appeared from the present motion, that they intended to secure their success on a future day. "Are not the laws as they now stand," exclaimed Mr. Grey, "sufficient to suppress or prevent public meetings? What tumult occurred in consequence of the meeting at Copenhagen House? The people assembled and dispersed in the most peaceable manner; and the speeches delivered there, of which such artful use had been made, did not excite the least commotion." He concluded by observing, that he would embrace every opportunity of opposing this detestable measure.

On the re-assembling of parliament, 1796, and immediately after the recess, Mr. Grey gave notice of a motion, which he intended making on the subject of peace, and which he introduced to the house on the 15th of February. It was for an address to his Majesty, praying him to communicate to the executive government of the French republic, his readiness to meet any disposition to negotiate, with an earnest desire to give it the speediest effect. On this occasion, he taxed ministers with duplicity—"deluding the people with hopes of peace, while they were determined to persevere in their system of warfare"—a charge which, however uncharitable it might seem at the moment, was but too well justified in the sequel.

Not succeeding, however, in his object on this occasion, Mr. Grey brought a weighty and well-supported accusation against ministers on the 16th of May, on which he grounded a motion for their impeachment. After a very able exor-



dium, in which he remarked, that the power of the purse was the best security for the liberties of the people, he proceeded to take an enlarged survey of the conduct of administration in the application of the public money; on which he founded fifteen resolutions to this effect, that, "in the instances mentioned, his Majesty's ministers had been guilty of presenting false accounts, calculated to mislead the judgment of the house, of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of a gross misapplication of the public money." Though the minister was unable to rebut many of the allegations, he laboured hard to gloss them over, as things necessary and unavoidable under existing circumstances; and the previous question being moved, it was carried by a large majority.

Mr. Pitt was at this time subsidizing the continental powers to carry on the war, in the most profligate manner; nor did he hesitate about doing it without the consent of parliament. Under these circumstances, he had advanced the Emperor of Germany one million two hundred thousand pounds; and, on the report of the committee of ways and means being brought up, December the 8th, Mr. Fox rose, and called the attention of the house to this novel proceeding on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, declaring, that it was a grant contrary to positive laws, and a flagrant violation of the constitution of parliament. Mr. Grey, too, in an animated speech, expressed his surprise and indignation at what he termed the desperate measures of the minister. Had the house, he said, perceived sooner the danger which threatened the constitution, the present measure would never have been attempted; and if their obsequiousness and servility had not encouraged the design of ministers, they never would have seen this bold and daring invasion of their rights. After expatiating at considerable length on the subject, Mr. Grey moved an amendment, that the second reading should be postponed till the next day, and he would then move the house to resolve, that the minister had been guilty of a high crime



and misdemeanour. Here again the minister was shielded by his triumphant majority.

On the 26th of May, 1797, Mr. Grey renewed his application to parliament for a reform in the representation of the people. He was aware, he said, that he then exposed himself to many uncharitable imputations; and if, in resisting the destructive system of ministers, he and his friends had been accused of a wish to gratify personal interest and private ambition—of a wanton desire to thwart the executive government—they could not, in the present instance, expect to escape similar, or still more odious imputations. In a long and able speech, he took a review of the former prosperity, contrasted with the present distresses of the country. He solemnly affirmed, that he sought not to alter any part of the constitution; his sole object was to obtain for the people a full, fair, and free representation in the House of Commons. He wished our establishment should remain as it was, composed of King, Lords, and Commons. He then entered upon a development of his plan of reform, which, in its general complexion, differed but little from Lord John Russell's bill, now before parliament; but it is needless to enlarge upon the subject, as the time was not then come for engaging the attention of honourable gentlemen to either its merits or defects.

The measure was seconded by Mr. Erskine, the barrister, with all the powers of eloquence, and all the knowledge and perspicuity which the subject required. "The virtue, spirit, and essence of a House of Commons," said Mr. Erskine, "consist in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation. It was not instituted to be a control *upon* the people, as of late had been taught, but a control *for* the people. A vigilant and jealous eye over executory and judicial magistracy—an anxious care of public money—an ear open to public complaint—these are the true characteristics of a house of commons. But an addressing house of commons, and a petitioning nation; a house of commons full of confidence, when the nation is plunged in despair;



in the utmost harmony with ministers, whom the people regard with abhorrence; who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon them for impeachment; who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands reckoning and account; who, in all disputes between the people and administration, decide against the people; who punish their disorders, but refuse to inquire into their provocations—this is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things, in the constitution. And this,” continued Mr. Erskine, “is the degraded and disgraceful state of this assembly at this moment. There was a time, when the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) admitted this to be the truth. He confessed, during the American war, what he now denies, in order to maintain the cause of his own war.”

In this fine strain of manly eloquence, did Mr. Erskine proceed to plead the cause of parliamentary reform at great length, and thus concluded his speech: “We are now in the most perilous predicament:—government calls upon the people for greater exertions than at any former time; burdens which appeared insupportable and impracticable, even in speculation, were now to be endured, and carried into effect: this must be done either by affection or coercion. Grant, then, to the people the blessings of the constitution, and they will join with ardour in its defence. Raise a standard, around which the friends of freedom may rally, and they will be attracted by the feelings of confidence and of attachment. It will unite all who are divided, and create a general spirit to bear up against impending calamities.”

Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, and others, followed on the same side, supporting Mr. Grey’s motion: but on a division, the numbers were—for the motion, 63; against it, 258.

It cannot reasonably excite surprise in any reflecting mind, that, deterred by the inauspicious results of their efforts to check the profligate career of ministers, and effect a change of system, Mr. Grey and his friends should, at



this time, form the resolution of absenting themselves from the House of Commons. They found by experience, that it was utterly in vain to oppose the measures of ministers; and, on the opening of parliament, Nov. 7, 1797, the opposition benches were almost entirely deserted. We find Mr. Grey, however, in his place, during the session of 1799, for the purpose of opposing Mr. Pitt's plan for the Union of Ireland; on which occasion he spoke repeatedly. The house was called upon, he said, to agitate a question the most momentous that perhaps ever came before any parliament, either in point of constitutional right, or public policy. A union was what he himself heartily wished for; but he meant something more than a mere word—he meant not of parliaments, but of hearts, affections, and interests; a union of vigour, of ardour, of zeal for the general welfare of the British empire. It was that species of union, and that only, that could tend to increase the strength of the British empire. In the measure contemplated by the minister, he saw every thing the reverse of this—its tendency would be to disunite and create disaffection, distrust, and jealousy, it would tend to weaken the whole of the British empire. Mr. Pitt, however, persevered in his object, and carried the measure into effect.

Mr. Grey now applied himself diligently to regulate the representative part of the system, that is, the number and description of Irish members who were to sit in the British parliament; and to this effect we find him, during the session of 1800, moving various resolutions; some of which related to the number of Irish placemen and pensioners that were to sit in the house, and others to the creation of Irish peers—after which, the bill received the royal assent.

The year 1801 is memorable for having brought to a close Mr. Pitt's administration, which had now existed seventeen years. On Friday, the 11th of January, he gave in his resignation to his Majesty, assigning as a reason, his inability to carry the question of Catholic emancipation—though many suspected the real ground to be a conviction



of the necessity of peace to the country, and his inability to effect it, after the rancorous hostility he had manifested towards the French nation. Though his successor, Mr. Addington, was of the same school of politics, yet the change that had taken place inspired the country with sanguine hopes of peace. One of the first measures of the new minister was to propose a subsidy to be granted to Portugal, for which a message was brought down from the King. In delivering his sentiments on the point, Mr. Grey availed himself of the opportunity of reviewing the conduct of the late ministry, in prosecuting the war against France. He called upon the house to examine the history of the present war, and calculate the extravagant amount of the sums ministers had squandered. They had consumed our resources, diminished our comforts, impaired our enjoyments, and, after nine years of contest, left us exposed to all the dangers which threatened us at its commencement. He admitted that it was of importance to preserve Portugal from being over-run by the French, and also that she had powerful claims on our protection; but he disapproved of the assistance, because he doubted of its efficacy.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, which took place in January, 1806, Mr. Fox and his friends were called to the administration of public affairs; when Mr. Grey, now become Lord Howick, in consequence of the elevation of his father, Sir Charles Grey, to the peerage, took his seat in the cabinet as first lord of the admiralty. In the month of October following, the country was deprived of the eminent talents of Mr. Fox; on which Lord Howick succeeded to the distinction of leader of the House of Commons, and secretary of state for foreign affairs. He now introduced and carried the bill for the total abolition of the African slave trade, which was one of the last measures of the Whig cabinet of that day.

On the 5th of March, 1807, Lord Howick moved for leave to bring in a bill, securing to all his Majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, on their



taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament; and for allowing them the free exercise of their religious profession. An alarm was instantly spread, of an insidious attempt to remove all the penal laws then in force against the dissenters, and, among the rest, the test and corporation acts. And although the bill contemplated nothing beyond what has since been done under the Duke of Wellington's administration, for both Protestant dissenters and Catholics—yet certain artful men took advantage of it to alarm the King, (George the Third,) and to fill his mind with an absurd dread of Popery; in consequence of which, that monarch not only refused his consent to the measure, but he proceeded so far as to demand from Lords Grenville and Howick a pledge, in writing, that nothing of the kind should again be brought forward as a cabinet measure. To this requirement, these noblemen had too high a sense of honour to listen for a moment; and the consequence was, a dissolution of both the ministry and of parliament followed. When a new parliament was called, Lord Howick took his seat in the House of Commons for the borough of Appleby, not choosing to incur the expense of a contested election for the county of Northumberland; soon after which, he was raised to the peerage, by the death of his father.

Earl Grey from this time took but little interest in public affairs; but in the year 1812, overtures were made to him to form part of an administration, of which Mr. Perceval and his Tory colleagues were to continue members. And, on his refusal, a second attempt was made with no better success. His late Majesty, George the Fourth, then Prince Regent, addressed a letter to his brother, the Duke of York, authorizing him to invite Lords Grey and Grenville to join the present ministers; to which they returned an answer to this effect: "We must express, without reserve, the impossibility of uniting with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many, and too important, to admit of such union. His Royal Highness



will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember, that we have already *twice* acted on this impression."

In this state, matters rested until the tragical death of Mr. Spencer Perceval rendered a new administration absolutely necessary, and the eyes of the nation were once more directed to Earl Grey. Yet the sanguine hopes now formed were, by a strange fatality, completely disappointed. The stipulations made by the great Whig leaders for an entire change in the Regent's household department, was so violent, that Lord Moira, who was entrusted with the negotiation, aided, too, as has been said, by Sheridan, considered them as bordering upon something like a contempt of the Regent's feelings; and he refused to comply with it. An administration was consequently patched up, at the head of which was Lord Liverpool, and Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer, with Lords Bathurst, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh, secretaries of state.

The friends of Lord Grey have been greatly perplexed to find an apology for his conduct in refusing to give his able support to Mr. Canning's administration, when that gentleman was called by his Sovereign to conduct the affairs of the state, and when abandoned, as he was, by the Tories. It was not, indeed, to be expected that the noble Earl should take office under Mr. Canning; but it was hoped, from his Lordship's principles and independence, that he would support that minister, who rested upon popular opinion, if ever minister did, and who had the merit of being opposed, with all the animosity of personal hatred, by the Tory party.

Such, however, was not his Lordship's conduct. Jealous, it has been said, of the ascendancy of a junior politician, Lord Grey first withheld his confidence, and then openly lent his character and eloquence to the support of a party, in common with which he had no one public principle or feeling: and this conduct, for a time, lost him the favour of the Whigs; for, instead of continuing as an idle pageant in his train, they now left him to the enjoyment of his



stately solitude, with the homage of Lords Eldon, Bathurst, and Westmoreland. On this subject, it has been remarked by some of the noble premier's own friends, that, had his ambition been less personal, and his pride less jealous—had he been more just to himself—had he gone with his party, and the most enlightened and liberal portion of the public, both Whigs and Reformers, in supporting Mr. Canning, he would, in the former case, have hastened the triumph of reform; in the latter, the downfall of Toryism; and, in both, consulted his own ambition and renown. It must, however, be added, in justice to the noble Earl, that he tendered a vindication of his line of conduct, on the second reading of the Roman Catholic relief bill, as will be hereafter seen: how far satisfactory, let others judge.

The bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, was carried on the 6th of April, 1829. On the second reading of it, Earl Grey delivered his sentiments in a speech of considerable length, from which, if our limits allowed, we could with pleasure quote largely; but a short extract must suffice. Adverting to the objections which had been raised against the passing of the relief bill, on the ground that the Catholics were in pursuit of political power, his Lordship contended “that political power was the birth-right of every individual in a free country, and that it cannot be taken from him, unless the public interest imperatively demands the sacrifice. The noble Duke (of Wellington) at the head of his Majesty's government, has been reproached for not applying military force, to produce tranquillity. I shall not repeat that splendid passage in the noble duke's speech, in which he referred to the horrors of a civil war. Such sentiments come gracefully from him; and, instead of attributing his forbearance to weakness, I should say, that it was a proof of strength, and of that magnanimity of mind in which all true courage is founded. The noble duke, a soldier, red with the blood of a hundred battles, yet shrunk from exposing his country to the violation and carnage necessarily attendant on a civil war; and,



in my opinion, by so doing, he deserves to be lauded, and not reproached; and has added a greener laurel to those which were so lavishly offered to him, for his splendid triumphs over the foreign enemies of England."

After expressing his approbation of the measure before the house, Earl Grey thus proceeded: "For my own part, my lords, I might be pardoned, perhaps, for indulging in somewhat of personal satisfaction and congratulation—I might add, of personal pride. The measures which I have considered it consistent with my duty to the public invariably to support, and press upon the attention of your lordships, has at length been brought forward, and justice done to those principles which I learned from that great departed statesman, Mr. Fox—which I have supported in this House of Parliament with that venerable man, Lord Grenville; and from which, on any occasion, or under any circumstances, I have never been induced to swerve. In the arguments and statements brought forward by his Majesty's ministers on this subject, I have found not only an excuse for the principles which I have advocated, if indeed those principles had needed any excuse, but also for that very line of conduct which I thought it my duty to pursue. A main argument in support of this measure has been, the evils arising from a divided cabinet. Feeling strongly as I did on this question, I resolved not to increase that evil, and, therefore, have been prevented from accepting office, under circumstances which, but for this measure, I should have been proud to accept. I receive, therefore, the proposition now offered by his Majesty's ministers, as a proof, not only of the soundness of those principles on which I and others have acted, but also as a proof of the propriety of the line of conduct we have pursued. By this measure, we have acknowledged and recognized the soundness of the principles of that great and immortal man, Mr. Fox, who, in the year 1779, on the 8th of March, the very day fifty years when this bill was read a second time in the House of Commons—in that same house, Mr. Fox



stated the necessity of doing the Roman Catholics that justice which is at length about to be done them. It is to me, my lords, a matter of great satisfaction, that I have lived to share in the glory of this measure, coming, as it does, even at the eleventh hour. That I have ever given it my honest and sincere support, will ever be to me a subject of proud and grateful recollection. Still, my lords, I must regret the time that has been lost. The beneficial effects which I now anticipate from it, might ere this have been brought to maturity, and no longer have been matter of expectation. That it will ultimately accomplish the objects for which it is produced, I have little doubt; and even now I receive it with unqualified gratification—I receive it, as I am certain the country will do, whatever prejudices now exist, as a proof of the wisdom and magnanimity of his Majesty's government, and particularly of the noble duke, who, by this measure, has established a debt of gratitude, which the country will be no more unwilling to pay, than it was those honours which awaited him after his splendid and glorious military career."

From this time, the public heard little of Earl Grey, except during the trial of Queen Caroline, when he took an active and leading part in investigating the charges brought against that unfortunate lady. He was one of the most forward and fervent of the peers in her behalf; and to the eloquence and zeal which he manifested in conjunction with the talents of her counsel, must the success of her cause be attributed. After this, the life of Earl Grey was passed in a state of comparative seclusion from public life, till the sudden extinction of the Duke of Wellington's administration brought him forth with greater splendour than ever; reminding us of the lines of our great poet—

"So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,  
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,  
And tricks his beams, and, with new-spangled ore,  
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky."

MILTON.



Having thus sketched the noble Premier's parliamentary career, it now only remains for us to follow it up with a brief estimate of his character. This, if drawn with fairness and freedom, cannot be without interest at the present moment, when it is considered that Earl Grey is the first minister of state, and that he stands identified with the momentous transaction of parliamentary reform.

It has been said of the noble Lord, that he has been more consistent in his character than in his opinions. High-minded and personal in his ambition, he has diverged, but never stooped. He advocated reform—then *seemed* to have renounced it—and is now, as his opponents are pleased to say, a relapsed reformer. He forfeited the favour of the people for a short interval, but it was without incurring the slightest suspicion of having sacrificed it to that of the court; and he has been under the ban of the court during the regency and reign of the late King, without indemnifying his ambition, as a party chief, by what courtiers term faction.

It is true, that Mr. Grey shared the councils of Carlton House during the regency question in 1788-9, and would have been a minister, had the regency taken place; but even in his intercourse with the heir-apparent, he preserved his honour unsullied. For, when the latter wished to prevail upon him to gloss over the Prince's intimacy with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and restore the veil of mystery and vagueness which had hitherto hung over that affair, Mr. Grey not only declined, but disdained, to become the vehicle of a pitiful equivocation; and was henceforth regarded by the late King as too intractable and stately for either his partisan as a prince, or his minister as a sovereign. His conduct, too, when the question was mooted for relieving the Prince from his pecuniary embarrassments, was truly characteristic of the independence of his mind. After declaring his perfect readiness to support the splendour of the royal family, he added, "I conceive that there is more true dignity in manifesting a heart alive to the distress of



millions, than in all those trappings which encumber royalty without adorning it. Is it proper, I ask, that the legislature should give the example of encouraging extravagance, at a moment when the prevailing fashion of prodigality among people of fortune is rapidly destroying their independence, and making them the tools of the court, and the contempt of the people? I am well aware that the refusal to pay his debts, will be a privation to the Prince of Wales: but it will be a just penalty for the past, and a useful lesson for the future; and it will also be a proper deference to the severe privations endured, and the painful sacrifices made, by the nation."

It surely is a remarkable testimony to Lord Grey's public principles, and to his strong permanent conviction, that, after a lapse of thirty-six years, and, doubtless, without any thought of the observation which had then fallen from him, he has stripped the ceremony of his Royal Master's coronation of those trappings which not only "encumbered royalty without adorning it," but which presented, in the gorgeous absurdities of feudal barbarism, a spectacle of childish prodigality, at once revolting and ridiculous in an age of freedom, economy, and good sense.

There is no part of Lord Grey's political life, which has subjected him to more rigorous animadversion, and severe censure, than his refusal to take office at the invitation of the Regent in 1809. Lords Grey and Grenville were, at the time, the former in Northumberland, the latter in Cornwall. Lord Grenville came to town, conferred with Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool, and, after an interchange of compliments, rejected their overtures: Lord Grey declined at once, not only the proposed coalition, but even the invitation to a personal conference in town. Both lords, doubtless, saw the hollowness of the overture: but Lord Grey's pride took the alarm, lest his sagacity should be for a moment suspected; and he marked his sense of a mere court manœuvre, by his stately, if not contemptuous, rejection.

On the death of Mr. Perceval, the ministry was disorga-



nized, and the game of court-cabal and party negotiation was once more strenuously renewed. The subject has been already adverted to, and the circumstances need not be here repeated. The Regent's household, at that time, was wholly composed of the members and dependants of the Marchioness of Hertford's family, whose dominion over the Prince was not merely notorious, but avowed; and it was obvious enough that the government of the regent, like that of his father, was actuated by an inner-working secret influence. Lords Grey and Grenville required that the great offices of the household should be placed at their disposal; and they were censured even by the Whigs, for insisting on this stipulation, while the chief responsibility was charged to the account of Earl Grey. But those who would do justice to the latter, are bound in fairness to hear his Lordship's defence of his conduct. He denounced the secret influence which hemmed in the Regent, "nothing loth," and absolutely ruled his councils. "But," said he, in concluding a remarkable speech, "the objections to the ministerial system hitherto stated, sink into insignificance compared with one to which I allude with reluctance—I mean the dependence of the ministry for its very existence upon an unseen influence which lurks behind the throne—a power alien to the constitution, but now become, unhappily, too familiar to the country; a disastrous and disgusting influence, which has consolidated abuses into system, and which prevents either public complaint or honest counsel from reaching the royal ear; an influence, which it is the duty of parliament to brand with signal reprobation, and for the destruction of which, it is my rooted, unalterable principle, and that of my friends who act with me, to have an understanding with parliament, before we take office under the crown."

It is obvious, after this declaration, that Lord Grey could come into office only, like Lord Chatham, upon the shoulders of the people; yet did he continue to stand aloof, both from the people and the court, upon his high ground, with the Whigs dangling idly in his train. It would be ridiculous



therefore, to charge Lord Grey with a fondness for office. In 1815, he broke the tie between him and Lord Grenville. He maintained the right of France to choose or change her own government, and reprobated, with the eloquence of his earlier years, the odious tyranny and hypocritical effrontery with which, at that period, independent states were bartered and bandied to a foreign yoke, and free communities despoiled of their laws and liberties. He opposed the despotic measures which soon after sprang from the arbitrary imbecility of the administration ; and his speech upon Lord Sidmouth's circular, directing magistrates to issue their warrant in cases of libel charged upon oath, may take its place as a constitutional law-argument, with the two great efforts of Lords Mansfield and Somers. It extorted the approbation and applause of that able lawyer, and still more able orator, Lord Ellenborough.

Lord Grey has redeemed his pledge of reform honourably, by an efficient measure ; and consistently, by reviving the plan which he had formed and advocated in his earlier years. He has now the advantage of political study and experience, generous principles, and grand views of policy, enlightened knowledge of the laws and constitution, a sincere love of liberty, an exalted integrity of character, upon which calumny has never ventured to breathe. He has eloquence of the highest and rarest stamp—instinct with deliberative wisdom and classic fire, set off by a personal delivery at once popular and noble. The early sympathy between him and the people, which for a time lay dormant, is once more revived—the tide of popular opinion has fairly set in in his favour—the country rallies round him—and he enjoys in an ample degree his Sovereign's confidence. The reform bill is certainly his sheet-anchor ; and, having once secured that, his administration has nothing to fear.



## THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

## HENRY, BARON BROUGHAM AND VAUX,

*Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.*

THERE is so much to be said, and so much that ought to be said, even in a "sketch" of the public life of this extraordinary man, that our great difficulty is, how to comprise within the limits of a few pages, the substance of what would easily occupy a volume. MR. BROUGHAM is entitled, by the variety of his powers and attainments, to be considered as an orator, a lawyer, a statesman, an economist, and a person of scientific information. Under each of these views, he stands prominently forward; and in some of them at least—as a lawyer and a statesman—he comes forth from the crowd with a loftiness of stature, and brightness of glory, which, in our day and land, belong to none else.

It has fallen to the lot of not a few of our nobility to be indebted for their elevation to a long train of illustrious ancestors. The case, however, is otherwise with the subject of this memoir: Mr. Brougham owes little of his greatness to family connections, or the privileges of birth and fortune. He was born to ennoble a family, and not to be indebted for rank and dignity to those who gave him birth. His father was a country gentleman, educated at the University of Edinburgh; and his mother, who is still living, was the daughter of a lady who kept a boarding-house on Castle Hill in that city, and niece to Dr. Robertson the historian.



HENRY BROUGHAM, who was named after his father, was born in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, in the year 1779, and was the eldest of four brothers, the offspring of the same marriage. His brothers were, John, who became an eminent wine-merchant in Edinburgh, and died about two years ago at Boulogne; James, a barrister; and William, a master in chancery, one of the members of the present parliament for the borough of Southwark. All the brothers received their education at the High School in Edinburgh, then under the rectorship of Dr. Alexander Adam, whose fame as a teacher is well known, and whose capabilities were sufficiently evinced by several valuable publications in classical literature.

Even in his boyish days, the subject of this "sketch" is said to have given those remarkable indications of talent, which his life has fortunately afforded him the opportunity of developing, and which rendered him a special favourite with his preceptor. It happened to him, as it has happened to many who have risen to after eminence in that art, to acquire the rudiments of eloquence in that fluency and facility of expression which proceed from the habits of public speaking. Young Brougham in the "Speculative Club" exercised almost the same superiority over his youthful competitors, that the present chancellor holds over his noble rivals in the House of Lords. Of this society, the late Mr. Horner, the late Lord Kinnaird, Mr. Murray, Mr. Southey, Mr. Jeffrey, the present lord advocate of Scotland, were among the most distinguished members. But those pursuits, active and engrossing as they now generally are, did not prevent this singular young man from indulging in those fits of abstract meditation, with which they are usually considered and found to be incompatible. From the noisy clamour of a spouting club, it was not unfrequent with him to retire to the study of the more abstract branches of the mathematics, the fruits of which soon began to make their appearance.

At the age of fifteen, he was entered a student of the



University, where he applied himself assiduously to the cultivation of his intellectual powers, and soon after produced "An Essay on the Flection and Reflection of Light," which was deemed worthy of a place among the Philosophical Transactions, and that at a time when its author had not yet attained his seventeenth year. This communication on the velocity of light was soon after followed by some geometrical propositions, with their solutions, which were stated to be discoveries and improvements of the ancient analysis. The merit of original discovery, in these instances, has indeed been subsequently called in question: but his claim to the title of inventor, in mathematics, has, nevertheless, been substantiated, by his speculations on algebraical prisms, and those connected with the higher geometry; one of which, on the properties of the conic hyperbola, and the relations of the harmonical line to curves of different orders, is a masterpiece of mathematical reasoning.

These contributions to the general stock of science paved the way for Mr. Brougham's being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; which took place, March 3, 1803, though his formal admission was postponed till the spring of the following year. In the interim, having turned his attention to the study of the law, he prosecuted that subject with indefatigable diligence, as a candidate for the honours of the Scotch bar; to which he was called in due course, about the same time with his two illustrious friends, Jeffrey and Horner. This was an important era in the history of Mr. Brougham; for, though he had already distinguished himself as a young man of first-rate talents, his celebrity was confined within a comparatively small circle of such as were judges of his scientific acquirements. He now began to be known beyond that limited sphere; for in the same year, 1803, he surprised the public, by "An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers," in two volumes, octavo—a work which stamped the author's reputation, at once, on a firm basis, as a political philosopher,



and elegant writer. The nature of this undertaking led him into a wide field of highly interesting discussion, in which he took a review of the colonial policy of the United Provinces, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, France, and England. Directing his attention particularly to the existing state of our West India Islands, he developed, in a masterly manner, the dangers to which all the European possessions there must unavoidably be exposed, from St. Domingo becoming an independent state. From this, he proceeded to discuss the slave trade and slave system, which he did with great ability, contending for the abolition of this traffic, as indispensably requisite to the security of our West India possessions, against the dangers by which they are threatened from the transactions of the last twenty years in the French islands. From the West, he turned his attention to our dominions in the East, and remarked on the dangers to which our Asiatic possessions were exposed, from the power and ambition of Russia—an object towards which he recommended a jealous attention on the part of our rulers. The information contained in these volumes was multifarious and correct—the result of enlarged views, and just conceptions ; and, viewed as the production of one who had not then attained the age of five and twenty, it was considered as giving promise of that future greatness, which the lapse of thirty years has amply justified.

Having completely established his reputation in Scotland as an advocate, Mr. Brougham was now in the high road to preferment, and might have confidently looked forward to the honour of a seat in the High Court of Justiciary, with the nominal rank of a Lord, for life. His forensic celebrity caused him to be employed in several important causes ; and, among others, as counsel for Lady Essex Ker, in the great contest respecting the ducal title and estates of Roxburgh. This, and some other causes, necessarily brought him to plead before the British House of Peers, where his striking elocution and legal knowledge attracted considerable notice. A new and richer field was, however, opened to



his view, and one which presented higher prospects to an ambitious mind, than that in which he had already secured a certainty of permanent emolument and future distinction. Mr. Brougham, and his bosom friend, Mr. Francis Horner, now determined to unite their interests, and try their strength in the English courts, as they had done in those of Scotland. A call to the bar followed; and while Mr. Horner adopted the Chancery practice, for which he was well fitted; and where, had his valuable life been prolonged, he might have risen to the seat which his friend now fills, Mr. Brougham entered the arena of the King's Bench, to elbow his way amidst a host of competitors. For this purpose, he chose the Northern circuit, as the most eligible in point of profit; and though he had the disadvantage of having to compete, first with Mr. Justice Park, and next with Mr. Scarlett, it was not long ere he began to share with the latter all the great employ of that circuit. It has indeed been said, with what justice we are unable to decide, that Sir James Scarlett owes much to the stimulating influence of his great rival; and that, without the provocations, the goadings, and inducements, which Mr. Brougham supplied, Sir James never would have reached his present celebrity as a lawyer.

That Mr. Brougham was desirous of the honour of a seat in parliament, cannot be questioned. It is a fair and legitimate object of competition to every friend of his country; and, pre-eminently talented, as he was, for taking a leading part in senatorial debates, it is somewhat strange that he was so long overlooked. His work on colonial policy had afforded ample proof of his statesman-like views; and the eloquence he displayed at the bar, was an additional recommendation. Yet it was not until the year 1810 or 1811, that he first entered parliament, and then for the borough of Camelford, as the nominee of the Duke of Bedford!

It is pleasing to remark, that one of the first acts of his political life, as a member of the legislature was, the



bringing in of a bill, making the slave-trade, by whomsoever practised, felony; and subjecting the persons carrying it on, to the punishment of transportation for fourteen years. The bill passed both houses in 1811, and received the royal assent. On this very momentous subject, we may take the opportunity of remarking, that the wonderful energy of Mr. Brougham's mind has shewn itself in a very amiable and beneficent light with regard to West India slavery. That disgraceful plague-spot in our empire has hitherto been preserved from every purifying touch, by a barrier of interested power, which it is dangerous and almost hopeless to assail. The plain proposition, that nothing can give one man a complete and indefeasible right over the will of another, is met by such a phalanx of ancient prejudice, and desperate self-interest, that the man who comes forward to profane the worship of the monstrous idol set up by these debasers of humanity, deserves to be protected and encouraged by the applause of all good men. The wretched beings, of a different colour from ourselves, who are employed on the other side of the Atlantic in ministering to our luxuries, have so few outward bonds of communion with us, that it is not wonderful why many who have no interest in ameliorating their condition, should forget their sufferings, or that the few who have an interest in preventing improvement, should continue to tyrannize. But, thanks be to those who use the talents God has given them, in working beneficence to his creatures! And in future times, when schools and churches shall crown the mountains of Jamaica, and the cottage of the negro-peasant shall be sacred from the brutality of white men—when the scourge shall no longer sound among the Antilles, nor the image of the Creator be trampled by the slave-driver into the likeness of the beasts that perish—the name of Henry Brougham will not be omitted, in the praises of a redeemed people.

In the year 1812, Mr. Brougham endeavoured, but with less success, to take from the crown the droits of admiralty,



which he considered, in its present state, to be a fund contrary to the constitution, and pregnant with danger to the rights and privileges of the people. But though his exertions were not crowned with success in that instance, he did not allow the session of parliament to pass over, without conferring an important benefit upon his country, which, at that time, was suffering greatly from the Orders in Council, respecting our commerce with the United States. He called the attention of the house to this subject, and exhibited these "orders" as the cause of the distresses and embarrassments which then prevailed throughout the kingdom. His speeches on this occasion, displayed some of the highest qualities of eloquence; and they may be thought of with the more satisfaction, because the talents they exhibited were put forth in opposition to a stupid and mischievous monopoly. His conduct in this instance merits to be recorded as another of the bright honours in this gentleman's career. Ministers, indeed, refused to grant him the committee of inquiry for which he asked; but the agitation of the question had a beneficial effect, for, though they would not yield to their opponents in the house, they soon after conceded to them, by revoking the obnoxious orders in the cabinet.

The parliament terminated with this session, and, at the election which followed, Mr. Brougham was prevailed on, by the liberal party in Liverpool, to offer himself as a candidate for that borough, in opposition to Mr. Canning, who then avowed himself of the Pitt school of politics. But it was found that the Whigs of that town had miscalculated their strength, and the Tory party triumphed. Mr. Brougham was now about two years out of parliament, when he again appeared on the opposition bench as a member for the borough of Winchelsea, which he continued to represent for the two or three succeeding parliaments. But the interval of his seclusion was far from proving a blank to the world; it afforded Mr. Brougham an opportunity of meditating new measures of relief to his country, and



accordingly, he came forward as a giant refreshed; for to follow him in his parliamentary career, from this time, must exceed the powers of an ordinary observer.

The session of parliament opened, February 1st, 1816, when some allusion was made, in the speech from the throne, to "the flourishing condition of our commerce, revenue, and finances." Seizing the subject, Mr. Brougham severely condemned such a representation as most unfounded and fallacious, when a general stagnation of trade was felt—when shops were everywhere empty—and tradesmen's books filled with debts, not one per cent. of which could be recovered. Alluding to the slave trade still carried on by Spain, the honourable gentleman said, he hoped the contemptible tyrant, Ferdinand, who had behaved so inhumanly to his best friends, and had treated so ungratefully those by whom he had been raised to the throne which he disgraced, would be prevented from extending the effects of his reign to Africa.

It was at this period that the Holy Alliance was formed between the great continental powers; to which England was invited to become a party, but she declined the honour! The subject, however, being introduced in the House of Commons, Mr. Brougham took it up with great warmth; and, after expressing his wonder at the promptness of the three great powers to defend Christianity when it was not attacked, and suspecting some secret political object in this imposing confederacy, he exclaimed, "I always think there is something suspicious in what a French writer calls '*les abouchemens des rois*,' (the interviews of kings.) When crowned heads meet, the result of their united councils is not always favourable to the interests of humanity. It is not the first time that Austria, Russia, and Prussia have laid their heads together. On a former occasion, after professing a vast regard for truth, religion, and justice, they adopted a course, which brought much misery on their own subjects, as well as on those of a neighbouring state. They made war against that unoffending country, which found



little reason to felicitate itself on its conquerors being distinguished by Christian feelings. The war against Poland, and the subsequent partition of that devoted country, were prefaced by language very similar to that which this treaty contains; and the proclamation of the Empress Catharine, which wound up that fatal tragedy, had almost the same words."

It was, we believe, during the vacation of 1816, that Mr. Brougham, by way of relaxation from the multifarious labours with which he was surrounded, made a tour on the Continent; in the course of which, he paid a visit to the Princess of Wales, at her residence at Como, in the north of Italy: the result of which was, that he became the confidential agent, and legal adviser, of her Royal Highness. It is the more necessary to mention this circumstance, inasmuch as it laid the foundation for the great trial of his strength, when he was called to contend against all the power and influence of the palace and the government, in defence of that illustrious and persecuted, but high-minded, female.

His Majesty, George the Third, departed this life on the 29th of January, 1820; and no sooner was the event made known, than Mr. Brougham despatched a messenger to Como, to communicate the intelligence to the Princess of Wales, to whom it was a circumstance of considerable importance, and not less so to the nation at large, to whom she had become the Queen-consort. Her Majesty replied instantly, by the same medium, informing Mr. Brougham of her fixed determination to return to England, for the purpose of asserting her rights and privileges, which, she said, she had reason to believe were in danger, as well as her person, and requesting him to meet her at St. Omer's without delay.

On the receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Brougham thought proper to communicate it to Lord Castlereagh, who was then minister, and who assured him that no indignity would be offered to the illustrious personage, either at home



or abroad. A consultation, however, was now held, and his Majesty's pleasure taken—the issue of which was, that Lord Hutchinson was deputed to wait upon her, on the part of her husband, and offer her fifty thousand pounds a year, on condition of her continuing to reside abroad, and relinquishing the title of Queen. His lordship set out, accompanied by Mr. Brougham; and, arriving at St. Omer, they found her Majesty awaiting them, to whom Lord Hutchinson communicated the message with which he was entrusted. The proposal roused her indignation. She declared it was impossible for her to listen to it for a moment, and, apprehending that steps might be taken to prevent her landing in England, she instantly set off for Calais, crossed the channel in the first vessel that offered, and arrived safely in Dover, where she was received with all possible respect by the inhabitants; and her whole journey to London had the air of a triumph. Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson soon followed—the latter not a little disconcerted and mortified, it is said, at the failure of his mission. The consternation of the court on finding her Majesty in the midst of them, was extreme; and the King instantly determined to convert her joy into sorrow and mourning. Lord Castlereagh brought down a message from his Majesty to both houses of parliament, accompanied by a mass of papers, which he laid upon the table of the House of Commons, tending to fix upon his royal consort the imputation of adulterous guilt. Alarming as her situation now became, she, however, did not remain silent, but addressed a letter to the Commons, protesting against the formation of a secret tribunal, and reprobating that series of ill-treatment which could only be justified by trial and conviction. Mr. Brougham, in the strongest terms, opposed the intended inquiry, as the most impolitic step that could be devised, and hoped that it would be superseded by a private and amicable adjustment, contenting himself at this time with deprecating even a hasty discussion.

On the following day, Lord Castlereagh made his *exposé*



of the views and principles of the government in relation to this affair; and was answered by Mr. Brougham, whose speech excited the deepest interest, and well deserved it. He concluded, by demanding for the Queen a speedy and open trial, which accordingly took place before the assembled peers. The trial itself is far too extensive a subject for us to enter upon in this place, where, indeed, it would be out of keeping; it belongs to the province of the historian, and not to the biographer; and, therefore, we only say, that Mr. Brougham's reply to the note of Lord Liverpool—to the speech of Mr. Canning—and to the conciliatory proposition of Mr. Wilberforce—will not soon cease to be remembered. These were followed by his speech at the bar of the House of Lords, in support of the Queen's remonstrances against the intended mode of investigation—his speech against the principle of the bill of pains and penalties—his reply to the counsel for the crown, and afterwards to the Lord Chancellor—and finally, his defence of the Queen against the several charges.

On the merits of this extraordinary case, it is not our business to offer an opinion. We have only to place Mr. Brougham before the reader in the luminous posture and exalted light by which these events encircled him. His principles and talents had often before been put to a severe test; but it was reserved for the present occasion to draw them fully out. To describe the energy and effect of his speech in the Queen's defence, is impossible. No adequate conception of its power and greatness can be obtained from the mere reading of it. None but those who were privileged to hear it, can be competent judges of the power of mind, and of body too, which it evinced. To affirm that Mr. Brougham's speeches were incomparably the ablest that the occasion elicited, is saying but little for them. In these speeches, which may still be perused, there will be found much of eloquence to justify a comparison with the most splendid orations of Cicero or Demosthenes, or any other that can be produced; and they will



remain an imperishable monument of his gigantic intellect. It has been observed, too, that on some occasions, where nothing is to be found recorded that would excite admiration, there was that of inspiration in his look and tone, which gave an amazing power to the simplest expressions. This was particularly the case with that sentence, in reply to an application for delay, when, bursting from a quiet that looked almost concentrated into marble, he flung his hands above him, as if they had been spreading pinions, and exclaimed, "Now, my Lords ! Are you a court of justice ?"

It is time, however, that we now direct our attention to Mr. Brougham's efforts in favour of education ; and it will be useful to the reader to have this subject traced from the beginning. Prior to his entering parliament, he published a pamphlet, entitled "Practical Observations on the Education of the People," which appeared anonymously, and was probably intended by its author to sound the public pulse, and pave the way for other contemplated and more important projects. His first great parliamentary effort on this subject was made on the 21st of May, 1816, when he moved for a select committee of the House of Commons, to inquire into the state of education among the lower orders of the people in London, Westminster, and Southwark.

On this occasion, speaking of the abuses in schools, the funds of which consisted of landed and freehold property, he remarked—"In one instance, where the funds of the charity are £450, one boy only is boarded and educated. In another case, where the revenue of the establishment is £1,500 a year, the appointment of a master lying in the lord of the manor, that gentleman gave it to a clergyman, who, out of this sum, paid a carpenter in the village, £40 for attending the school. The funds in the whole country, applicable to the education of the poor, could not," he said, "be less than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds." This glance at the evil which it was proposed to remedy, is given, merely to shew the magnitude of the task which



the honourable member had undertaken, and the firm and fearless manner in which he proceeded to execute his purpose.

In the evidence of this committee, much information on the state of the different charity schools in the metropolis was produced; and the day after its sittings were concluded, a brief report was presented to the House, recommending that parliament should take proper measures for extending the blessings of education to the lower class of the community, as well as for inquiring into the management of charitable donations made for their instruction. As the best method of effecting this object, a parliamentary commission was recommended.

The general result of this committee, was, to bring the following distinct matters under consideration:—1. The present condition of the lower orders of the metropolis.—2. Plans for promoting education among them, as well as for bettering, by other methods, their moral and general state.—3. The propriety or impropriety of connecting the national religion with national education.—4. The nature and state of all charitable institutions whatever.—5. The circumstances and administration of the great public schools and of the two Universities in England; and, lastly, sundry charges of malversation and robbery of the poor, adduced against some persons of exalted character in the country. This was opening a wide field for inquiry and discussion; and, to have induced subjects like these to be fully considered and investigated—to have laid before the opened eyes and awakened attention of the community, large volumes of evidence bearing upon matters of the most vital importance, would, were it the only act of a public man, richly entitle him to the thanks and the esteem of his country. In concocting and supporting such projects as these, Mr. Brougham has conferred a benefit on the nation, which even England could hardly repay.

It is a proverbial saying, “He that would do good, must be content to make enemies.” That the head masters of pub-



lic schools should dislike to be authoritatively summoned up to London, and examined with little more ceremony than they used to their own scholars—that ill-regulated institutions should object to the examination of their charters—that the Quarterly Review should declare the crown and the church to be threatened with danger, denounce Mr. Brougham as a Scotchman and a dissenter, and appeal to the romantic attachment of the nobility and gentry of England for the scenes of their early instruction—are all matters of course, and could excite no surprise. But in his attempts to correct long-standing abuses, and carry into effect his plans of education, Mr. Brougham met with opposition from a quarter which he had not anticipated, as will presently appear.

The committee having finished their inquiries, and made their report thereon, in the year 1818, on the orders of the day being read for the house to go into a committee on “the Education of the Poor Bill,” Mr. Brougham rose, and addressed the senators in a speech of extraordinary power, a speech which extorted commendation from Lord Castle-reagh, carried the house along with him, and made an impression on the country, which his subsequent display of eloquence has not effaced. From this time his position was fixed; his powers of expression, his unweariedness of research, as well as the stern and daring tone of his mind, were acknowledged and felt. He now stood forward as the friend and powerful advocate of the poor. If the people wish to know who are their real and most valuable friends—if they are desirous of distinguishing those who seek to oppress them on the one hand, or such as seek to impose on and cajole them on the other, from the men who are solicitous for improving their condition, and are honestly anxious for their advantage—they have only to draw a line between the advocates for, and the enemies to, their instruction. It is as one of the most earnest and zealous of the latter—it is for what he has done to promote education, and to diffuse knowledge, that the present Lord Chancellor will



take a higher place in history than even as the great statesman and orator of his country. The name of Brougham is identified with—the plan for a national system of instruction—the Mechanic's Institute—the London University—and the Society for Useful Knowledge. By these various endeavours he has sought to clear away the clouds and thick darkness which have so long rested on the land; and to make knowledge an inheritance, common as the air, to all, instead of its being monopolized by a privileged order. But to proceed :

The charges brought against the committee, and the commission afterwards proposed; the manner in which the powers of that commission were restricted in the House of Lords, and the name of Mr. Brougham, to whom it owed its existence, omitted among the nominations of the crown, formed the subject of numerous pamphlets which at that time issued from the press, and among the rest, one from the pen of Mr. Brougham himself, entitled, "A Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly," &c. in which he defended his plan of education from the various attacks with which it had been assailed—resolving the opposition that was made to it, into "a determined resolution to screen delinquents, to perpetuate negligences, and respect malversation."

In 1820, a year memorable to him in many respects, Mr. Brougham brought forward his celebrated plan of education; and here, though the object in view was generally admitted to be desirable, such were the difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, that almost every class of men had some objection to its being carried into effect, in the only practicable way. But the main difficulty, and, there is good reason to believe, that which determined its author at last to abandon it, arose on the part of the dissenters. To them it appeared that, at least, certain enactments of the bill originated in imperfect information respecting the number of dissidents in the country. To them it appeared strange that the liberal and candid promoter of the bill should have paid so little regard to their numbers, their



property, their intelligence, and especially their moral and religious character, as to subject the whole to the conduct and management of the clergy of the established church ! The progress of the bill was assiduously watched by the committee and secretaries of the "Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty," and a deputation appointed to confer with Mr. Brougham on those clauses in it, which were thought peculiarly objectionable;—the result of which was, the scheme fell to the ground, and was altogether abandoned.

It is neither matter of surprise nor of grief that the education bill did not succeed. Were this the place for entering upon a discussion of it, the fate of the bill would shield it from the censure which it deserved, while the immediate causes of that fate would deprive us of all power to commend any thing beyond the motive in which it took its rise. How a person of Mr. Brougham's intellectual acuteness could imagine the instruments, which the bill proposed to employ in the work of national education, at all fit for the task ; or how his discriminating and prophetic eye could see, in the bill itself, that complete machinery which the important work to be produced required, must ever remain a mystery to many. Happily, however, the failure of the bill had no effect in damping Mr. Brougham's ardour in the cause of education ; on the contrary, it only served to give additional zest to his endeavours to promote the same benevolent object by other and better digested methods.

On the 11th of February, 1822, we find Mr. Brougham, at the close of a very elaborate speech, bringing forward the following resolution, "That it is the bounden duty of this house, well considering the pressure of the public burdens on all classes of the community, and particularly on the agricultural classes, to pledge itself to obtain, for a suffering people, such a reduction of taxation as will afford them effectual relief." This proposition was opposed by ministers, as leading to no practical purpose, and the motion was negatived by a considerable majority.



During the same session, June 24th, Mr. Brougham proposed a resolution to this effect,—“That the influence of the crown is unnecessary to the maintenance of its due prerogatives, destructive of the independence of parliament, and inconsistent with the good government of the state.” This resolution was introduced by a long speech, in the course of which, the honourable and learned mover displayed his peculiar talents for irony with singular brilliancy and success. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the motion was lost.

The parliamentary history of 1823 is memorable for a schism in the opposition occasioned by the Catholic question, then introduced by Mr. Plunkett, now Lord Plunkett, the lord chancellor of Ireland. On the 18th of April, on which day this matter was brought forwards, Mr. Canning gave the question for emancipation his personal support; but it soon appeared, that the weight of the cabinet, of which he formed a part, was on the other side. Mr. Brougham perceiving this, rose, and, in a speech characterized by more than his ordinary vehemence, charged the right honourable secretary with truckling to the lord chancellor, Eldon, declaring that he (Mr. Canning) had exhibited the most incredible specimen of monstrous truckling, for the purpose of obtaining office, which the whole history of political tergiversation could furnish. Mr. Canning instantly took fire, and, turning to the Speaker, said, “I rise to say, *that is false!*” A deep silence ensued—Mr. Brougham sat down, and the Speaker rose—a long and animated discussion took place, which ended in a motion, “that the serjeant at-arms should take both the honourable members into custody.” The friends of the parties interfered, and happily prevailed upon both gentlemen to “think no more of the matter.” When the question for the order of the day was read, all the opposition members left the house, and Mr. Plunkett’s motion was lost.

We are next called to contemplate Mr. Brougham, applying his powerful mind and transcendent talents in the



defence of a much injured individual, in a far-distant quarter of the world. This was a Mr. John Smith, a missionary in the colony of Demerara, whose only crime was, that he had devoted his whole life to ameliorate the condition of the slave population, by enlightening their minds, and soothing their sorrows under the miseries which they endured. A revolt having taken place among the slaves, on the 18th of August, 1823, on which occasion Smith exerted himself to the utmost of his power, and even at the risk of his own life, in persuading them to desist; a *suspicion* arose in the minds of the planters, that he had somehow influenced the slaves in their rising. On the 21st of August, he was arrested by a military force, tried by court-martial, found guilty without evidence, and cast into jail, where he languished from August 1823 to February 6th, 1824, when death released him from his sufferings. On the intelligence of the unrighteous and cruel proceedings against him reaching England, Mr. Brougham, June 1st, 1824, introduced the subject into the House of Commons, and moved an address to the King, in an able speech, in which he argued that Smith could not legally be tried by a court-martial; that the court-martial, even supposing it possessed any jurisdiction, had exceeded its authority; that every rule of evidence had been most flagrantly violated; that upon the evidence, as it stood, there was clear proof, not of Smith's guilt, but of his innocence: and that, even if it were allowed that he had been guilty of misprision of treason, he could not be condemned capitally for that offence. Unhappily, however, at the moment Mr. Brougham was triumphantly establishing every one of these positions, the persecuted missionary had breathed his last in a loathsome dungeon, where, loaded with a felon's and traitor's chains, he sunk beneath the unprovoked cruelty of his oppressors. It should be recorded to the honour of Mr. Brougham, that he instituted this measure in the British senate, and condemned the whole proceedings—and to the disgrace of Mr. Canning, that he stood forward as their apologist, and threw his



shield around the delinquents who had condemned the innocent to death!

Passing over various efforts of minor consideration, both in and out of parliament, which in a detailed memoir might deservedly claim a place, we now proceed to the most splendid period in the life of Mr. Brougham as a lawyer, and a legislator. In pursuance of a notice which he had given in the preceding session, he brought forward, on the 7th of February, 1828, a motion "touching the state of the law, and its administration in the courts of justice, with a view to such reform as time may have rendered necessary, and experience may have shewn to be expedient." The speech which introduced this motion was as remarkable for its length, as for its luminousness; and though it occupied six hours and a half in the delivery, the attention of the house was riveted in fixed admiration during the whole time. The tenor of this wonderful oration evinced, in a striking manner, Mr. Brougham's disposition to concern himself heartily for the good of the people. The wish to examine and amend is so clearly displayed, and the general abstinence of a powerful rhetorician from any needless rhetorical display, is so marked and praiseworthy, that it deserves to be estimated as one of the most valuable speeches ever delivered in the House of Commons. The comprehensiveness of its plan, so infinitely surpassing what was ever proposed by Mr. Peel, makes it little better than farcical to consider that gentleman's proceedings in the same cause, as any thing more than a useful appendage to Mr. Brougham's, and to those disgracefully frustrated attempts of Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh. The conclusion of the speech in question deserves to be quoted as a particularly impressive example of eloquence, and one in which the moral sublime of the sentiment was carried as far as was likely to be tolerated—in that august assembly.

"To me," said Mr. Brougham, "much reflecting on these subjects, it has always seemed, that there is no prize of



ambition, which a man can honestly covet, so desirable as the glory of having been the humble instrument of directing the attention of the legislature to these high matters. I value it far above office, whose patronage would be irksome—whose emoluments I disregard; content, like the rest of my industrious countrymen, with providing by the labour of my own hands for my own necessities. As to the power which belongs to great place, in which, as has been truly said, “men are thrice servants,” I have lived for nearly half a century, and have learnt that its real worth can only consist in the ability it affords to aid our fellow-creatures in obtaining their just rights. That power I possess—the grievances of my countrymen I can assist in redressing, whether as their advocate in this house, or as their coadjutor out of it. That power no minister can give—no change can take away.” Occasionally relieving the dry portions of his subject with those convincing general arguments, those flashes of wit, and those bursts of eloquence, which Mr. Brougham knows so well how to employ, still the speech was one of the most patient and elaborate investigation.

We have now the pleasing task of introducing Mr. Brougham in a point of view somewhat distinct from any in which he has hitherto been exhibited; namely, as the firm and consistent friend of religious liberty. About the period of his political life, of which we have been speaking, two important measures were brought before parliament, and, after much discussion, both were eventually carried. These were, the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts—and what is usually termed Catholic emancipation; and, in both instances, the relieved parties owe great obligation to Mr. Brougham.

The question of relieving Protestant dissenters from the penal disabilities to which they had been long subjected, had frequently been brought under the notice of parliament in the days of Mr. Fox, who had ably advocated the cause of religious liberty by his powerful eloquence, though with



little effect. It was not until the year 1828, that any thing could be done to purpose, in removing from the statute book those odious enactments. Reserving to the "sketch," which will hereafter be given of the public life of Lord John Russell, a more detailed account of these proceedings, it may suffice in this place to state, that on every occasion Mr. Brougham lent his powerful aid to this good cause. His speech, on the debate which took place, February 29th, 1828, in reply to Mr. Peel, who was then minister, and had strongly opposed the motion for repeal, deserves to be mentioned not less for its sound constitutional principles and liberal views, than for the manly eloquence which was displayed in the delivery. The dissenters felt their obligations for such important aid, and thanks were voted to him by several committees and Protestant associations.

The repeal of the Corporation and Test acts seemed to involve in its train the relief of the Catholics from their civil disabilities ; nevertheless, to carry this into effect, required persevering exertion. An association of a very formidable aspect had been in existence in Ireland for some years, and, on the opening of parliament in 1825, notice was taken of it in the King's speech, in which it was intimated, that "proceedings had been adopted that were irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm, and by exasperating animosities, to endanger the peace of society, and retard the cause of national improvement." A long and interesting debate ensued upon this, in which Mr. Brougham took a leading part. Understanding that the cabinet was divided on the subject of the Catholic claims, and that at the head of the opposers stood the Lord Chancellor Eldon, the honourable gentleman urged it strongly on Mr. Canning and his friends not to attempt to put down the Catholic Association by the strong arm of the law, but to resort to measures of conciliation, declaring, that he was at a loss to see why they should not carry the present measure, if they set about it in good earnest.



“What !” said Mr. Brougham, “do you think the great seal would be in danger, if you persevered in pressing this question? Do you think the venerable and learned personage who holds it, would quit his possession on such an account? Alas! the very notion of such an abandonment of office is the most chimerical of all the chimeras that ever distempered the brain of a poet. Surprised, indeed, should I be, to find any official quittance in that quarter, before all sublunary things are at an end—that fear of public loss never crossed my apprehensive mind, even in a dream. You greatly undervalue the steadiness of mind and purpose of your venerable colleague: there is nothing to equal the patient assiduity with which he bears the toils of his high station, the fortitude with which he braves all opposition, when really persevered in on speculative questions. Upon all questions of foreign and domestic trade, he has, at length consented to yield to you! Ay, and so would he yield on this Catholic question, were it equally pressed on his reluctant attention.—His composure under such perplexing circumstances is only equalled by the trying fortitude with which he bears the prolonged solicitations of suitors in his own court; and to suppose that he would quit office on this account, was really to harbour the vainest fear that ever crossed the most fantastical imagination. His colleagues would see this, were they only again to make the attempt upon the prepossessions of his great mind: they would soon find the predominating prevalence of that patriotic feeling—that there was no principle so strong as the love of saving one’s country—and that in no office was it so forcibly felt as in those of the highest rank, where it prevailed to such an extent, from possessing the most extensive and most powerful patronage and connexions; so that, by how much the more powerful and profitable were the office, by so much higher would be that ardour, and zeal, and self-devotion, which would not allow the venerable the wise, and good man, at all hazard of personal opinions, to tear himself from the service of his country. To damp



such zeal for the public service, would be, I repeat, to possess a power which could only be conjured up by one of those miracles, like Prince Hohenloe's, that one sometimes hears of. To remove this great personage would be a real miracle. The seals are his estate—his freehold for life. He has secured the term, and his last breath will be poured forth in the public service. The only question in law upon the matter is, who is to appoint his successor. He is not, for his unabated desire to do good to mankind, to be restricted to a mere life-interest—the office must in him be devisable, and for the uses of his will."

During the same session, Mr. Goulburn moved for leave to bring in a bill, having for its object to put down the Catholic Association, when a debate of as prolonged and stubborn a nature as had been known for years, ensued. It was continued during four adjourned sittings, and, in the course of it, the general question of the state of Ireland—the question of Catholic emancipation—and all collateral questions and subjects, which were supposed in any way to bear on that before the house, were introduced, and stated with various degrees of clearness and force. When Mr. Peel, Mr. Denman, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Canning, and a host of inferior persons, had spoken, Mr. Brougham rose, and avowed that he stood before the house "as the defender of the Catholic Association—as the advocate of the Irish people to meet, to consult, to petition, to remonstrate—ay, and to demand their just rights. And, more than that, he would declare his frank and solemn opinion, which he hoped would reach Ireland as well as England, that the firmer and stronger they remonstrated, provided it was done peaceably, the greater would be their just prospect of success in obtaining those privileges which made life desirable, and the existence of man useful to himself and to his country."

He then took up the speeches on the ministerial side in regular succession, exposed their fallacy, and, in conclusion, called upon the members of the government, by the respon-



sibility of their stations—by their characters as statesmen—by every principle of policy and prudence, to deal with the Catholics, not by feelings of hatred, but of charity—not by measures of oppression, but of conciliation; and to reflect, ere it was too late, on the consequences which must result from the passing of this bill. It would for ever alienate the Catholics from them—turn discontent into rage—and arm rage with new weapons. “On your heads!” said Mr. Brougham, addressing himself to the ministerial benches—“on your heads be the consequences of this misguided policy; and you, not we, must have to answer for it, if your present measures should have, as they must have, the effect of tearing Ireland from this country.”

This may serve as a specimen of Mr. Brougham’s conduct in relation to the Roman Catholic question, and it furnishes another addition to the names of Grattan, Burke, Fox, Plunkett, and Canning, which may be inscribed on the banners of emancipation. Though his opposition to the coercive measures of government was at the time unavailing, and the bill brought in and passed, its continuance was of short duration—even the Duke of Wellington despaired of keeping Ireland tranquil by acts of parliament, or the point of the bayonet, and Mr. Brougham’s counsel was their last resort.

Mr. Canning died on the 8th of August, 1827, and his grace the Duke of Wellington was called upon by the King to form a new administration, in which the noble Duke filled the station of prime minister. The session of parliament opened on the 29th of January, 1828, and the address in the Commons having been moved and seconded, Mr. Brougham rose, and delivered a speech which will never be forgotten. In the King’s speech, the defeat of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, by Admiral Codrington, was designated an “untoward event,” which gave occasion to much pointed remark and animadversion in both houses. Mr. Brougham, in particular, remarked, “This is the first time that I have ever seen men anxiously coming forward



to speak in terms of concern at an achievement of the British arms. It has been reserved for some men of the present time, to win battles, and whine—to conquer, and repine—to fight in behalf of freedom, and to be slaves—to act gloriously, and repent bitterly—to win battles in the East, and gather laurels on which cypresses are to be planted.” Having proceeded at considerable length, in this happy strain of irony, to rally two of the members of the new ministry (Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Grant) who had been members of Mr. Canning’s administration, and consequently had sanctioned the equipment of the armament which achieved the victory, Mr. Brougham proceeded—

“But, perhaps, it might be said, that the paragraph was no attack upon those gentlemen. But if so, then at least it was an attack upon the gallant officer who had conducted the fleets—who had fought and bled in the action, of which they (the ministers) were ashamed—and to the glory of which they had applied the term “untoward.” Out of this dilemma, my lord Field Marshal Duke of Wellington, there is no getting! All your battles, be they ever so bold—all your victories, be they ever so nimble, cannot get you out of it. Either you are throwing odium on Mr. Grant and Mr. Huskisson, your predecessors in office—or you mean to let those who planned the measure escape, while he that fought the battle, and led our ships on to victory, is to be held up as the object of blame, and, having been covered with honours on all sides, his conduct is to be stigmatized as “untoward,” thus throwing into the shade those honours, which are only less signal than the trophies he has won for his country. Yet, with all these feelings of anxiety pressing on my mind, I do not hesitate to declare, that I would rather see war brought upon us, than consent to the stigmatizing of the late naval action by such terms as should appear to be condemnatory of the motives which urged it on. Though I cannot view with satisfaction the military mode in which the government is constituted, represented as it is by the noble duke at the



head of the army in the other house ; and by the noble lord, the secretary at war, in this ; nor see, without alarm, the way in which our “ancient and faithful ally,” the religious and liberal Emperor of the Turks (!) is spoken of by the head of the Protestant interest in this country—by his brother, I had almost said, on the throne, I do trust that those things, which I deplore, are not an earnest of our return to that system of foreign policy—I will say, of bad foreign policy—which for so many years perverted the course of our foreign relations, and which I had fain hoped was utterly extinguished by the brilliant talent and glorious success attending that wiser, more humane, more liberal, and more truly English system, restored under the superintendence of the late Mr. Canning.

“I cannot sit down without saying a few words as to one part of the arrangements of the new government. I wholly disapprove of the commander-in-chief of the army being placed at the head of the civil government of the country. The noble duke has not only the patronage of the army and the church, and most of the other patronage of the state, but to him also is entrusted the delicate and most important function of having constant access to the ear of his royal master. We are told, indeed, of the great vigour he shews in council, and that his talents are not confined to war. It may be so ; indeed, I have no doubt it is so ! but the objection remains—he is a soldier, and a successful soldier too. When last session I heard him make that speech, in which he had the modesty and candour to declare that he knew himself incapable of speaking before their lordships, as the first minister of the country ought to be able to speak, he expressed himself with so much clearness and propriety, that I thought I had never heard a better speaker, nor a speech more suited to the occasion ! It is no compensation to me to hear, as I do hear it said, that the new first minister of state intends to turn over a new leaf, and take into his own hands all the patronage of the crown ; so that no court favourite—no peer, however great



his dignity—indeed, no minister—is to share it with him. According to my idea of the constitution, to recommend persons to certain high offices in the army, navy, state, or church, is the privilege of any friend, or other person, who has access to the minister of the crown; but on him alone rests the responsibility of the appointment. The minister, I hold, is answerable for the disposal of the patronage; because, whoever recommends, he appoints; and, therefore, he alone is responsible. Constitutionally, then, I care nothing at all about the mode in which the patronage is used, whether directly by the minister, or through him by those who surround him. I have no fear of slavery being introduced into this country by the sword. It would take a stronger man than the Duke of Wellington, though he be at once prime minister and commander-in-chief of the army; and though, added to the army, he should have the mitre, and, to that, the great seal. I will make him a present of them all; and yet, with all these powers heaped upon him, let him, sword in hand, come out against the constitution, and the people would not only beat him, but laugh at him. These are not the times when the soldier only is abroad. Somebody of more importance has risen, who has reduced the soldier to nothing, even if he were ten thousand times more potent than he is. In the nineteenth century a new power bears sway. The schoolmaster is abroad! I will trust more to him armed with his primer, than to the soldier with his bayonet! I am far, therefore, from feeling any fear as to this appointment. In giving my assent to this address, let it be understood, then, that I do so, with the exception of the passage relative to the battle of Navarino; of that passage, I wholly disapprove; and I utterly protest against it on the part of my gallant countrymen in arms—on the part of the late administration—and especially on the part of Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Grant, who are not here to defend themselves. I protest against it also on the part of this house, who will thus be induced to vote an address they do not approve, as if they



gave it their entire and cordial approbation ; and on the part of the country, who, I am morally convinced, will be filled with astonishment and disgust."

In the year 1830, Mr. Brougham moved for leave to bring in a bill, the object of which was, to furnish his countrymen with cheap law. This, he proposed to effect by establishing local jurisdictions in certain districts in England ; and in an elaborate speech which he delivered, April 29th, he took a very comprehensive view of the expenses attendant on legal process. What, therefore, he proposed was, that a barrister, of practical experience, should be appointed in every county, before whom any person might cite another who was indebted to him in the sum of ten pounds or less, and that the judge should decide on the merits of the case by hearing the parties, and appointing payments by instalments, if he should think proper. If the debt exceeded ten pounds, but not one hundred, the parties were to be allowed to employ a legal advocate to plead their cause ; but this judge was not to be allowed in any instance to decide in cases of freehold, copyhold, or leasehold property. From his decision, an appeal might be made to the judges of assize, or the courts of Westminster. The bill was accordingly brought in on the 17th of June, confining its operations to the two extremities of the kingdom, Kent, Northumberland, and Durham ; but the learned gentleman declined to press the measure during that session, and its further progress was impeded by the demise of the crown, the commencement of a new reign, and the dissolution of parliament. This, therefore, is one of the measures of improvement in the jurisprudence of the country, to which we may reasonably expect the Lord Chancellor will turn his attention, when the great object of parliamentary reform shall be attained.

The first session of parliament, under the reign of William the Fourth, commenced on the 26th of October, 1830, when the members met to be sworn in ; but it was not formally opened till November 2d, and one of its first measures



was to fix the amount of the civil list; on which question the Duke of Wellington and his friends were outvoted, and in a few days gave in their resignation. In the mean time, Mr. Brougham again introduced his local jurisdiction bill, which was allowed to pass the stages to which it had arrived during the former session; but, having reached this, its merits were left for discussion to a future occasion, which the new order of things, immediately succeeding, has hitherto suspended.

On the 22d of November, the Right Honourable Henry Brougham took his seat in the House of Lords, upon the woolsack, as Baron Brougham and Vaux, Lord High Chancellor, and Speaker of the House of Peers. The patent by which he was created, was not received by the clerk of parliament until the 23d of that month, when the noble Lord was introduced to the House by the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Durham.

Though a little out of place, it may not be amiss here to mention, that one of Mr. Brougham's last acts as a barrister was, to address Mr. Justice Bayley, on his removal from the Court of King's Bench to the Court of Exchequer, which took place on the 11th of November. Having asked his lordship if he expected to be on the bench next morning, and receiving for answer, that he should not; as his resignation was to be given in that night—Mr. Brougham then said, "My Lord, I am deputed by the Bar to state, that it is with the deepest regret, however complete and unbounded may be their confidence in the residue of the court, that they find themselves deprived of a judge, whose consummate learning, great integrity, and uniform courtesy, they have for such a series of years experienced with so much satisfaction and delight. While they regret this painful separation, they are aware that a kind deference to the expression of feeling on the part of the Bar, eight years ago, delayed this tearing asunder of ties so dear, for so long a time." Mr. Justice Bayley said, "that he could not leave the court without expressing the great obligation



which he felt to Mr. Brougham, and the Bar generally, for the kind sentiments they expressed towards him. He should leave it, beyond a doubt, with deep regret, for he could not look back to the period to which Mr. Brougham referred, nor indeed to the whole period of twenty-two years, during which he had practised in that court, without feeling extremely thankful for the uniform kindness and attention of the Bar. Both in that court and on the circuit, he had experienced their kindness, and he felt that his life had been extended by the support which they had given him." The Bar then rose, and bowed respectfully to the learned judge, as he retired with Lord Tenterden from the court.

Here we pause. Of Lord Brougham's conduct since his elevation to the high station which he now holds, this is not the place to speak: it will be noticed in the historical department of the present volume. At present we merely say, that his first essay has been to introduce an entirely new order of things in the bankrupt laws; in which he has been violently opposed by a host of attorneys, with the celebrated Sir Charles Wetherell at their head; but his bill has been brought in, discussed, and made the law of the land, to the great satisfaction of the bankers and merchants, whose complaints against the old system had become both deep and loud. How far the new one will be found to answer the hopes and expectations that have been formed of it, time alone can shew. It would, however, be unjust to Lord Brougham to omit mentioning, that by this new bill he deprives himself of seven to eight thousand pounds of his income as chancellor—a no slight proof, surely, of his disinterestedness.

Before we dismiss this article, it will be expected that we offer somewhat of a concentrated view of the character and talents of Lord Brougham. To do this, however, is a task of no ordinary difficulty, as we think must be felt by any one who attempts it; and perhaps the wisest plan would be, to allow every reader to be his own reviewer, and to form his own estimate from the narrative before him.



It has been justly observed by one of our best writers, that the Author of nature has thought fit to mingle, from time to time, among the societies of men, a few, and but a few, of those on whom he is pleased to bestow a larger portion of the ethereal spirit than is given in the ordinary course to the sons of men. These are they who are born to instruct, to guide, and to preserve—who are designed to be the tutors and guardians of mankind. That Lord Brougham is one of this favoured class, perhaps, few of his cotemporaries will be hardy enough to dispute. He has risen, in the course of, comparatively, a few years, from obscurity to the highest honours of the state—the very acmé of political power and popularity. And in this, he owes nothing to birth, fortune, or family connections; he has been the architect of his own fame; and the honours he has attained have been won honourably. Let us search history where we may, we shall find few examples of a statesman having passed to office by a broader and more straight-forward road—few instances of an individual having more closely connected the public interests with his own, than the present Lord Chancellor of England. He does not derive his present greatness from his superiority to other men in any one single line of excellence, whether it be learning, eloquence, a profound acquaintance with jurisprudence, or political sagacity—but from the universality of his genius and talents, and from the felicitous combination of the whole of the afore-mentioned excellencies meeting in his character. That the party to whom he has uniformly been opposed in his political views, should labour to depreciate his talents, and endeavour to sink him to their own level, is all matter of course; but whatever Lord Brougham may be, as compared with the great men who are no more; whatever posterity may decide respecting him, when he has ceased to exist in the eye of the present generation; to us, who now hear him—by the side of those, and some not unworthy rivals, near whom he stands—he is confessedly, and unequivocally, the



master-mind, the superior spirit, whose word animates, awes, soothes, electrifies ; to whom no one is ashamed to confess himself unequal in that art which Cicero places next to that of arms ; and which, perhaps, holds a still higher rank than military science, in a peaceable, and well-ordered, commonwealth.

Public talent is very much, and, no doubt, very properly measured by its public utility. The Lord Chancellor is now in a position in which he may give full scope to his genius, in which he may excite and encourage all the faculties which nature has given him, and carry them to perfection. He is now in a position, in which his energies may assume the nervous, masculine, and well-directed energies of power. He no longer labours under the chilling conviction, which must ever attend the leader of opposition—the chilling conviction that all his efforts are to be overpowered by a majority of votes. He acts under the full and thrilling sensation, that every word which falls from his lips will have an influence on the destinies of the world. It was in this elevated position, that he was seen and heard on the second reading of the reform bill, October 7th, 1831, when, according to the report of a leading journalist, his speech “eclipsed every effort of oratory made within the walls of parliament in the memory of the living generation ; and, probably, nothing is to be found more splendid, more powerful, more convincing, in the whole range of ancient or modern eloquence. It was a noble, a prodigious specimen of the power of the human intellect. But to produce its full effect, it must have been heard from the lips of the transcendent orator himself, for no report can do it justice. And even were it possible to give his words entire, where are the expressive looks, the commanding gestures—above all, the emphatic, the sublime intonations of his various voice ?”

In forming a proper estimate of the powers of that mind which could produce this most extraordinary effusion, it must be recollected, that it was after a discussion of almost



unexampled length, and certainly of unexampled power, that the Chancellor rose to express his opinion on a subject, which, for many months, had excited all the talent, exhausted, as it was to be supposed, all the eloquence of the sternest and subtlest minds; a subject, on which had been collected and concentrated the clearest expressions of reason, the most vivid conceptions of fancy—a subject, which art and genius—every energy quickened by interest, every pulse throbbing for power—had taken as the arena of political contention. In such a struggle, it was necessary that Lord Brougham should surpass all others. His triumph was to be as imposing, or his failure was to be as signal, as the tone which he assumed, and the position in which he placed himself, were lofty and conspicuous. That he succeeded under these circumstances, places him beyond dispute, among the greatest of those men in modern times, who are his rivals in the same art. He bore away the palm under unprecedented difficulties, and such as no one but himself could have surmounted.

As to his qualifications for office, whether as a statesman or as lord chancellor, his own conduct affords ample means of forming a judgment. It would not be easy to find an individual better acquainted with our colonies or provinces—with our allies and enemies; with the rights and privileges of the former—with the dispositions and conditions of the latter; with the interests of them all, relative to the empire—with the interests of the empire, relative to them. Nor should his industry, application, and habits of business, be overlooked in this account. It is well known that at the time of his being raised to the Chancery bench, that court had sunk into the veriest contempt, in consequence of the multiplicity of business which had fallen into arrear, and the enormous amount of property that was placed in abeyance, much of which had remained for a lapse of time in that state. Yet in the short space of one single year, or thereabouts, by indefatigable industry—sitting from ten in the morning, and often till eleven or twelve at night—



the whole of the cases in arrear were disposed of; so that, on the 25th of September, 1831, when the Marquis of Londonderry thought proper to make an attack upon his Lordship, for negligence in keeping his place upon the woolsack, he was able to meet the complaint, and render an account of his conduct, that was most triumphant to himself, and confounding to the assailing party.

It is said by those who enjoy the honour of a personal intimacy with the Lord Chancellor, that his character as a private individual is remarkably amiable. Place him in the midst of his family; let him be surrounded by those who worship his superiority, and that superiority can hardly be said to exist. Fond and affectionate to his kindred—never forgetful of an old friend—gay, gentle, amiable—the life and soul of every society in which he finds himself at home—as ready to play the school-boy, as if he had a bag of marbles in his pocket, or was going to get up at five o'clock next morning for a fox-chase—he possesses in an eminent degree that conjunction of moral energy with animal spirits, which startled the traveller when Montesquieu leaped over a stile, and which led Machiavel to a wrestling-match.

Marvellous things are related concerning Lord Brougham's quickness in doing any thing, as well as his rare felicity in being able to do all things at the same time. We have heard that he can read, so as to master perfectly, the contents of two quarto volumes in one hour—"that he can despatch three letters, three newspapers, three bottles of wine, and three applicants for livings, in a quarter of an hour!" According to Mr. Hazlitt, "he writes almost as well as he speaks. In the midst of an election contest, he comes out to address the populace, and goes back to his study to finish an article for the *Edinburgh Review*. Such is the activity of his mind, that it appears to require neither repose, nor any other stimulant than a delight in its own exercise. He can turn his hand to any thing, but he cannot be idle. He is, in fact, a striking instance of the versa-



tility and strength of the human mind ; and, also, in one sense, of the length of human life ; for, if we make a good use of our time, there is room enough to crowd almost every art and science into it." For our own parts, when such extraordinary tales are related to us, we are reminded of the saying of Johnson—"Where much is affirmed, the probability is, that *something* at least is true." When we think of all with which the public is acquainted, there seems no want of private evidence to prove the rare abilities, the various accomplishments, the restless and indefatigable energies of that illustrious individual, whose public character we have now concisely and imperfectly sketched.

The following vivid description of Mr. Brougham's appearance at the bar, and address in pleading, as given by a gentleman, who went on purpose to hear him at the York assizes about two years ago, may not be unacceptable to the reader, as a supplement to what we have written.

"He rose with an expression of staid gravity and collected power. His exordium was deliberative and impressive, and I was particularly struck with the fixedness of his gaze. He seemed not so much to look *at* the jury, as to look *through* them, and to fix his eye upon them, less for the purpose of seeing how they felt, than to rivet their attention, and, as it were, to grasp their minds by the compass of his own. The small grey eye, which in his quiescent state reveals to you nothing, now became keen and strong as the eagle's. The stedfastness of his look, together with the calm and masterly manner in which he disposed of the preliminary considerations, reminded me of an experienced general quietly arranging his forces, and preparing to bear down in overwhelming strength upon a single point. His voice became loud and commanding, his action animated, and his eloquence was poured forth like a torrent, strong, copious, and impetuous. He first took extensive views, and laid down general principles applicable to the case ; then he applied these to the particular facts, examining the testimony of each witness, and



shewing its weakness, the suspicion attaching to it, and its inconsistency, either with itself, or with the other parts of the evidence. He displayed as much skill in exposing and concentrating the weakness of the opposite side, as in exhibiting his own strength. He lashed some of the witnesses without mercy, and covered them with his sarcasm. His sneer was terrible. He then unfolded his own case with great clearness, and made it appear that he had evidence which would quite overthrow that of the other side, and leave not the shadow of a doubt on the minds of the jury. The case being one which required both physical and metaphysical observations, from involving a question of bodily and mental derangement, Mr. Brougham's universal knowledge enabled him to treat it in a very luminous manner. He seemed to combine the professional skill of the physician with the just and profound views of the philosopher. He gave a most striking picture of the diseased and doting testator, colouring it with almost poetical brilliancy, and bringing out the features with a breadth and force peculiarly his own. He gathered his illustrations from nature and from art, and levied contributions on science and literature. Every thing in the manner and matter of the orator bespoke power—the strength of his voice, the sweep of his arm, the piercing glance of his eye, his bitter scorn, his blazing indignation, the force of his arguments, the inevitable thrust of his retort, and the nervous vigour of his style. He despises the graces of elocution, but seems to have unlimited confidence in the strength and resources of his intellect. In short, this was the highest oratorical achievement it has fallen to my lot to hear, and it was of course successful, though it was not one of his grandest efforts.”



THE RIGHT HON.

## LORD JOHN RUSSELL,

*Paymaster-General of His Majesty's Forces.*

THE family of "Russell" has long held a distinguished rank among the nobility of this country. This illustrious house may be traced back as far as the fifth year of Henry the Third, A.D. 1230, when Francis Russell was constable of Corfe Castle. To pursue its lineal descent during an interval of five hundred years, or expatiate on the virtues of its members at different periods, as senators and statesmen, as patriots and heroes, would, in this place, be out of keeping, and we, therefore, abstain from the pleasing task. It may suffice to say, that the first Duke of Bedford was William Russell, father of the celebrated patriot, whom Charles the Second caused to be beheaded. John, the second Duke, and grandfather to the subject of this memoir, was born September, 30th, 1710, and became a lord commissioner of the admiralty, and member of the privy-council in 1744—warden of the New Forest, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Bedford, in 1745—one of the principal secretaries of state in 1747—lord lieutenant of the county of Devon in 1751—governor-general of Ireland in 1756—in 1762, he was British plenipotentiary to the court of France; and signed, at Fontainbleau, the preliminaries of peace with France and Spain. He died in 1771, leaving several children.



His eldest son, the Marquis of Tavistock, having the misfortune to lose his life by a fall from his horse when hunting, the ducal title devolved upon his younger brother, Francis, then in childhood, but who afterwards became the great Duke of Bedford, eminently distinguished for his agricultural pursuits, and not less so for his talents and influence as a senator—the friend of Fox and Grey—and whose early death in the prime of life, and full vigour of manhood, may be regarded as a public national calamity. This event transferred the honours and emoluments of the dukedom to his brother, the present Duke of Bedford, of whose numerous family, the Right Honourable, the Paymaster-general, is the third son.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL was born, August 19th, 1792, and consequently is now about forty years of age. Being constitutionally delicate, it was thought advisable to place him in a private rather than public school, and accordingly he was sent to receive the elementary branches of his education under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Smith, who for many years presided over a school of high reputation at Woodnesborough, near Sandwich, in Kent. In this seminary, there were at the same time, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Clare, and the present Duke of Leinster. From Woodnesborough, his lordship, after a time, was sent to the university of Cambridge, where he completed his education; and returned home with a mind well instructed in the principles of history, philosophy, legislation, commerce, and the sciences in general. His familiar acquaintance with these important subjects qualified him in no ordinary degree for entering upon public life, and acquitting himself in whatever he undertook, so as to command a high degree of respect from those around him.

His lordship became a member of parliament at an early age, and spoke, for the first time, in July 1814, on the alien-act repeal bill. He avowed his disapprobation of the war against Buonaparte, and took occasion to observe, when Mr. Methuen expressed his gratification that England had



become a rallying point for legitimacy, that if the honourable member's doctrines had prevailed, George the Third would have been the possessor of a German electorate, instead of the imperial throne of Great Britain. In 1818, he became member for Tavistock; and on Sir Francis Burdett's motion for reform in 1819, he avowed himself friendly to triennial parliaments. In the following year, he was elected for the county of Huntingdon, which he continued to represent till the year 1826.

It is pleasing to revert to his introduction into the senate of the nation, and to find him commencing his parliamentary career as the avowed champion of reform, and the determined enemy of all political profligacy and corruption—a course from which he has never deviated, but, on the contrary, has pursued it through evil report and good report, at one time disheartened, and at another cheered and animated with occasional success, till he is brought eventually to that elevated station, where he can stand, and contemplate the happy result of much of his labours.

62? ?  
Having given the previous notice, it was on the 14th of December, 1819, that Lord John Russell introduced his first motion on the subject of parliamentary reform, which he prefaced with a speech that gave presage of his future usefulness, and commanded considerable attention from the house. The subject, he remarked, on which he addressed them, was of national importance, and called for their deliberate consideration. "It was impossible, he said, not to perceive that there were two parties in that house, between whom there prevailed at that moment an extreme degree of irritation; the one urging unreasonable demands, and the other meeting every demand with a peremptory denial—the one claiming unknown privileges and imaginary rights, and the other ready to cast into oblivion all those ancient liberties which our ancestors had shed their blood to establish, and ready to endanger them for ever, in order to obtain a temporary security and qualification." His lordship then adverted to the notorious abuses which



so glaringly prevailed in reference to small and decayed boroughs, and urged upon parliament the transfer of the elective franchise from them to the populous towns of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, and Halifax. In conclusion, he submitted to the house the following four resolutions:—the first was a provision against bribery and corruption at elections—the second, against continuing the representation to any place convicted of these evils—the third resolution was declaratory of the duty of the House of Commons in these respects—and the fourth and last was, that the borough of Grampound, in Cornwall, should be made the first example of deprivation. The resolutions were seconded by Lord Normanby; but a new turn was given to the subject by Lord Castlereagh, who proposed going into a committee on the last resolution alone, without entering upon the great question of parliamentary reform. Thus the delinquency of Grampound became the prime object of attention, and the other resolutions were withdrawn.

The principal object which Lord John Russell had in contemplation being thus obtained, his Lordship gave notice that, on a future day, he should move for the disfranchisement of the borough of Grampound. Accordingly, on the 19th of May, 1820, the bill was brought in without opposition, and read a first time. The second reading, however, gave rise to an extended debate. The corrupt state of the borough was too notorious to be denied—its fame was spread through the whole country. The question, therefore, was not whether Grampound was innocent or guilty, for this admitted of no dispute. One of the aldermen of the borough, when examined in committee, had candidly acknowledged that there were not more than three or four uncorrupt electors in the whole place! The subject of contention was, whether the elective franchise should be transferred to some large unrepresented town, or that the county of York should have an additional member. Lord Eldon contended stiffly in behalf of the unbribed, or



rather undetected, voters of Grampound; being unwilling, as he said, to involve the innocent with the guilty. Lord John Russell, on the contrary, exerted himself in favour of Leeds.

Having brought the house, however, to a kind of pledge, that this corrupt borough should no longer disgrace the representation of the country, and feeling himself secure on that point, his lordship triumphantly exclaimed, "Alas! the glory of Grampound is gone for ever! The electors will no more have the pleasure of witnessing an honourable baronet, (adverting to Sir Manasseh Lopez,) out of pure motives of charity, sending confidential agents to relieve their distresses, and minister to their wants. No more shall they be delighted with the gratifying spectacle of the merchants of London contending for the honour of representing them in parliament. Never again shall they have the satisfaction of almost murdering those who had the hardihood to propound the bribery oath to them."

This masterly mock lamentation over the political death of this rotten borough, was greatly cheered by all the friends of reform, and hailed as a favourable omen of what was the general feeling of the house on the subject of reform; and subsequent years have demonstrated that the indications then given were not delusive. We are not, however, to suppose that because Grampound was selected as an example, that this borough was more deeply involved in elective degeneracy than many other of the Cornish boroughs, which had the good fortune to escape detection. It was only a fair sample of what the market afforded; but, happening to be caught in the nefarious traffic, Grampound was made the first victim of punishment, and exhibited as a beacon to others, who might thereby be taught to transact their abominations with a little more regard to decency and public opinion.

Lord John Russell having succeeded in carrying the second reading of his bill, found it advisable to let it stand over for the present session of parliament, in consequence



of the affairs of her late Majesty, Queen Caroline, engrossing, so completely as they then did, the public mind, and the attention of the legislature. But in the month of February, 1821, the bill was again brought forward, and carried triumphantly through both houses of parliament, with little opposition, except what arose from deciding whether the town of Leeds or the county of York should profit from the disfranchisement of Grampound; and the majority was in favour of the latter. Thus was the first step in parliamentary reform gained, and a precedent laid for those ulterior measures, which, after the lapse of ten years, are upon the eve of consummation; and, in the whole of which, Lord John Russell has sustained a leading and most honourable part—"quorum pars magna fuit!"

From this time we may regard Lord John Russell as fairly embarked in the cause of parliamentary reform; he has never ceased to stand forward as its intrepid champion: and every revolving year furnishes additional proofs of his entire devotedness to it, and to the interests of his country. The friends of civil and religious liberty, of parliamentary reform, and purity of election, must be gratified in tracing his history for the last ten or twelve years, and finding him pursuing the even tenor of his way, amidst the clamours of the boroughmongers, and the advocates of ministerial profligacy and corruption; and we shall devote a few pages to this particular subject.

The success of his lordship in procuring the disfranchisement of Grampound, encouraged the friends of reform now to bring forward propositions of a more general nature. The first attempt was a sweeping measure introduced by Mr. Lambton, (now Lord Durham,) the object of which shall be explained in our "sketch" of that noble lord's public character; at present it is sufficient to say, that after a tempestuous debate of two nights, it was negatived in the absence of the gentleman who introduced it! In about a month after this failure, Lord John Russell again came forward with a more moderate and limited motion,



which was seconded by Mr. Whitmore, but negatived by an inconsiderable majority, sufficiently small to shew that, either the ministers were very supine, or that their opponents had mustered in considerable force. The interpretation which the Whig party put upon it, however, led them to infer that the friends of reform were on the increase ; and they, therefore, resolved to seize every favourable opportunity of carrying their important object.

The year 1822 was remarkable for the very depressed state of the agricultural interest, and various meetings were consequently held, at which petitions to parliament were drawn up, imploring relief, and attributing the very general distress which prevailed, among other causes, to the want of a reformed parliament. The friends of reform, too, caught the note, convened meetings, and drew up petitions for the same object, and among these were petitions from the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Cornwall, Devon, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Surrey. On the strength of these petitions, Lord John Russell moved, "that the state of the representation required the serious attention of the house," supporting the motion by an address of considerable length. This we consider to have been his lordship's greatest parliamentary effort at that time, and the reader will not be displeased at having the substance of it laid before him.

Lord John Russell introduced the subject by remarking, that, in his opinion, the present state of the House of Commons imperatively required the most serious revision ; and if he was so fortunate as to obtain the concurrence of the house, it was his intention to bring in a bill for producing a more effectual system of representation.—After a modest acknowledgment of his own incompetency to the arduous undertaking, he spoke of the peculiar fitness of the present time for carrying such a measure into effect. The question, he said, had been so often met with fears of jacobinism in foreign nations, or of tumults at home, that it was a great advantage to him to be able to say, that our present state of



external peace, and internal tranquillity, afforded a happy opportunity for its ample discussion. His lordship pointed the attention of honourable members to the numerous petitions which had lately been presented both from counties and towns—asking for reform as a cure for existing abuses. But what species of reform was it, for which the petitioners asked? It was not for any innovation upon the constitution. They asked that the functions for granting supplies of money—of appealing for a redress of grievances—of giving advice to the crown—in short, all the legal functions of a house of commons, should be exercised by the true representatives of the people. This was the language of the petitions, and it was the undoubted language of the constitution. The question to be tried, therefore, was, not whether in law the house ought to be the representatives of the people, but whether, in truth, they now were so. It was a simple question of fact, which the house was called upon to decide; and it became necessary to take into consideration upon that question, on the one hand, the state of the house; and on the other, the condition of the people. If he could shew that the state and condition of the people had materially changed, and that the change in the state of the house had not corresponded to that improvement in the state of the people, but was of a very different and opposite tendency, he trusted it would be allowed, that the house and the people had no longer that accordance which they ought to have, and that some remedy was required: but if he further shewed that this discrepancy had made itself evident by acts which the house had done, and which the real representatives of the people never could have sanctioned, then it must be admitted—not only that there were abuses to be reformed, but that duty and love of their country, demanded of the house that they should immediately begin the work.

Lord Russell then proceeded to remark, that it could not be denied, that the people of England had undergone a considerable change during the last forty years. The wealth



of the country during that period had very considerably increased. The fact which had been mentioned by the honourable member for Winchelsea, [Mr. Brougham,] that our expenditure during the last two years of war, had amounted to two hundred and seventy millions—that fact, while it shewed the immense expenditure of the government, shewed also the very great wealth and resources of the people. That wealth and those resources tended alike to increase the importance of the middle classes of society—classes, said his lordship, which were free from the vices attendant upon wealth, and secure from those which were the concomitants of poverty. Another great cause of the improvement of the country was, the astonishing increase which had occurred of late years in our manufactures. From the year 1785 to 1792, the average amount of our exports was about thirteen millions a year. From 1792 to 1799, it was seventeen millions; and the exports of the year 1821, were stated to amount to forty millions! When to this was added the great consumption of our manufactures at home—and when it was considered, that, out of those forty millions, our export of cotton goods amounted to three and twenty millions; our woollen goods to seven millions, it must be inferred, that a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the country subsisted by those manufactures.

His lordship next proceeded to remark, that the dissemination of instruction, and improvement in knowledge, advanced even in more than equal proportion to the immense increase in manufactures and commerce. This, he contended, was a fact which must strike the most careless person who observed the vast increase of books, and the very high prices which were paid for the exercise of literary talent. In illustration of this, his lordship stated, that, being curious to gain some information on the subject, he had, some time ago, applied to an eminent bookselling house in the city, from which he had learned, that their own sale amounted to five millions of books in the year—that they



employed sixty clerks—paid a sum of five thousand five hundred pounds in advertisements—and gave constant employment to no fewer than 250 bookbinders. Another great source of information to the country was the increase of circulating libraries. In the year 1770, there were only four circulating libraries in the metropolis; there were at present one hundred. Besides these, there were from fifteen hundred to two thousand marts for the sale of books; distributing throughout the kingdom large masses of information on history, voyages, and every species of science by which the sum of human knowledge could be increased, or the human mind improved. While so many and such fruitful sources of information were thus opened to the higher orders, the means of improving the minds of the poorer classes had advanced at a pace not less rapid or less steady. First came the establishment of the Lancasterian schools, which had distributed so widely the blessings of early instruction; and to these followed the no less beneficial system of national schools, which afforded to the poor of every class education suitable to their state and condition in life. In addition to these means of improvement, another had been opened, not less advantageous to the poor—he alluded to the great facilities which at present existed, of getting the most valuable works at a rate so very cheap, as to bring them within the compass of all. An establishment had lately been commenced by a number of individuals, with a capital of not less than a million, for the purpose of printing standard works at a cheap rate. From that establishment, the works of our ablest historians, of Buffon, the Encyclopedia, and other valuable productions, were sold in small numbers at the low price of sixpence, and, by this means, sources of the highest and most useful instruction were placed within the poor man's reach. He regretted much to add, that this valuable establishment was very much checked in its operation, by the effect of one of those acts for the suppression of knowledge which were passed in 1819. He regretted this the more, as one of the



rules of that establishment had been not to allow any of the venders of their works to sell any book on the political controversies of the day.

Lord Russell now adverted to a further source of mental improvement to the great body of the people, which had recently been opened to them by means of the institution of the Bible Society—the Religious Tract Society—the Society for the Dissemination of Christian Knowledge, and other valuable associations of that description. Since the commencement of the Bible Society, it had applied the sum of £900,000 to the laudable purpose of disseminating the Holy Scriptures. From the Religious Tract Society, not fewer than four millions of tracts had been distributed; and the Society for Christian Knowledge had distributed one million of useful little works. These facts would shew the rapid strides which had been made by the public in the improvement of general knowledge. From this, his lordship proceeded to the state of political knowledge in the country, which had been so rapidly increased by the extraordinary increase in the circulation of newspapers. There were not less than twenty-three millions of newspapers sold in the country in the course of the last year—and during the last thirty years their increase had doubled.

Having made these statements, from which the house would judge of the vast increase of the wealth and importance of the country—of the rapid strides it had made in moral and political knowledge—Lord Russell now came to the other part of the inquiry, namely, whether the state of parliament was also changed, so as to represent this increased importance of the middling, the manufacturing, and the commercial classes. And here his lordship drew a picture of the House of Commons very similar to the sketch given of it in the preceding pages, in the life of Earl Grey; on which account it will not be necessary to repeat it. He went over the history of the boroughs, and shewed that 140 of them returned 280 members to parliament, making a clear majority of the house. He believed that the system



which prevailed in most of the Cornish boroughs was pretty well known: there was no community of interests between the elector and the member—the elector was utterly indifferent to the character, conduct, or sentiments of the man for whom he voted; and when once the price of the vote is paid, it is to him a matter of no earthly consequence, whether his purchaser is a Tory or a Whig—whether he belong to the house of Stuart, or the house of Brunswick, or even to the Nabob of Arcot—whether he be a supporter of despotism, or a friend of liberty. One of the worst consequences, said his lordship, of this system was, the possession of power without responsibility. He then proceeded to illustrate, which he did with great success, the miserable result of all this to the country, in the majorities which it had thrown into the hands of the minister during the late war. He analyzed the votes that had been given upon several measures of finance, for the purpose of shewing that it was no unusual thing for the representatives of the Crown and of the House of Lords completely to overbalance the representatives of the people.

Having stated at considerable length, numerous practical evils resulting from the present system of representation, his lordship said, he must be permitted to observe, that there were others to which it had given rise, much more grievous to a friend of freedom, than any which he had yet mentioned. The natural balance of the constitution was this—that the crown should appoint its ministers; that those ministers should have the confidence of the House of Commons; and that the House of Commons should represent the sense and wishes of the people. Such was the machinery of our government; and if any wheel of it went wrong, it deranged the whole system. Thus, when the Stuarts were on the throne, and their ministers did not enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons, the consequence was tumult, insurrection, and civil war throughout the country. At the present period, the ministers of the crown possessed the confidence of the House of Com-



mons, but the House of Commons did not possess the esteem and reverence of the people. The consequences to the country were equally fatal: they had seen tumult and insurrection breaking into outrage in various quarters—they had seen every excess of popular frenzy committed and defended—they had seen alarm universally prevailing among the upper classes, and disaffection among the lower—they had seen the ministers of the crown seek a remedy for those evils in a system of severe coercion, in restrictive laws, in large standing armies, in enormous barracks, and in every other symptom that belonged to an alarmed, but despotic government.

Lord Russell, in a subsequent part of his very able speech, adverted to the practices which the ministers of the crown were compelled to adopt, in order to uphold this unconstitutional system—they went about supplicating in one quarter, whining in another, and menacing in a third: they employed the whole session in courting the approbation of the great borough proprietors to the measures they had to propose. And then, after the prorogation of parliament, they found all their tricking and manœuvring of no earthly use; because, in spite of the approbation of the House of Commons, there was a free press and a public opinion, which dared to condemn their conduct, and had power enough to prevent their measures from being carried into execution. It was a matter of general notoriety before the meeting of the last parliament, that great difficulty and great distress prevailed throughout the kingdom, and that the country gentlemen, who had formerly been the staunchest supporters of administration, were decidedly of opinion that the affairs of the nation had not been wisely administered. What, then, did the ministers of the crown do, to fortify themselves against the disapprobation of the country? Did they introduce any popular measure, or look for their support in a change of popular opinion? Far from it: instead of any such plan, they went to a party well known in this country by the name of the Grenville party, and



succeeded in raising a *levy en masse* of the whole family, (Lord Grenville himself having retired from public life,) with all its train of hangers-on and dependants, who were now proclaimed as supporters of the present servants of the crown. It seemed, said his lordship, as if a press-warrant had been issued, to force into the service every individual in it who was able to bear it. One gentleman had been sent to Switzerland with a salary large enough to corrupt the whole senate of the republic. Another, like Bacchus, had obtained the conquest of India, and was to return from it laden with all the spoils of the East. The rest of the family were provided for, some in one way, some in another; and thus they became all at once a party on which all the hatred of the people, and all the favours of the crown, were simultaneously bestowed!

Having demonstrated the necessity of a reform in the Commons House of Parliament, in order to rectify those monstrous abuses, Lord Russell proceeded to enumerate a list of the able advocates of reform, among whom were Mr. Justice Blackstone, Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, all names of high authority. The house would thus see, that they had, in support of the necessity of an amelioration of the representation suited to the enlarged capacity of society, the authority of Lord Clarendon, the most vehement of the Tories—the authority of Locke, the most moderate of the Whigs—of Blackstone, the most cautious for prerogative—of Chatham, the boldest practical statesman of his time—of Pitt, who so long wielded the opinions of gentlemen opposite—of Fox, who enjoyed the confidence and possessed the affection of their opponents. Such an union of the great authorities of all classes of men, however different in temper, however opposed in politics—of men forming opinions upon very different grounds, and concurring in hardly any conclusion upon any other topic—struck him as presenting a moral combination in favour of his proposition, which was in itself irresistible.

Lord Russell now proceeded to submit his plan of reform,



on which, as the time was not yet arrived for prevailing on the house to take it into consideration, it is needless to expatiate. He made a powerful appeal to both Whig and Tory lords who had borough influence, on the necessity of yielding to the voice of the people, now loudly put forth in favour of reform, and thereby preventing the occurrence of violence and confusion. His lordship reasoned calmly with each party, and pointed out the interest which each class had in staying the progress of abuses which could only end in the convulsion of the state. He entreated the Whigs—he alike appealed to the aristocracy at large—to act upon the sentiments expressed by the greatest statesmen of all parties, in support of a reform in parliament. Sir William Temple had truly said that this great nation would never be subverted but by itself; and that if the weight and number of the people all went one way, then England would remain safe from the designs of any oppressor. In obedience to this maxim of Sir William Temple, he was anxious that the weight and number of the people should go one way; and that those who moved in the superior stations of society should recollect, how deep their interest was in preserving the prosperity of their country. The same duty which compelled their ancestors to require from despotic hands the liberties of their country, ought to induce them to preserve for their posterity the blessings which those liberties were intended to secure. By so doing, they would reconcile every class in society, and stop the progress of a convulsion which might shake all in one common ruin. This result must be inevitable, unless reform were timely conceded. If, as he earnestly hoped, that concession were granted, then might that proud constitution of England, which had subsisted but a little more than a hundred years since the Revolution, continue to maintain the spirit of its freedom, and extend the sphere of its salutary influence, until its existence vied with the most durable institutions that were ever reared for the happiness of mankind, in any age or any country.



The motion, however, was rejected by a majority of 105, after a speech from Mr. Canning, which contributed not a little to neutralize its effects.

Nothing daunted, however, by these defeats, Lord John Russell, in the year 1824, for the fourth time, moved the House of Commons on the subject of parliamentary reform: but his motion was again negatived by a majority of one hundred and eleven. In 1826, his lordship made a fifth attempt, but that again was rejected by the still greater majority of one hundred and twenty-four. Such a progressive state of deterioration, it is natural to think, must have overwhelmed the noble lord with despair of ever attaining his object: but we find him during the same session of 1826, introducing a bill, the more effectually to prevent bribery at elections. The objects which it was intended to embrace, were comprised in two resolutions, and the subject was warmly discussed on each side. On coming to a division, however, it was found that the votes were sixty-two on either side, and the casting vote of the speaker was in favour of the resolutions. A dissolution of parliament almost immediately followed; and thus, as one remarks, "the last breath of the expiring parliament, was spent in *resolving* to promote the integrity of their successors."

At the general election which took place in the summer of 1826, Lord John Russell lost his seat for the county of Huntingdon, owing, as has been said, to his liberal principles, and particularly to his being favourable to Catholic emancipation—a subject which was then beginning to engross much of the public attention. A report prevailed for a time, that as his lordship could not be returned for a county, he would decline taking his seat at all. If, however, he did entertain this feeling, it soon yielded to the persuasion of his friends, and to the gratification of many beyond his own immediate circle, being returned for Bandon, in Ireland. In the important transactions of that first session of parliament, he took an active part, and rendered



himself conspicuous by his able speeches and zealous efforts on the great questions which were then agitated, respecting the foreign enlistment bill, the cause of the Greek and Spanish patriots, the occupation of Spain by the French army, &c.—but to dwell on these several topics would compel the writer of this sketch to abridge the account, which he now has to give, of his lordship's more successful labours on two highly important topics—the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, and the great question of Parliamentary Reform. Judging that it may be useful to some of the readers of these pages, to have a short history of the Corporation and Test acts laid before them, we shall preface the narrative of their repeal with submitting a few particulars.

The Corporation Act was passed in the year 1661, and its object was to declare, that no person should be elected into any municipal office, who should not, one year before his election, have taken the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England; thus debarring all conscientious dissenters from occupying any station of magistracy in the land, such as mayor, alderman, justice of the peace, constable, &c. ; and the despotic and arbitrary spirit in which it was framed, sufficiently appeared from a single clause in the act, empowering the king, for a limited time, to remove at his pleasure all municipal officers, by commissioners of his appointment.—The Test act was passed in 1672, and it required of every person accepting a civil or military office under the crown, to take the sacrament in like manner within a limited time ; in default of which, he was liable to a fine of £500, and incurred other penalties severe and rigorous in the highest degree.—It is well known that these odious statutes were primarily levelled against the Roman Catholics, towards whom both the king, (Charles the Second,) and his brother, the duke of York, had a leaning. At the Revolution, in 1688, these acts underwent some modification, the new monarch being anxious to relieve his Protestant dissenting subjects ; nevertheless, the



necessity of qualifying for office, by a profanation of the Lord's supper, had remained unrepealed to the present day. Repeated efforts had been made to rid the statute-book of them, but all had miscarried. In 1787, the dissenters brought forward their claim for relief, and on that occasion the House of Commons was nearly equally divided. Two years afterwards they renewed their application, and there was a majority of only twenty against them. Soon after this, the French revolution broke out; and as the dissenters have invariably made it a rule never to urge their claim in a time of war, or at a period when their doing so would be likely to embarrass the government, or give occasion to their being suspected of factious conduct, they allowed the matter to lie dormant till the present period.

It was in the year 1827, that a general movement was made in the dissenting body, and petitions were poured into both houses of parliament, for the repeal of those penal laws. On presenting some of those petitions which had been entrusted to him, Lord John Russell thus addressed the House of Commons: "I deem it my duty to explain to this house, as clearly as I can, my reasons for the unusual course I am about to pursue, on the important question to which these petitions refer.

"Ever since I have been a member of this house, my votes have been guided by the principle, that the subjects of these kingdoms ought not to suffer any civil penalty, any civil hardship, any civil inconvenience, on account of their religious belief. Directed by this principle, I have voted for removing the disabilities imposed by law on the Roman Catholics, from whatever quarter, and in whatever shape, the motion appeared. But if I gave the full benefit of this principle to the Roman Catholics, whose religion has been mixed, even at this day, by some of its more extravagant professors with the most objectionable and the most slavish political doctrine, I could not refuse to extend it to the Protestant dissenters, who have ever been attached to the free constitution of this country. If I admitted to all the



privileges of the constitution, those who during the last century had been the adherents of the House of Stuart, I could not but grant the same admission to the Protestant dissenters, who have ever been the zealous, persevering, constant, and active friends of the House of Hanover. When, therefore, I was applied to by the committee of deputies and others, who for more than ninety years have been considered as the organ of the body, I did not for a moment hesitate to assure them, that I would willingly move this house for a repeal of the Test and Corporation acts."

This simple and beautiful exordium to the noble enterprise on which his lordship was now about to commit himself, was certainly not unworthy of the eloquent tongue of Charles James Fox : and though Lord Russell abstained at this time from founding any specific motion on the petitions which he presented, he proceeded to address the house at some length on the subject, observing, that, had he proceeded with his motion, he could have shown that these statutes were nothing but the dregs of that persecuting spirit which caused the calamities and civil wars of the 16th and 17th centuries.

"I trust I could have shewn," said the noble lord, "that the test required in this instance is peculiarly revolting, inasmuch as it tends to the profanation of one of the most sacred rites of our religion ; making the mask of piety and holiness a qualification for ambition, and converting that which was left as the bond of brotherhood among all the followers of Christ, into the signs of disunion and separation. I trust I could have shewn, that the annual indemnity act, upon which some persons rely so much in argument, is nothing but an incomplete and insulting pardon to men who have committed no offence. Incomplete, because it leaves it open to any one, by making a previous objection, to exclude a dissenter from a corporation—incomplete, because it does not shelter the dissenter, who accepts office, from the penalties of the test act, if judgment be already obtained



—insulting, because by the terms of the indemnity act, any dissenter, who holds office, is liable to the imputation, an imputation sanctioned by the high authority of Lord North, that he is guilty of a mental fraud, and that he evades the provisions of the law.”

Lord John Russell next proceeded to state to the house the reason why he declined at that instant to bring forward a motion for the repeal of these penal laws: a new administration had recently been formed, and the dissenters doubted, whether it would be fair or politic to force them to an immediate expression of opinion upon this important subject. He, however, called the attention of the house to the petitions which had been presented—which he said were not only numerous almost beyond precedent, but there were many of them, which in a peculiar degree deserved the consideration of the house, being founded upon the broad ground of the injustice and impolicy of all disabilities on account of religion. Many of these petitions, too, were from members of the church of England, calling themselves friends of religious toleration, praying for a repeal of these acts, as an unjust infringement on the freedom of conscience. After dwelling, at some length, on various topics connected with the subject, his lordship gave notice that he should, early in the next session of parliament, press the question for a total repeal of the Corporation and Test acts.

That these penal laws should have remained so long on our statute-book unrepealed, affords a striking proof of the strength of popular prejudice, and of the slow march of liberal principles even among persons of education and intelligence. It is surely a matter of just surprise, that men should have been so long in discovering, that religion is of too delicate a nature to be compelled by the coarse implements of human authority and worldly sanctions. No one can justly question that it is the proper province of the law to restrain vice and injustice of every kind, for these things are ruinous to the peace and order of society. But when human legislators proceed to enforce the exercise and duties of



religion by penal enactments, they err egregiously. True religion has its seat in the heart and affection, and the latter can only be lawfully controlled by the laws of God. All acceptable obedience must be spontaneous—the duties of religion must be free-will offerings, or they are nothing. The civil magistrate, by an unnatural alliance and ill-judged aid, may promote hypocrisy and superstition; but true religion never fails to suffer from his interference.

But it may, perhaps, be argued, that every government has a right to prescribe and dictate what class of religious professors shall be admitted to fill civil offices in the state, and to exclude such as maintain opinions contrary to what they consider to be consonant to truth. Let us hear now what the late Bishop Watson says, in reply to this.

“An exclusion from civil offices is persecution: it is not, indeed, the persecution of the Inquisition or Smithfield: it differs from them in degree, but it resembles them in kind.—Punishment for religious opinions is persecution: and evil of any kind inflicted by the authority of the civil magistrate, is punishment. This evil may respect a man's person, or liberty, or property, or character. Civil incapacity brought upon men by law, is an evil affecting their property and their character—their character, as it exposes them to the imputation of being bad citizens; their property, as it takes from them the possibility of acquiring advantages attendant on civil offices. These advantages, whether they consist of wealth, power, influence, or honour, are worth something: their value may be variously appreciated; yet, being worth something, the possibility of acquiring them is worth something; and the taking away from any man that possibility on account of his religion, is persecution.”\*

Bishop Hoadley was evidently of the same mind, and moreover protested against it as a shocking profanation of a divine ordinance. Thus the learned prelate expresses himself: “I say, that thus to make a sacred institution, appointed

\* Charge to the Clergy, by the Bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Watson.



solely for the remembrance of Christ's death in the assemblies of Christians, the instrument of possessing civil offices for atheists and infidels, as well as one particular sort of Christians, to the exclusion of others—is debasing a sacred institution into a political tool, and an engine of state. For certainly, whatsoever is made an instrument, without which there shall be no possession of civil offices, and of the posts of this world, is a political tool, and an engine of state. This is what I have affirmed of this act, and what I am still ready to make out; even whilst I am treated with indignity and reproach by Christians themselves, for pleading for a greater and more sacred regard to the institutions of our common Master, than what is consistent with thus debasing them into the scaffoldings and props of worldly designs and politics.”\*

To the suffrages of these liberal and enlightened prelates of the church of England, I will take the liberty of adding, that of Principal Campbell, one of the luminaries of the church of Scotland. “The participation of one of the sacraments,” says he “having with the people of England, by a very short-sighted policy, been perverted into a test for civil offices, a minister may be compelled by the magistrate to admit a man who is well known to be a most improper person—an atheist, blasphemer, or profligate. The tendency of this prostitution plainly is, by the law of the land, to make void the appointment of Jesus Christ, as far as regards its meaning and design. By the appointment of Jesus Christ, the participation was to serve in the participants purely as a testimony of their faith in him, and love to him. By the law of the land, it is rendered a qualification or test absolutely necessary for the attainment of certain lucrative offices, and for securing a continuance in them when attained: so that, in a great number, it can serve as a test of nothing but their secular views. For my own part, I do not see how the divine commandment, in what regards its spirit, power, and use, could be more effectually abrogated by

\* The Nature of the Sacramental Test considered, by Dr. Hoadley.



statute, than by their retaining the form, the letter, the body of the precept, and at the same time, totally altering the purpose, object, and intention."†

Such was the evil which Lord John Russell, at this time, was engaged in redressing, at the earnest solicitation of the general body of dissenters throughout the country; and accordingly, in pursuance of the notice given during the preceding session, on the 26th of February, 1828, his lordship addressed the house at very considerable length. Having called their attention to the great number of petitions which lay upon their table, in favour of civil and religious liberty, and hoping that they would induce the house to take the subject into their most serious consideration, his lordship added—

“There is one consideration, personal to myself, the force of which, I certainly feel very strongly. It is not that I am not confident of the strength of the case itself. It is not that I fear it is brought before an assembly entertaining preconceived opinions hostile to its adoption. Neither, sir, do I feel any diffidence resulting from the conduct of the petitioners: for I am sure, that there is no one here who will attempt to impugn the conduct of the protestant dissenters of this country. But, sir, there is nevertheless one recollection which compels me to approach this question with a kind of awe—I mean the remembrance that the last time at which it was pressed upon the notice of the house, it was introduced by the eloquence and argument of Mr. Fox—a man than whose, no eloquence was ever more splendid, and no argument ever more powerful. And yet, notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Fox, the proposition was rejected by the House of Commons of that day. I confess that this reflection would affect me with such hopelessness of success, that I should be disposed to give up the case entirely, were it not for the encouraging consideration, that, if I cannot wield the same weapons that Mr. Fox wielded, I have not to encounter the same enemies that Mr. Fox

† Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. pp. 72, 73.



encountered. I have great satisfaction in feeling, that, during the thirty-eight years which have elapsed since Mr. Fox's unsuccessful attempt, public opinion has been gradually advancing in favour of the proposed relaxation. A great improvement has taken place in the public mind respecting it, and more especially among the middle classes of society. There are many, who, at the period to which I have alluded, were the warm opponents of the general diffusion of religious liberty, but who are now among its warmest supporters. In the year 1790, the aldermen and common-council of the city of London passed certain resolutions against the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts ; and subsequently thanked the members of the city who voted against that repeal. At present, however, the opinions of that respectable body are so changed, that they recently agreed to certain resolutions, and on those resolutions founded a petition to this house, praying for the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, as contrary to the principles of civil and religious liberty. So much for the change that has taken place in public opinion upon the subject. But there are other circumstances of a very favourable nature. One of the most formidable antagonists of Mr. Fox, in the proceeding of 1790, was Mr. Pitt. It is now, however, well known, that in a few years afterwards Mr. Pitt declared, that he wished the Test and Corporation acts were repealed. Seeing, as every man of enlarged mind saw, that the state of the world was entirely changed ; that the contests by which the world was agitated were no longer of a religious, but of a political, character ; Mr. Pitt's wish was, to bring together men of all religious opinions, for the purpose of supporting the constitution against its political enemies."

From this appropriate preface, Lord Russell proceeded to a masterly discussion of the broad principle that had been stated in the numerous petitions presented to the house, viz. that every man ought to have the liberty of forming his religious sentiments and opinions from the convictions of his own mind—that having so formed them, he ought to be



at liberty to entertain them freely, to avow and maintain them without interference, without any restriction or reservation whatever—and that any penalty or disqualification imposed upon him, must partake of the nature of persecution, and consequently be displeasing to God and injurious to man. The noble lord then entered upon an historical deduction of these sacramental tests, and shewed that they took their rise at a very critical period of our national affairs—that the Test act was passed at the time when the nation was irritated and terrified at the knowledge that it possessed a concealed Roman Catholic king—a Duke of York, the successor to the throne, an avowed papist—an odious alliance with France, secretly formed, for destroying the liberties of England. It was quite evident, said his lordship, that the Test act was passed with the view of opposing the Catholics, and not to exclude the Protestant dissenters from offices. Having at great length explained this matter to the house, and illustrated the subject by numerous quotations, facts, and documents, the noble mover thus concluded his very able speech.

“Nothing can be more preposterous than to suppose that what was a cogent reason for a law at one time—much more at a particular crisis—can render that law equally necessary at another period. Look at the altered state of Europe, and of the world. Whether we regard France, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, or Austrian Italy, we shall find that no laws similar to our Test and Corporation acts exist in any of these countries. Why should England present such an anomaly to the rest of Europe? England, that was expected by every nation of the earth to be the foremost in amending ancient usages which were not applicable to the present state of society, or which were found to militate against the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind? But here the case has long been different. The dissenters, however, are now waiting at your doors for the exercise of that tardy justice which has been denied to their incessant claims during the last eighty-five years.



Sir, I call upon honourable members opposite to consider that the law, as it now stands, is not called for by the circumstances under which we live. It is impossible to imagine that a code of laws enacted in the time of Charles II. can be held to be applicable to the reign of George IV. Charles II. was looked upon as a concealed papist; and in his reign, as well as in that which followed it, the church was supposed to be inclined to the house of Stuart. But we have no longer a Pretender, and therefore all fears on that head are at an end. I have now, Sir, gone through the reasons upon which I call upon the house to abolish these laws. I have, I think, pretty clearly shewn the hardship with which they press upon one class of his Majesty's subjects. I have endeavoured, and I think successfully, to shew that they are at variance, not only with your practice in Scotland and Ireland, but also with the course pursued in every civilized nation of Europe. Having done this much, I find that I have little to add. By adopting the motion, with which I intend to conclude, you will attach the Protestant dissenters still more firmly to the constitution—you will render them more contented, more happy, and more willing to bear their just proportion of the burdens of the state, and you will at the same time act more in accordance with the present tone and spirit of the country, in which a more liberal course of policy has lately been adopted. Whatever hopes and confidence were placed in the administration of the late Mr. Canning, arose from his having gone along with the spirit of the times.

“The illustrious person now at the head of his Majesty's councils—HE, the preserver of Portugal, the deliverer of Spain, the conqueror at Waterloo—that great personage, entitled as he is to the thanks and gratitude of the country, standing in the singular position that he does, commanding the patronage of the church and the patronage of the state, having an army of 110,000 men attached to him from long service and command; I had almost said, having at his disposal the power of the sovereign;—even he, sir, great as



is his power, and extensive as is his patronage, must modify his opinions, and fashion his actions to the age in which he lives. Great as have been his conquests and his services ; to the spirit of the age in which he lives, he must bow. He must look to the signs of the times ; and if he do so, he must perceive the necessity of granting those rights which the Protestant dissenters have demanded year after year—rights which may be retarded, but cannot be long withheld.”—The noble lord concluded by moving for a committee of the whole house, to consider so much of the Test and Corporation acts as disqualified Protestant dissenters from holding corporate and other offices.

The motion was seconded by Mr. John Smith, and most ably supported by Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Fergusson, Lords Nugent, Althorp, and Milton, and especially by the present Lord Chancellor Brougham ; and it was opposed by Mr. Secretary Peel, Sir R. H. Inglis, Mr. Huskisson, and others ; but, upon dividing the house, the motion was carried by a majority of forty-four, to the consternation and confusion of ministers.

Lord John Russell now lost no time in getting the subject into committee, when it was proposed that the operation of the Test and Corporation acts should be suspended for a limited time ; but to that proposition his lordship was most decidedly opposed. Mr. Peel then pressed strongly for a delay, in order that ministers might have time to deliberate on some succedaneum for these obnoxious bills ; but neither to this would his lordship listen. Some very angry speeches then ensued on the ministerial side of the house, sufficient indeed to have appalled a less decided character than Lord John Russell ; but he continued unmoved, and persisted in having the resolution read in committee, the chairman to report progress, and ask leave to sit again on the following Tuesday ; all which so irritated Mr. Peel, that he rose, and proceeded out of the house, followed by the Attorney General and several of his party. Finding that his conduct, in this instance, gave offence



to some of his stanchest supporters, Mr. Peel returned to the house, but little improved in his temper, and not a little chagrined that his behaviour was complained of.

While the bill for repealing these statutes was in committee, it was proposed by Mr. Sturgess Bourne, that a clause should be introduced into the repeal bill, enacting, "that all persons who shall hereafter be elected to fill the office of mayor, alderman, or magistrate, or to fill any office of trust or emolument in any city or town corporate in England or Wales, shall, previous to his admission, make a solemn declaration, that he would never exercise any power, authority, or influence, which he might possess by virtue of his office, to injure or weaken the Protestant Church as by law established," &c. This proposition, though pointedly objected to by Lord Althorp and others, Lord Russell consented to adopt; and the bill was eventually carried through both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent.

The conduct of Lord Russell, in the whole of this affair, was such as to draw forth the unqualified applause of the great body of the dissenters. The Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, at their annual meeting, held on Saturday, May 17th, 1828, after announcing the repeal of those provisions of the Test and Corporation acts, which imposed a sacramental test, moved an "address, avowing, with peculiar satisfaction, their obligations to Lord John Russell, and to the Right Honourable Lord Holland, who introduced the measure to the houses of parliament they respectively adorn—who have so gloriously achieved the object which they undertook, and whereby they have rendered themselves the benefactors, not of Protestant dissenters alone, but of their country and the world—that their information, energy, and eloquence, must extend their fame; but that the present eulogies are due for their accessibility, for the temper and judgment they exhibited, and for the heart's love to freedom by which they were inspired. That to them this meeting offer their warm-



est thanks, and breathe out their hope that they will long remain living examples of the goodness and glory of their immortal relatives—of RUSSELL and of FOX.”

On the 18th of June, the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts was celebrated by a public dinner at the Freemasons' Hall, at which his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex presided, and was supported by a considerable number of the most distinguished members of both houses of parliament. There were four hundred gentlemen present, besides one hundred ladies who were accommodated in the galleries. About one hundred and thirty of the most respectable and influential persons among the dissenters acted as stewards. On proposing the health of Lord John Russell, the Duke of Sussex remarked, that “in the whole of the late proceedings, the noble lord acted in a manner worthy of that dignified family to which he belonged, and the rank he held. Adverting to it, he could not help adding, that nothing but illness had prevented his noble father and his eldest brother from being present at an assembly to celebrate principles which they had so much at heart, and to share the gratification of their noble relation at the proud situation he at that moment filled. When was there any great and liberal act, any act of public benefit and importance, to which the name of Russell was not attached? The noble lord shared the character of his family, and his services were devoted to the best interests of his country: so that his Royal Highness had no doubt that, after his exertions in their cause, they could have towards him but one feeling of admiration, affection, and attachment. He felt warmly in speaking of him, and he spoke from his heart. He had pursued a glorious path, surrounded and supported by other liberal men. Whenever freedom was to be supported, or tyranny opposed, he was in the first ranks, and he had done himself great credit by acting up to the models he had set before him.

Lord John Russell, in rising to return thanks, gave a short history of the progress of the repeal bill—the formid-



able opposition it had encountered and surmounted while passing through the lower house of parliament. Mr. Peel had declared, that, whether in or out of office, he should oppose the repeal. Mr. Canning also had made a similar declaration—"When I gave notice this year," said his lordship, "of my intention to propose the repeal of the sacramental test, the government openly declared, it would oppose the measure--it summoned all its followers from every part of the country--it sent out a hatti's-scheriff, and called together all true Mussulmans, determined to oppose the motion. The motion was opposed; but in the debate, the arguments of the opponents of the measure were so weak, and the division was so much against them, that nothing could be more decided than our triumph, both in the debate and on the division."

After eulogizing Lord Holland, and the brilliant eloquence which he had displayed in support of the bill, while carrying it through the upper house, with which his lordship connected some fine satirical strokes on Lord Eldon, he added: "The history of this act will always be a source of pride to me. I was the person chosen by the committee of Protestant dissenters to move their bill; but little did I think that the event would be such, that my name would be connected with it at this time, and can now never be separated from it." But we leave Lord Russell in the enjoyment of his well-earned honours, from carrying this important measure, and now proceed with his history.

On the meeting of parliament in 1829, the subject of the Catholic Association in Ireland was introduced by Mr. Peel, who intimated the determination of government to put it down, as a preliminary step towards granting them their long-wished-for emancipation. On the 6th of February, Lord John Russell delivered his sentiments on the subject, in which he declared his disapprobation of the existence of that formidable body—a species of government superseding the real government of the country—controlling and exercising its functions in a way totally irreconcilable



with any well-organized system of authority and of government. He consequently approved of the conduct of ministers in their determination to dissolve it. He then eulogized the government for their avowed intention of yielding the measure of Catholic emancipation, adding, that in a few short months, he hoped to see the measure carried, and then the Duke of Wellington, in passing this act of justice, would reap the richest reward that he could desire, in the happiness and tranquillity he would dispense; while the most unfading wreath in the glories which encircled him, would be the extension of equal liberty to all persons of all religions.

Lord Russell's last important speech in parliament, during the Wellington administration, was delivered, May 28, 1830, when he opposed Mr. O'Connell's motion for universal suffrage, declaring that he was no friend to that measure, but an advocate for moderate and temperate reform.

The breaking up of the Duke of Wellington's administration, with the circumstances attending that unexpected event, has been detailed in the former volume.\* On the formation of the Whig ministry, Lord John Russell was appointed to the office of paymaster-general, in the room of the Right Honourable John Calcraft, but without a seat in the cabinet. This, however, has been subsequently allowed him. As his lordship had so often brought forward the question of parliamentary reform, at times when, from the influence of a Tory administration, there could be little hope of succeeding with the measure, his present colleagues very handsomely transferred to him the honour of once more originating the subject under more auspicious circumstances, and taking charge of the bill which was to put a stop to the infamous practice of borough-mongering, and restoring the representative system to its true principles.

His lordship's proceeding in bringing in the reform bill on the 1st of March 1831, has already been narrated,† and

\* See Life and Times of William the Fourth, p. 640, &c.

† Life and Times of William IV. p. 657.



the substance of his able speech on that occasion, has been laid before the reader, together with the extraordinary occurrences that ensued; it would therefore be superfluous to repeat them in this place. It may not, however, be improper to mention, that a dissolution of parliament having taken place, the dissenters showed their gratitude to Lord John Russell, their intrepid and able advocate, by inviting him to offer himself as candidate to represent the borough of Southwark, and pledging themselves to return him to parliament free of all expense. While this affair was in agitation, however, a more tempting offer was made to the noble lord, which was that of representing the county of Devon, with access upon the same easy terms; and, having given the preference to the latter, his lordship took his seat in parliament as member for Devonshire, without opposition.

On the assembling of the new parliament, his Majesty, in his speech, renewed his wishes that the subject of a reform in the House of Commons should immediately occupy the attention of the legislature. Accordingly, Lord John Russell again introduced his bill for that important measure. Early in July it was read a second time in the lower house, and carried by a majority of one hundred and thirty-six. After seven divisions, the house resolved itself into a committee, where it remained from the middle of July to the first week in September, when it got through the committee, and upon the 21st of that month it was read a third time, and passed by a triumphant majority—there being in its favour, 345, and against it, 236. It then went up to the Lords, and, after a debate of five nights, was, on the 6th of October, rejected by a majority of forty-one!

Still the King and the people were decidedly in favour of "the bill"—and the sense of the House of Commons appearing, from the result of a motion introduced by Lord Ebrington, two days after the fatal decision in the Lords, to be in favour of continuing their support to ministers—the parliament was prorogued on the 20th of October, until the 6th of December. On the 12th of that month,



Lord John Russell obtained leave to introduce a third reform bill, which, in its general outline, corresponded with that which was rejected by the Lords. The bill, after two night's discussion, was read a second time on the 17th of December, and then voted into committee on the large majority of 162; immediately after which, parliament adjourned until about the middle of January, 1832.

The two houses met after the Christmas recess, on Tuesday, January 17th, 1832, when Lord Russell moved that the reform bill for England be considered in a committee of the whole house on the Friday following, January 20th, which accordingly took place. This was the fiery ordeal through which it had to pass; and in this state it was kept two whole months, discussed and debated, three or four evenings every week, until Monday, March 19th, when it was proposed to be read a third time, and a renewed debate commenced upon it, which was adjourned to the following day. On this occasion, Lord Mahon moved that "the bill be read a third time that day six months." He was supported by Sir John Malcolm, Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Slaney, Mr. Croker, &c.; who were answered by Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Macauley, and Lord Althorp. The principal feature during this first evening's debate, consisted in Sir Robert Inglis, the worthy representative of the University of Oxford, coming forward to correct an erroneous impression which was gone forth, that the Nabob of Arcot had his *eight* members in that house, whereas the honourable baronet had been at the trouble of investigating the fact, and found the number to be only *four*! Lord Althorp, with great propriety, animadverted upon this admission, and said, he certainly could not refrain from expressing his surprise that the honourable gentleman should have the temerity to defend the propriety of the Nabob of Arcot having four members to represent his interests in the House of Commons; it might with as much reason be contended that the Emperor of Russia, or the King of France, should have members to represent their interests also.



The debate was resumed on the following day, when the principal speakers against the bill were, Sir R. Vyvyan, and Sir Charles Wetherell, the latter of whom was replied to by the Attorney General in a manner which made the *ci-devant* recorder of Bristol an object of general compassion. But the house was thrown into a state of complete confusion by the eccentric conduct of Mr. Spencer Perceval, who rose after Sir Thomas Denman, and commenced an incoherent rhapsody, after the manner of Mr. Edward Irving, which he persisted in continuing, despite of all remonstrance from his friends, until necessity obliged ministers to adjourn the debate to Thursday—the intervening day being appointed as a national fast.

On Thursday, March 22d, Lord John Russell moved the order of the day for resuming the debate on the third reading of the reform bill for England, when the attack and defence were continued till five o'clock on Friday morning, at which time the house divided, and the third reading was carried by a majority for ministers of one hundred and sixteen—the numbers being 355 for the bill, and 239 against it. When the house met on the afternoon of the same day, a few immaterial amendments were taken into consideration, and carried. On this last occasion, the principal speakers were, Sir Edward Sudgen and Sir Robert Peel, against the bill; and Mr. Robert Grant, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, and Mr. Stanley, the Irish secretary, in its defence; the latter of whom, in winding up this protracted discussion, gave a cheering intimation that means would now be taken to prevent a collision between the two houses—alluding, as it was understood, to the creation of a sufficient number of peers to carry the bill through the upper house.

Lord John Russell then rose, and said, that it now became his duty to move the passing of this bill. It was not his intention to enter into any argument on the merits of the bill, which had been so long, so frequently, and so elaborately discussed, with great talent, ingenuity, and ability: but he trusted that he should not be thought to



presume too much on the indulgence of the house, if he said a few words on this, the last occasion, expressive of his deep sense of the support which the promoters and proposers of this bill had received from a majority of the house ;—a majority composed, he felt bound to say, of a greater number of independent men than had ever supported any great measure brought forward by government. The friends of the bill had been often accused and taunted with supporting the details with a kind of blind adherence to the propositions of government ; but it was not to be denied that those who were really, heartily, and cordially attached to the cause, must think it necessary to support every part of the measure by which that cause was forwarded, without distracting the attention of ministers, by pressing any particular views of their own, and thus endangering the success of the great cause itself. By such assistance and forbearance on the part of the supporters of the bill, ministers had been enabled to carry it through the committee, little changed, and not at all impaired ; and they were now about to take it up to the other house of parliament, as complete in its integrity, and as full in its efficiency, as when it was first introduced to the notice of the house. He thought it necessary to say thus much, because he knew that the support thus given, so constantly and so independently, to ministers, had been given, not to themselves, but to the measure with which they were connected, and which they had submitted to the consideration of parliament. Of the measure itself, he would only say this,—that, after the repeated discussions which it had undergone, it seemed to him still, as it seemed at first, a bill founded on the original principles of the constitution, and conformable to the ancient and inherent rights of the people of England, which granted, or rather confirmed, those rights to the people, who, being entitled to them, were also worthy to exercise them. It was, moreover, a bill calculated to satisfy the wishes and desires of the nation, which it would be impossible for any authority of King, Lords, and Commons united,



much longer to withstand, and at the same time preserve the peace, tranquillity, and confidence of the country. Viewing the bill, then, as well adapted to secure these high and important ends, it was, in his opinion, a measure which it well became the House of Commons to pass, and which all who desired the safety and future good government of the country ought to wish to see established as the law of the land. The discussions which had taken place in that house relating to the prospective operations of the measure, all turned upon this point—that the anti-reformers, in general, conceived that the representation produced by the present construction of the house, was preferable to a full and fair representation of the people—while the advocates of reform, on the other hand, conceived the representation of the people to be better than the present constitution of the house. In this latter opinion, he felt more and more confirmed: and when he looked, on the one hand, at the abuses and corruptions which had crept into the present system, and, on the other, to the intelligence and love of liberty which characterized the people of this great community, he felt quite persuaded that the bringing of them into more direct connection with that house by representation, would tend to the better government of the country, to the purity of our political system, and also to a great moral change, which, so long as the present corruption in our system of elections existed, it was utterly in vain to expect that we should ever see established. Those anticipations might be sanguine and unfounded, but they were anticipations which he was not singular in entertaining. They were felt, not in that house only, but throughout the country; and he was persuaded that there was in this, the consideration, that the country, whose desire it was to see a pure and good administration of government established, proved itself worthy to exercise the power which it was proposed by this bill to give it.

His lordship then passed, what some might think, a very unnecessary compliment on the good intentions of those



who had so pertinaciously resisted the bill in all its stages, and concluded his labours on this momentous question, by declaring, that, in proposing this measure, the government had not acted lightly, but on the most mature deliberation, and from the fullest conviction, that the present bill was called for and imperiously demanded by the circumstances of the times, if they meant to stand between the abuses which they wished to correct, and the convulsions which they desired to avoid. He adverted to the difficulties with which the path of ministers was beset, having to steer between the enemies of all reform in the House of Commons on the one hand, and the advocates of universal suffrage on the other ; and insisted, that in a collision between these two parties, the consequence would inevitably be, that much blood would be shed in the struggle ; and he was perfectly persuaded that the British constitution must perish in the conflict.

When the Speaker put the question from the chair, "That this bill do now pass"—the responsive "Ay" was given in one loud continuous volley : and when he put the additional question, "That this be the title of the bill, A Bill to amend the Representation of the People of England and Wales"—the motion was carried by acclamation. As soon as it was declared from the chair, a long, loud, and exulting cheer burst from the supporters of the bill. Lord John Russell and Lord Althorp were then ordered to carry the bill to the Lords, and to request the concurrence of their lordships to the same, which they did on Monday, March 26th, accompanied by many of those who had not only assisted them by their votes, but fought at their side in this great national contest.

Lord John Russell has not only distinguished himself as the advocate of liberal principles, and of a total abolition of all distinction on account of religious opinions, but also by his zeal for the diffusion of general information and literature. He sustains the office of Vice-Chairman to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, of which



the Lord Chancellor is President; and though a constant observer of his parliamentary duties, is himself an author of no slender reputation. Besides a Life of his own unfortunate ancestor, Lord William Russell, he has published an Essay on the English Constitution; Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht to the present time; A Brief Sketch of the History of the Establishment of the Turks in Europe; and a Tragedy, entitled *Don Carlos*, which, though unsuccessful on representation, has gone through four or five editions.

As a debater, we are not allowed to place his lordship in the foremost class. His eloquence is not remarkable for force or dignity; but he adheres closely to the subject before him, and always addresses himself to facts rather than to feelings. His language is of the best and purest English, decorated too by his literature, and dignified by his generous feelings. His speeches are exact in composition, precise in expression, easy in enunciation, pregnant with just sentiment and correct opinion; but he has not physical strength sufficient to enforce his sentiments with tones and gestures at all appropriate to their vigour—an imperfection, in a great degree, attributable to his want of constitutional energy. The consequence is, that it requires no ordinary attention, as well as discrimination, to perceive the great merit which attaches to many of his addresses.

To form a correct estimate of his lordship's services in his country's cause, more especially in the noble cause of reform—his indefatigable labours and meritorious exertions in the removal of evils, grown inveterate by their long standing and habit—is no easy task. Posterity will appreciate them as they deserve, and do him justice; while the successful issue of his toilsome efforts must be his present reward, in the satisfaction which they cannot fail to bring to his own mind. To have carried the bill for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, whereby the great and increasing body of the Dissenters were restored to their



long-lost rights as citizens, and rendered eligible to offices of profit and trust, without the violation of conscience—thus placing them on the same footing with members of the Establishment—was not merely the removal of an unjust stigma, but it was to confer a benefit on one-half of the population of the country, and render himself a benefactor to the present generation: and not to them only, but also to all succeeding ages

Nor is the establishment of the Church of England, whatever its clergy and laity may think of the matter, less indebted to the noble lord. He has exonerated them from the foul opprobrium of secularizing a sacred ordinance of religion, and vilely prostituting it to a most unworthy purpose. Had Lord Russell's exertions been restricted to this one measure, there was sufficient in it to hand down his name to future ages with well-earned celebrity. But when to this we add his still more laborious efforts in the great cause of parliamentary reform—his twice carrying the bill through the House of Commons, with all the multifarious details which attended it, amidst the virulent opposition which it had to encounter from some, whose prepossessions and prejudices it assailed, and others, whose selfish interests and usurped power it was intended to subvert, we feel our obligations to the noble lord infinitely enhanced, and are ready to acknowledge that the country owes him a debt of gratitude which is not easily paid. The rancorous spirit of opposition against which he had to struggle, imperiously demanded an unconquerable purpose and steady perseverance in the prosecution of his measures—a full determination not to yield to difficulties, or “abate a jot of heart and hope;” nothing short of this could have carried him successfully and honourably through his labours. Long may the noble lord live, to enjoy the meed which he has earned, and receive the plaudits of a grateful country!









THE RT HONBLE JOHN CHARLES SPENCER.  
VISCOUNT ALTHORP.

*J. Althorp*









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THE RIGHT HON.

## LORD VISCOUNT ALTHORP,

*Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

ALTHOUGH the fame of this nobleman will descend to posterity on surer grounds than those which arise from family descent, it would be unjust to him not to record something of the honours to which he may justly lay claim from a long line of illustrious ancestors.

Robert, the first Baron Spencer, was sheriff of Northamptonshire in the 43d year of Queen Elizabeth, before which time he had received the honour of knighthood: and when King James ascended the throne, he was reputed to have by him the most money of any person in the kingdom. This, together with his great estate, noble descent, and many excellent accomplishments, rendered him so conspicuous, that he was promoted by that prince, previously to his coronation, by letters patent bearing date July 21, 1603, to the dignity of a baron of the realm by the title of Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton.

The character of this peer is handed down to us, by historians of unquestionable veracity, as nearly immaculate. His habits were those of a retired man; yet, when abroad, when in the senate, and occasion offered, he knew how to assume what was due to the dignity of his station. "Like the old Roman dictator," says one, "from his farm he made the country a virtuous court, where his fields and flocks brought him more calm and happy contentment, than the various and mutable dispensations of a court can con-



tribute: and, when called to the senate, he was more vigilant to keep the people's liberties from being a prey to the increasing power of monarchy, than his harmless and tender lambs from foxes and ravenous creatures."

Lord Spencer had scarcely been raised to the peerage two years, when he was chosen by his sovereign (James I.) to be his ambassador to Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, to invest him with the order of the Garter. He took with him Sir Gilbert Dethick, knight, garter principal king of arms; and having effected the object of his mission, on his return was received by the king with particular marks of distinction, for his noble carriage and behaviour in his embassy. The remainder of the life of this nobleman was devoted to his senatorial duties, and rural occupations. He was a great defender of the rights of the people against the encroachments of the kingly prerogative. From the year 1624 to the time of his death, which took place in 1627, he was in most committees on public affairs: a constant promoter and maintainer of the manufactures, trades, and liberties of the realm; an opposer of all arbitrary grants, monopolies, or other indirect practices; and finally, was seasoned with a just tincture of all private and public virtues.\*

Earl Spencer, the father of Lord Althorp, was born on the 1st of September, 1758, and educated at Harrow school, and Trinity College, Cambridge. After having made the tour of Europe, he was returned to parliament, in 1780, as member for Northampton; and, joining the Whig party against Lord North, was made a lord-commissioner of the treasury, under the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham. In 1783, he succeeded to his father's earldom; and, in the House of Lords, distinguished himself as a stanch Whig, until the breaking out of the French Revolution, when, with other alarmists of his party, he gave his support to Mr. Pitt, by whom, in 1794, he was made first lord of the admiralty. Soon afterwards, he received

\* Granger.



the insignia of a Knight of the Garter, and in 1800 resigned his office of first lord of the admiralty, on being appointed lord privy seal. He retired with Pitt and his colleagues in 1801, and held no place under government until the Fox and Grenville administration came into office, when he was appointed secretary of state for the home department; and shortly afterwards one of the commissioners of inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales. He was dismissed, with his friends, on the failure of their attempt to procure Catholic emancipation, of which he appears to have been a most zealous and consistent supporter. He has also distinguished himself as an advocate for the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, and for the removal of all undue restraints on civil and religious liberty. Much praise has been awarded to him as a patron of literature and the arts. He has formed a most rare and costly library, of which a catalogue is extant, by his librarian, the Rev. Thomas Frognal Dibdin, under the title of "*Bibliotheca Spenseriana*."

JOHN CHARLES, VISCOUNT ALTHORP, is the eldest son of the last-named Earl Spencer, and was born on the 30th of May, 1782. He received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained the honorary degree of Master of Arts. His lordship entered parliament at the age of twenty-one, being returned as representative of the borough of Oakhampton, in Devonshire. On the death of Mr. Pitt, he offered himself as a candidate for the representation of the university of Cambridge, but lost the election by a considerable majority. In the same year, 1806, he obtained his return for the county of Northampton, though after a severe struggle; and, as a proof of the good understanding which has invariably been maintained between the noble lord and his constituents, he has continued their representative to the present time.

During the Fox and Grenville administration, Lord Althorp held office as one of the lords of the treasury, and from that period has identified himself with the Whig



party, voting with them on every great constitutional question ; and has now, by his steady perseverance, enlightened judgment, and other estimable qualities, raised himself to high consideration in the government of the country, and become a most efficient member of the cabinet. It will be a pleasing employment to trace his lordship's career as a member of the British senate, and note the steps by which he has ascended to the elevated and honourable position in which he now stands, as leader of the House of Commons.

The noble viscount first offers himself to our notice in his senatorial capacity, in March, 1809, during the proceedings which took place relative to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, who had been accused of abusing his high station to sinister ends and purposes. When the discussions relating to his conduct had terminated, Mr. Bathurst brought forward a motion in the Commons, to which Lord Althorp proposed the following amendment, namely, that the Duke of York, having resigned his office as commander-in-chief of the British army, this house does not think it necessary to proceed further," &c. In moving this amendment, which was unanimously acceded to by the house, his lordship remarked, that the resignation of the commander-in-chief ought to occasion no regret, as his Royal Highness had previously lost the confidence of the country—adding, that he was averse to people of high rank holding responsible situations.

In the following year, May 1810, the subject of sinecure pensions was brought under the consideration of parliament, and an inquiry instituted, whether it would not be wise to abolish them. Mr. Bankes strongly opposed this measure of reform ; which called up Lord Althorp, who maintained that they were not only an unfit reward for public services, but that none were ever vacant and disposable, when meretricious individuals had powerful claims on the tangible gratitude of the country.

In 1812, when Mr. Vansittart, then chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward "the budget," one of the items



of supply, to which he proposed having recourse, was the imposition of a duty on tanned hides and skins, by which he expected to raise the sum of £325,000—thus doubling the existing duties on these articles. On the 26th of June, when the motion was made for bringing up the report, Mr. Brougham objected to the nature of this tax, which he said would press upon husbandry, and upon the lower classes of society, who, by their greater consumption of leather for shoes, than persons in the higher ranks of life, would have to bear the chief burden of the impost. Lord Althorp took up the subject in the same point of view, and, after delivering his sentiments at some length, moved, as an amendment, “that the bill be taken into consideration this day six months.” On the division for bringing up the report, however, there appeared a majority of twenty-six against it; and on the third reading of the bill, another division took place on the clause respecting the duty on leather, when the majority was only eight! The bill, however, was carried to the upper house, where Earl Spencer, the father of Lord Althorp, opposed it on similar grounds, but in vain.

In the year 1816, Lord Althorp presented a petition from Northampton, praying for a reduction of the peace establishment, on which occasion he pressed strenuously upon ministers the necessity of economizing the public resources, to which, he reminded them, they stood pledged; and at the same time moved for a committee to ascertain what diminution in the public expenditure had taken place since 1798. In the following year, 1817, he supported a motion for an address to the throne, praying for a reduction of the number of the lords of the admiralty, with a view to the effecting of a retrenchment in the expenditure, but which it was reserved for Sir James Graham to accomplish by his bill, now before parliament, March, 1832, for the consolidation of naval boards. His lordship, during the same session of parliament, with the same praise-worthy regard to retrenchment and economy, deprecated the maintenance



of a large standing army in time of peace ; and opposed the suspension of the habeas corpus act. He also protested against the continuance of the alien act ; and opposed the additional grant of £6,000 per annum to the Duke of Kent.

The year 1819 was a period of painful interest in the annals of the country. Pecuniary distress was very general among the mercantile and commercial classes of the community. The agricultural and manufacturing interests laboured under depression and embarrassment seldom equalled. The consequence of such a state of things may readily be apprehended. Political agitators, taking advantage of the general misery, went about industriously disseminating their doctrines through the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Warwickshire, and parts of Scotland ; and field-meetings of hundreds and thousands were repeatedly assembled, to listen to harangues on the abuses of government, and the necessity of a radical reform of the House of Commons, as a first step towards the alleviation of the distresses of the country. The Prince Regent issued a proclamation against seditious meetings--and soon after, an assemblage of people at Manchester, summoned to petition for parliamentary reform, was dispersed by military force ; in doing which, many lives were lost. We cannot wonder that the best friends of the country should take alarm at such a posture of affairs. On the 1st of December, Lord Althorp moved in the House of Commons for an inquiry into the state of the country, which gave rise to a long and keen debate, in which Lord Castlereagh on the ministerial side, and Mr. Tierney and Lord Althorp on the opposition, were principally distinguished ; but the motion was over-ruled by a majority of 173.

The year 1820 is memorable for the death of George the Third--the accession of his son, George the Fourth--and the trial of his royal consort, Queen Caroline, which almost wholly absorbed the public mind, and left little attention



to bestow on political occurrences of an ordinary description. Yet we find Lord Althorp making an effort, though unsuccessful, to ameliorate the insolvent debtor's act, and also supporting a motion for an inquiry respecting the countervailing duties on British articles of merchandise imported into Ireland. But the time had not yet arrived for bringing the noble viscount prominently forwards as a statesman and senator.

We find Lord Althorp taking an active part in the business of parliament in the year 1822, and particularly urging on ministers a mitigation of the public burdens. On the 21st of February, pursuant to a notice previously given, his lordship moved a resolution to this effect, "that the plan of relief proposed by ministers had disappointed the expectations of the country, and that it did not meet the justice of the case." Adverting to the measures of finance which had been submitted to the house a few days before by the Marquis of Londonderry, (Castlereagh,) he complained that they were little adapted to the exigencies of the country, and that many county members, who had pledged themselves to measures of reduction, had found themselves greatly disappointed. It was with the view of affording them an opportunity of shewing what were their sentiments on the subject, and making those sentiments known, that his lordship brought forward the present motion. He should not go into details: he should not particularly advert to taxes that might be reduced: he should confine himself to the proposition, whether the quantity of relief promised by the government met the justice of the case, and the expectations of the country. If the house agreed with him in that proposition, it would be matter for subsequent consideration, what taxes ought to be reduced—what expenses to be diminished. He did not desire absolutely to reduce the expenditure of the country to that of 1792, but he did not see why the expenditure of that period might not be taken as the standard. He was aware that there were some expenses, such as half-pay, &c. that



necessarily increased the expenditure of the present time; but prices being now much the same as they were in 1792, and as we were at peace with all the world, he saw no reason for not generally referring to that period, as one that displayed a sufficiently extensive expenditure. He thought there might be a reduction of taxes, that there might be absolute savings to the country, to the amount of five millions. Such amount would operate as real relief to the country. If that saving could be effected, and if the sinking fund were done away, so as to operate in the way of further relief to the country, he should entertain hope of witnessing the first step towards an end to the distresses under which the country now groaned from the weight of taxation.

His lordship was opposed on this occasion by Mr. F. Robinson, (now Lord Goderich,) who moved as an amendment, two counter resolutions, stating in substance, that the excess of our income, now exceeding the five millions, the sum recommended by the resolution of the house, of June 9th 1819, as the sum necessary to constitute a sinking fund for the preservation of public credit by £260,000, the period had now arrived at which taxation might be diminished, and the public feel the benefit of the plan recommended by the house, in their resolution of 1819.

Towards the close of the same session, Lord Althorp presented a petition from the county of Northampton, complaining of agricultural distress—of the pressure of taxation—and praying for a reform in parliament. His lordship supported the prayer of the petition, and complained that ministers, although they reduced some of the taxes, still left such remnants as would require the retention of officers, for the sake of the patronage attached to them. On this occasion, the Tory member for the county (Mr. Cartwright) immediately rose up to oppose the reduction of taxes, and to question whether those that had been reduced would relieve the agriculturists: and with regard to the petition which had just been presented, he said, there were none of the “gentlemen” of the county among the



requisitionists! This remark brought up Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, who replied, it was such country "gentlemen" as the one opposite, that had led the country into its present difficulties. These "gentlemen" had supported the "just and necessary war;" and what they now suffered, they richly merited. As to the 400 freeholders who were made so light of, he hoped they would endeavour, at the next election, to be more honourably and independently represented than they now were by the last speaker!—a prophetic intimation, which has since been realized by that gentlemen being ousted from his seat.

About this time, the affairs of Ireland demanded the particular attention of the legislature; and when it was proposed to renew the Irish insurrection act, Lord Althorp opposed it. In 1824, he endeavoured to obtain a committee respecting the general state of that country, all coercive measures against which he vehemently deprecated. On the 4th of May, the question of the best mode of giving employment to the poor in Ireland, came before the house, when his lordship remarked, that, without going into a detail of the causes which produced the distresses in Ireland, he would mention the want of capital as one of them; and under such circumstances, every encouragement should be given to the flow of capital towards that country. All taxes on consumption, he contended, should be removed, and every method adopted to render living as cheap there as in any other part of the world. In Ireland, where labour was so cheap, living might, with a very little present sacrifice on the part of England, be made cheaper than in any other part of the British dominions. If that were effected, people who now resorted to foreign countries for cheap living, would spend their money in a country where the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life might be procured at so cheap a rate. He, therefore, highly approved of the proposition that had been brought forward by Mr. Maberley, namely, that an advance should be made of a sum, not exceeding one million, by way of



loan, for the employment of the poor, and the encouragement of manufactures in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, &c.

Mr. Canning, who spoke on the debate, declared that no proposition which had been made for the relief of Ireland, deserved to be entertained with more favour than that which had been proposed by the honourable member for Northampton, (Lord Althorp,) though, with regard to the proposed loan, he was convinced that such a plan as that which had been brought forward could not be carried into effect in Ireland, without producing inconveniences infinitely greater than those which it was intended to remove. He also paid Lord Althorp a similar compliment about the same time, when the noble lord objected to the renewal of the alien act, declaring, that, in his opinion, nothing short of absolute necessity could justify the house in a deviation from the spirit of the English constitution; and no such necessity, as it seemed to him, had been stated by the honourable mover, (Mr Peel.) "The only reason which had been assigned for passing the bill was, that we might prevent plots from being formed in our own country against foreign states—consequently, it was no measure for the safety or convenience of England. But if the motive stated was the real one, why, said Lord Althorp, did ministers ask for any arbitrary power? why did they not come down at once, and pass a penal law upon the subject?" Referring to this complaint, Mr. Canning remarked, that "the noble lord, who seldom made any suggestion which was not well founded, had intimated, that a bill might be brought in—in lieu of the present alien bill—by which aliens might in this country be punished for any attempts against their own. The noble lord had some experience in bills, having, at this very time, one of the county-court's bill on his hands, and he must be aware of the many unexpected difficulties which sprang up in framing a measure so as to meet all objections. He would just advise him to try his hand at a bill, which would subject a foreigner to trial in



this country for treason against his own! The attempt would make him acquainted with several courts with which he was not acquainted before."

Mr. Canning closed his short but brilliant premiership in the autumn of 1827, and was succeeded by Lord Viscount Goderich, who, on coming into office, strongly felt the necessity of investigating the financial state of the country, with a view to which he proposed the appointment of a committee of finance; and, looking around him for a suitable person to fill the important office of chairman to it, Mr. Tierney seems to have first directed the attention of the noble viscount to Lord Althorp, as in all respects eminently qualified for it. This estimate of his lordship's competency was also sanctioned by Mr. Huskisson, then an influential member of the administration: and as Lord Goderich fell entirely into their view of the matter, the necessary steps were taken to ascertain how far the proposition was likely to meet Lord Althorp's concurrence. This took place about the beginning of December, 1827, and as his lordship had intimated his consent, and no objection had been started from any quarter, Lord Goderich seems to have regarded the matter as settled. A formidable opposition, however, sprang up before the end of the month, on the part of Mr. Herries, master of the mint, and one of the cabinet ministers, who peremptorily refused his consent to it; and the matter being insisted on by Mr. Huskisson, an irreconcilable difference ensued, which terminated in the dissolution of the cabinet.

On Monday, February 18, 1828, the subject was introduced into the House of Commons by Lord Normanby, when Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Herries, Mr. Tierney, and others, explained at great length. Mr. Herries read to the house, copies of the letters that had passed between himself and Lord Goderich, and disavowed, in the strongest terms, having any *personal* objection to Lord Althorp, or his appointment to the office of chairman of the finance com-



mittee, and resolved the breaking up of the cabinet into causes which he refused to explain.

When the proper time arrived, Lord Althorp rose in his place, and said, he must inform the right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Herries,) that he had never supposed, that any objection he might have to his appointment as chairman of the committee of finance rested upon personal grounds. He had had some communication with the right honourable gentleman, and he was quite sure the resistance to that nomination arose from different motives. His two friends (Huskisson and Tierney) had mentioned what had passed, as any thing but a conclusion of the arrangement. His lordship then went on to say, that a message had been sent to him through Earl Spencer, to know whether he would take the chair of the finance committee, if it were proposed? His answer was, that he wished for time to deliberate, but that he would transmit the result in writing; and he had written what had already been detailed. He had thought it best to state his notion of the proposition; and had added, that if the question were proposed in the cabinet, and carried, he would accept the situation: but that he should consider himself at perfect liberty in the committee either to support or oppose the measures of government. As the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Herries) had this night stated some of his objections to him on public grounds, he would take leave to make one or two brief observations, in reference to those objections. The first was, that he was a man closely connected with party. He was perfectly ready to admit, that for the greater portion of his life he had been a decided party man. But he was not now a party man; and he had no immediate prospect of being so again. Another objection was, that he (Lord Althorp) had preconceived opinions on the subject of finance. He acknowledged that he had some such opinions; but he believed that his honourable friend, (Sir Henry Parnell,) just placed in the chair of that committee, had even more strongly preconceived opinions than himself.



At the same time, he was well aware that that honourable friend had attended to the subject, and understood it much better than he could presume to do !

It was immediately after this extraordinary occurrence, that Lord John Russell brought forward his motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, as already mentioned in the life of that noble lord. When Sir R. Inglis and Mr. Huskisson had spoken at large against the motion, Lord Althorp rose to reply, and delivered his sentiments at considerable length. He contended, that every motion of this kind, having for its object the extension of religious liberty, was not only justifiable in itself, but worthy of general support. The principle of those who advocated the measure now proposed to the house, he said, was this—that no man ought to be excluded from the exercise of political privileges on account of his religious belief. He would, therefore, say, that the *onus probandi* must rest on those who supported disqualifications which already existed, or who wished to impose new ones, when they stood forward in opposition to a more just and liberal system ; it was for them to shew what necessity existed for the continuance of a system of restriction and disqualification. Sir Robert Inglis had said, that if every man had an equal right to power, the frame of society would be endangered ; and he had gone on with a disquisition on the subject of power, which, in its origin, he described to be the creature of society, but subject to certain rules. Now he (Lord Althorp) did not mean to contend that every man had a right to possess political power, but he did mean to argue, that every man should have a capability of exercising power, if he were fit to exercise it. He would assert, that it was the duty of the legislature to place any set of men—no matter what their religion was—on a footing with the rest of their fellow-subjects. The honourable baronet had said, that those laws were necessary for the support of the established church. Now, he would assure the honourable baronet, that he (Lord Althorp) was as anxious to support



the church as himself could possibly be ; but unquestionably he did not consider that those laws were necessary for this purpose. The honourable baronet observed, that he wished the lowest amount of disqualification to be resorted to, for the purpose of supporting the established church ; but his lordship conceived that no amount of disqualification was necessary to secure that object. He admitted that he thought there should be an established church—and what followed ? Why, of course, that the revenues of that church should be appropriated to one particular sect ; but surely it was not necessary for the support of that church, that the other sects should be oppressed by civil disqualifications. The honourable baronet had stated, that he was the last man who would interfere with the rights of an individual to exercise his judgment, with respect to religion, as he might think proper. The honourable baronet appeared to take great credit to himself for his liberality, and he also allowed great credit to the government of this country for admitting toleration. But to hear a gentleman in the present day—in the nineteenth century—eulogizing a government for admitting toleration, was to him a most extraordinary thing ! Could the government, at this enlightened period, put an extinguisher on toleration ? What, asked his lordship, was it, to refuse a man the right of choosing that mode of worship which was most congenial to his own judgment and inclination ? It was the most unjustifiable tyranny. To prevent persons from pursuing the dictates of conscience in the concerns of religion, was as bad as imprisonment, confiscation, cruelty—nay, murder itself. To say, as an excuse for the state of the law which disqualified persons on account of their religious opinions, that the government tolerated men who differed from them on points of doctrine, was a most weak and inefficient argument ; and he could not agree with those who gave praise to the government on that account.

Mr. Huskisson had said, that the evil of which the dissenters complained was imaginary—that it was a grievance



of a very trifling nature. Now, said Lord Althorp, let us admit, for argument's sake, that the evil is of a trifling nature—that the grievance is, in fact, theoretical; no difficulty whatever existed in shewing that the arguments by which those obnoxious bills were supported, are also theoretical. By the indemnity act, these measures were every year virtually repealed, which proved that the evils they were framed to avert, were theoretical—that the grounds on which they proceeded were wholly theoretical, and had no substantive existence. So much for the arguments in support of these bills. But his lordship said, he would go further, and insist, that the grievance sustained by the dissenters was not a theoretical grievance: there was a positive and practical grievance pressing on a large body of the people, as his noble friend (Lord John Russell) had proved, so far as the Corporation act extended. But, did the matter of complaint end there? No, it was a grievance to the church of England. Was not the profanation of the most sacred rite connected with that church, an evil? Could any man argue, that to put temptation in the way of those who were of a different religious profession—to tell them, that unless they did what their consciences disapproved, they could not arrive at certain situations—could any man argue that this was not a practical evil? The doctrine of the church was, that no person who was at variance with his neighbour—that no individual who harboured any hostility to his fellow-men—should take the sacrament. But in this instance, the holy communion was made a test for the attainment of power and privilege. Some gentlemen might consider this to be no practical evil; but every man who studied the subject seriously, every man who looked to the support of religion as a paramount duty, must view the present state of the law as highly objectionable. For these reasons, he should vote for the motion of the noble lord. He had no wish to trouble the house at any great length; but he could not prevail on himself to give a silent vote.



Lord Althorp's exertions in favour of the repeal of these obnoxious acts did not rest here; he exerted himself in every stage of the business, like one who took a lively interest in the matter. It has been noticed in the life of Lord John Russell, that when Mr. Secretary Peel found himself in a minority of 44, on the question, he laboured to induce Lord Russell to postpone the further consideration of the subject for a short time, in order to give ministers an opportunity of deliberating on what steps should be adopted for extricating them from this unexpected dilemma. His first proposition was, to "suspend, by statute, the effect of the acts in question, without repealing them;" and finding that this would not be listened to, he next begged for time, before the house went into committee on the motion. Lord Althorp protested against both of these. "I think, sir," said the noble viscount, "that it was extremely fortunate, as indeed it was incumbent on my noble friend, that he did not allow any longer period than has elapsed, to intervene between the carrying of his original motion for a committee, and our going into that committee with the specific object he has proposed. I do not see what reason there can be to complain of my noble friend for not having allowed a longer period so to elapse; and I confess that, during all the early part of the speech which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) has just now delivered with so much eloquence, I was in great hopes that he was about to make a proposition to the committee, which I should have thought it very desirable for my noble friend to adopt. He acknowledged that powerful arguments had been brought forward in favour of the measure; and he admitted, that the two points which had formed the principal matters of argument were grievances very necessary to be remedied. I, therefore, was in hopes, I confess, (said Lord Althorp,) that the right honourable gentleman was going on to say, that he agreed altogether with my noble friend—that the best mode of proceeding would be, to call for an entire repeal of those laws, which



should go to the extent of satisfying the scruples of conscientiousness, whether on the part of dissenters or churchmen. But he stopped far short of this, and supported the proposition which had been hinted at by his honourable friend, (Sir T. Acland,) the member for Devonshire, [which was, to substitute an oath in place of the sacrament.] For myself, said Lord Althorp, I consider always upon this question, as well as upon the Catholic question, that we are to look for our security, not in oaths of any sort, but in the passing of the proposed measure of relief itself. In the present case, I should be most happy to accept of a measure of relief, although accompanied with oath or security, provided such oath were one that would consist with the conscientious scruples of the dissenters to take. But I am afraid that the proposition which the right honourable gentleman intends to advocate, is not one of so acceptable a nature as this: for he goes on the principle of giving "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." His proposition is merely, that the indemnity bill should be extended from time to time. I agree with what my honourable friend, the member for Devonshire, said, as to the great danger and evil which would arise from not placing restrictions on the discussion of this question, for I certainly think it very important that these discussions should now cease once for all. In the debate of the other night, we certainly ran a considerable risk of exciting that irritation which has been on all hands so justly deprecated. Owing to the degree of temper and good feeling with which that debate was fortunately sustained, we avoided all excitement of this kind; but who shall say, sir, if such a bill of suspension should pass, which must of necessity, from its very terms, be renewed from time to time, that the future discussions upon it will not raise up the angry spirit which on this occasion, at least, has slept—that very irritation, which the right honourable gentleman tells us is so much to be avoided? I, therefore, feel, that I could hardly bring myself, under any circumstances, to



agree to the proposition which the right honourable gentleman has suggested. And I do hope that my noble friend will endeavour, as far as may be in his power, to carry through the house the motion he has submitted : though I shall undoubtedly be ready to allow of any security being given, which may be found compatible with the scruples of the dissenters.

It would be unjust to Lord Althorp not to add, in this place, a short speech which he delivered on the same subject on a subsequent occasion, more especially on account of the eulogy with which it concludes, on the success of his noble friend, the mover of the repeal. Mr. W. Wynn had delivered his sentiments shortly, but very pointedly, in favour of the total repeal of the acts in question, and against introducing any declaration or oath in their place. Having declared himself a firm friend to the church of England, he proceeded to say, that he did not believe that any real security had ever resulted to the church from the existence of these acts ; neither could he conceive from whence danger could arise to the church during the last eighty-three years. Though the terms "barrier" and "bulwark" had been applied to those acts by writers of the highest reputation, they seemed to him rather to deserve the name of a net, which the larger fishes leaped over, while the smaller slipped through, and only now and then a fish, called an alderman, was caught in the meshes ! He objected to the securities, as they are called, because he believed them to be useless. The needless multiplication of tests, he thought, destroyed the respect due to oaths, and lessened the dignity of the house. At the same time, he thought Lord John Russell would act unwisely, if, by refusing to consent to the proposition that had been made of introducing a declaration or promise, he should separate those who were now agreed on the main point.

Lord Althorp said, he agreed with his right honourable friend, (Mr. Wynn,) in objecting to the proposed declarations. He was an advocate for simple repeal, unaccom-



panied by any conditions or provisions. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) upon a former evening, proposed a suspension of the laws, instead of their total repeal—at which time he said that he put little value upon oaths. He then expressed his anxiety only for a delay of the measure: but now that he has found a majority of the house to decide against any delay, he comes forward with the proposal of a declaration. I object, said Lord Althorp, to adding any new oaths or declarations to those prescribed to be taken by the people of this country. They are in this instance unnecessary, and they can afford no security whatever to the church. I will not, however, go afresh into the argument, as my right honourable friend (Mr. Wynn) has stated the objection to the declaration most forcibly. But we are told that, by admitting this declaration, the bill will be carried through parliament. I should be sorry that any opinion of mine (said Lord Althorp) should interfere to prevent its success; while, at the same time, I should be sorry to pledge myself to any of the words of either of the declarations proposed. As I have heard them read, I certainly should prefer that of the right honourable secretary, (Mr. Peel.) One great recommendation of it is, that the omission of taking it, does not subject the parties to any heavy penalties, but only to the loss of office. I am glad, also, that no particular time is fixed for taking the declaration; for this reason, I support it, as being more simple and moderate. I would have opposed it, had it been accompanied by any penalty similar to that now incurred by the omission of the sacramental test; for in that case, in passing a bill for the relief of the dissenters, we should be actually imposing a bill of pains and penalties on the whole people of England. It appears, however, that the right honourable gentleman does not impose the infliction of any penalty further than the deprivation of the office; and with respect to the officers under the crown, he leaves it at the option of the government to require it of such persons, and at such times, as it may think fit. With such



a discretionary power vested in the government, I trust that this declaration will be gradually allowed to fall into disuse. But if it does not, it cannot be of any great importance, as long as no penalty is attached to the omission, beyond the loss of the office. His lordship continued—

“There is another important point in the speech of the right honourable secretary, to which I am desirous of adverting. He has stated, that if this declaration be adopted, there is a strong probability of the success of the measure. Feeling, after the speech of the right honourable secretary, that, with the modification to which I have alluded, the object of the dissenters may be attained, and that the measure of relief will proceed, I will not offer any opposition to the proposition which has been made. I must say, that it gives me great pleasure to congratulate my noble friend on the success of his efforts. His name will go down to posterity revered and honoured as the mover of this salutary measure—a measure which is calculated to wipe away one of the foulest blots that ever stained the history of this country—a measure which will have the effect of tranquillizing the minds, and conciliating the affections, of a large and valuable body of the people. I repeat, that it gives me heart-felt pleasure to congratulate my noble friend on this occasion ; and although I am against the adoption of any declaration whatsoever, in cases of this description, still, I will not, by any opposition, retard the accomplishment of this desirable measure.”

It was shortly after this, that a proposition was made by the ministry to grant an annuity to the family of the late Mr. Canning ; and, to the surprise of many, Lord Althorp joined Mr. Hume in opposing it. The noble viscount expressed his astonishment, that, in bringing forward this resolution, the chancellor of the exchequer should never once have alluded to the financial affairs of the country. In the very difficult and delicate state of our finances, he thought we were bound to watch narrowly every attempt at an addition to the public burdens. “I do



not mean to say," added his lordship, "that the addition of three thousand pounds a year, is likely to be sensibly felt; but when the farmers are in the greatest difficulty and distress—when our commerce is depressed, and our manufactures either at a stand-still, or carried on with little or no profit to the capitalists—I say, that with such a state of things before us, I cannot help looking at the proposed grant as little better than an insult to the country. The right honourable gentleman has proposed this grant, not so much in the form of a claim, as a draft on the liberality and generosity of parliament. I did think that the house would attend more to the principles of economy than to sanction this; but, if this grant be carried, I can entertain little hope that his Majesty's ministers will improve the system of government, or become more economical. To me it is very painful to touch upon such points, but duty impels me to do so; and I must say, that I do not think the public life of the late Mr. Canning merits such a grant to his family." A warm debate ensued, in consequence of his lordship's opposition, and was maintained for some time with closed doors, but ministers eventually carried their point.

The state of Ireland had, by this time, arrived at an alarming crisis, and even his grace the Duke of Wellington, the conqueror of Waterloo, was appalled at the formidable aspect of the Catholic Association, if he did not quail before it. One of his ministerial friends (Mr. Dawson) had paid a visit to Ireland towards the close of the year 1828, at which time, he confessed himself to have had no object less at heart than that of granting concessions to the Catholics, nor had he the slightest apprehension that government were disposed to yield to their claims. "But when I got there," said he, "what was it that I saw? I found the country on the eve of convulsion—I saw its institutions ready to give way—I saw that every one was in a manner opposed to the members of his own family—I saw that every thing was gradually creeping towards the brink of destruction—



that party feeling was raging in every direction—that grand juries and magistrates, and, in short, every one, partook of the same spirit, and that it was impossible for things to go on any longer. When I arrived in the city of the county which I represent, I found that the annual celebration in honour of the siege was about to take place, and I was called upon to attend it. But when I heard the sentiments that were expressed there by those that entertained strong Protestant feelings, I felt that I could not as an honest man attend at the meeting—I feared to see a civil war, and all its consequences, follow such a state of things.”\*

Such was the apprehensions of ministers for the fate of the empire, at the opening of parliament, 1829; and in accordance with which, the royal speech contained the following annunciation for putting down the Catholic Association, and granting them their emancipation.

“The state of Ireland has been the object of his Majesty’s continued solicitude. His Majesty laments that, in that part of the United Kingdom, an association should still exist, which is dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution; which keeps alive discord and ill-will amongst his Majesty’s subjects, and which must, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland. His Majesty confidently relies on the wisdom and on the support of parliament, and his Majesty feels assured that you will commit to him such powers as may enable his Majesty to maintain his just authority. His Majesty recommends, that, when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security

\* Speech in the House of Commons, Friday, February 6th, 1829.



of our establishments in church and state ; with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops, and of the clergy of the realm : and of the churches committed to their charge. These are institutions which must ever be held sacred in this Protestant kingdom, and which it is the duty and determination of his Majesty to preserve inviolate. His Majesty most earnestly recommends to you to enter upon the consideration of a subject of such paramount importance, deeply interesting to the feelings of his people, and involving the tranquillity and concord of the United Kingdom, with the temper and the moderation which will best ensure the successful issue of your deliberations."

On moving the address of thanks to the throne for this communication, Mr. Peel entered into an enlarged explanation of the change which had taken place, during the last six months, in the opinions and determinations of his Majesty's advisers ; after which Mr. Brougham rose, and declared that he considered the Catholic question to be substantially carried. It had been remarked by an honourable baronet, (Sir R. Inglis,) that the ministers, in propounding a measure of this description, must have changed all their principles, without any variation of circumstances to account for the change. "I prefer," said Mr. Brougham, "those who lived to profit by experience, over those whom longer living only makes more perversely obstinate ;—year after year, reaping the sad fruits of continued long life, without the important, though melancholy, consolation, of setting against increasing years, increasing wisdom ! It wanted not the result of more recent experience, to convince us that this measure, the expediency of which is undeniable, was right ; and we contended, without the benefits of recent experience, as stoutly and deliberately in favour of this great measure, as, with the benefit of that experience, we do now contend. But different men saw the same subject in different lights ; and he could very well imagine—and indeed he knew it, both in public and private, from



the conduct of men in that house, and of others out of it—that those events which had taken place during the last two or three years, but particularly within the last year and a half, both in parliament, in the government, and out of doors, had materially changed the elements of their calculations on this subject. Either the government must be united to carry the question, or to oppose it; and united, if at all, to resist it perpetually, as a cardinal point. But that was an impossibility.” He then adverted to the existing state of things in Ireland, and avowed, that the power of the state in that country had been taken out of the hands of the constituted authorities, and was substantially administered by the Roman Catholic Association. But that was a state of things which would not do! The friends of the Catholic Association—the Catholic Association themselves—they who deem its existence the unavoidable consequence of the grievances of the Catholic body, must alike concur in deprecating the continuance of a state of things utterly inconsistent with the safety of the government, and the peace of Ireland. Are there more ways than one of putting an end to this state of things, said Mr. Brougham? He believed that no man living would take upon himself the responsibility of attempting to put down the Catholic Association by any means but one; and that was, concession. He should have infinitely preferred that the measure of granting relief to the Catholics had preceded, instead of following, the other measure which it may be in the contemplation of government to recommend to parliament; and for this obvious reason—he was as clearly convinced, as he was of his own existence, if the two measures had been proposed in that order of succession, the carrying of the first would have rendered the propounding of the other unnecessary; it would have put an end to the Catholic Association; and the Association, originally created by the existence of a wrong, would have died a natural death, on the application of a remedy. Into the details of the measure, of course, he abstained from



inquiring ; but he trusted that, if it should be thought necessary to propose any such measure to parliament, it would be drawn up by those who were conversant with the principles of the constitution, and that it would only arm the crown, in the express terms of his Majesty's speech, "with sufficient power to enable his Majesty to maintain his just authority." He would, however, gladly persuade himself, that the news of this speech from the throne, and the declarations of ministers in both houses of parliament, when they reached Ireland, would anticipate the contemplation of the measure. If he had ever taken leave to advise the great body of his Catholic fellow-subjects from his place in parliament—and it was only from that place that he ever did, or ever would, offer them advice—and if they had ever condescended to listen to such advice, he never more earnestly, or more deliberately, than he did now, anxiously entreat—implore—conjure them, by a regard for their own honour, for their own interests, for the interests of the empire at large, for the peace of the country, but, above all, for the success of their own good cause, at once to be satisfied with the assurances from the throne—to be satisfied with the commentaries of his Majesty's responsible advisers—to be satisfied with the state of the question, in doors, and out of doors ; and at once freely—he had almost said unasked, but he himself was asking them—uncompelled, at least, to put an end to their corporate existence, and throw themselves on the wisdom of parliament. On an occasion like the present, it would be quite useless in him to say, that, laying aside all personal feelings and party prepossessions, he concurred in the great and beneficial result which was now on the eve of being accomplished. As to party squabbles and contentions, there would be abundance of time for going through them after completing this measure, and thus rendering the most lasting, the most general, and the most valuable benefit to the country, which, he would venture to say, parliament had rendered for the last century."



This abstract of Mr. Brougham's speech, we prefer giving in this place, inasmuch as it was referred to by several of the members of opposition, as fully expressing their opinions upon the subject, particularly Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Francis Burdett, and also Lord Althorp, who, after declaring how grateful he felt to the government for the concession which they now proposed, observed, that the honourable and learned gentleman near him (Mr. Brougham) had fully expressed his sentiments on this important question. During the whole of the time he had been honoured with a seat in that house, it had always appeared to him that the Catholic question would be best settled by the government. He certainly felt that the noble duke deserved great credit for having induced the government to adopt it, although it would have given him pleasure to have heard that they were willing to wait the effect of concession before they determined to put down the Association by force. He trusted, however, that the members of that body would have the good sense to adopt the prudent recommendation of their friends, and disband themselves, without waiting for any legislative enactment.

A few days afterwards, Mr. Peel brought forward his bill for putting down the Catholic Association, and suppressing all similar associations in Ireland, when Lord Althorp was the first to rise, and express his concurrence with the measure. He said, he was happy to observe the manner in which this bill had been brought forward by the right honourable gentleman, and he should give it his support, as he considered it only preparatory to the final settlement of the great question of Catholic emancipation; on this ground, and on this only, he supported the measure. When the two bills had passed the houses of parliament, and become "part and parcel of the law of the land," Lord Althorp spoke with satisfaction of the temper in which these measures had been received in Ireland: and he could not help regarding it as a satisfactory proof of the spirit in which the Catholic clergy of Dublin had peti-



tioned against the restrictions which ministers had thought proper to introduce into the Catholic Relief bill, with respect to their monastic orders, when in making the moderate opposition which they had done to a portion of the bill, they had entrusted their petition to the hands of Mr. Peel himself, by whom it had been introduced.

Thus was an end at last put to a contest which had raged for half a century, and frequently threatened the convulsion of the whole empire. That boon which was denied to the wisdom of a Pitt—the all-informed eloquence of a Burke—the comprehensive benevolence of a Fox—the chivalrous and high-spirited zeal of a Grattan—and “though last, not least,” the polished rhetoric of a Canning, was achieved by the Catholic Association. One can hardly forbear, in taking leave of the subject, to indulge in a few reflections on this momentous question, thus happily put to rest, and upon the manner in which it was effected. But five years before the battle was gained, the Catholic Association was scarcely in existence. It arose, to use the words of Grattan, “small at first, and lowly, like mist at the heels of a countryman, but soon it ascended the hills, and overcast the hemisphere.” At first, Messrs. O’Connell and Shiel, the two prime agitators in the business, delivered their political harangues to “a beggarly account of empty boxes.” But soon the spirit and energy, and, above all, the justice of their cause, raised up for these leaders a host of admiring supporters; and day by day the Association increased, until it assumed the gigantic front and swelling stature of the Irish nation. At length this anomalous body usurped the functions of government and the privileges of parliament, and attracted not only the support of the Catholic, but also of the liberal Protestant. Its objects were applauded, though the means were not always approved. At first an object of scorn to its enemies, of pity to friends, and of contempt to government, it became in time the terror of the one, the admiration of the other, and the rival, or rather the master, of the third. In this



state of things, the bill of 1825, commonly called "The Suppression Act," was framed; but O'Connell, to use his own language, only required eight-and-forty hours to drive a coach-and-four through an act which had occupied the collective wisdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to form. And thus, as Mr. Peel observed, was the arm of government paralyzed, and their fetters proved to be only springes to catch woodcocks. But the government had to endure, not one, but a succession of defeats. Their old and pampered favourites, the Orange aristocracy, were overthrown within the very citadel of their former power; and Waterford, Louth, and Clare gave herald that the war which the Beresfords, the Fosters, and the Fitzgeralds were waging on the part of the cabinet, must end in defeat, if not in disgrace. The people for once seemed to be in earnest. Beggars though they were, they scorned the temptation of a bribe; and though proverbial for their volatility, they all at once became sober, and the most turbulent a lover of order. By these peaceful stratagems, a king's minister, because only half a friend, lost his seat; and the leader of the people, because he was a whole agitator, was enthroned, amid the acclamations of the Irish people, in the post of honour. Nor was this the only triumph. A hostile lord-lieutenant was transformed into an ardent friend; and a treasury secretary, the brother-in-law of the home minister, became a decided advocate of Catholic emancipation.

"The Catholic Association," says the editor of a well-conducted weekly journal, at the time of the passing of these bills, "has been much condemned, and has by one party been cried down as a body of traitors and rebels. For ourselves, though always approving its great object, we have often been disposed to censure the violent and imprudent language of its leaders. But now that the Association is at an end, and emancipation on the point of being carried, can any one fail to perceive that the Association has been the principal instrument of gaining the measure?"



It stirred up the Catholics of Ireland to demand their rights; it combined and directed their efforts; it blazoned forth their numbers, their zeal, and their power; it defeated the Orange aristocracy on ground where they had been supreme for centuries; it made the government feel its weakness and its danger. Effects like these could not have been produced, as society is constituted, without the mixture of much violence—without a large infusion of the spirit and energy of demagogues. The attempt to intimidate the government was daring, and perhaps rash, but it was a desperate remedy for a stubborn disease; and the wisdom of the measure is proved by the success. The voluntary dissolution of the Association, in compliance with the strongly expressed opinions of its leaders, and of the Catholic bishops, clearly proves that the grand object of that body was not agitation, or sedition, or political ascendancy, but simply and honestly what they have professed, namely, emancipation. Agitation, indeed, was their means, but tranquillity was their end. They shewed their power, only to obtain their rights.”

Whether Lord Althorp at this time anticipated a change in his Majesty's councils, and had any expectation of being called to the office which he has subsequently filled, as chancellor of the exchequer, it is impossible to ascertain; but, certainly, on the 12th of March, 1829, we find him moving for accounts of all moneys paid to the Bank of England for the management of the public debt of 1828; of allowances made by the public to the Bank; of the charges for the management of South Sea stock; of the balances of public money in the hands of the Bank, including the balances of the accountant-general in the Court of Chancery; of unclaimed dividends; of the amount of advances made by the Bank to the government on account of exchequer bills, &c., between the months of August, 1828, and February, 1829; of the number of branch-banks of the Bank of England, established under the act authorizing the same, together with the dates and places of their establish-



ment. His lordship's motion was acceded to, but it does not appear that it led to any immediate practical result; for in the following year, June 26th, 1830, his Majesty George IV. died, and this was followed by a dissolution of parliament.

On the accession of his present Majesty to the throne, Mr. Secretary Peel moved, as a matter of course, that the house should take into its consideration the subject of the civil list, proposing at the same time to take a vote upon account, and postpone the final settlement of the amount until a new parliament should have been called together. Lord Althorp remarked upon this, that he could not presume to say what delay the consideration of the civil list might occasion; certainly much delay was not desirable, and therefore he was not inclined to press the point. With respect to the other question, he considered it to be one of the last importance. If mooting that question would give the slightest pain to the illustrious Prince upon the throne, no one would more regret touching upon it than he should; but he felt it to be his duty at once to allude to it. The ministers, and the house in general, would incur a heavy responsibility if they delayed, longer than was absolutely necessary, to make that provision which would, as far as possible, remove the inconveniences arising from the recent demise of the crown. And as to the other question touched upon by the right honourable baronet, he hardly knew what course should be pursued; but it appeared to him that the debate ought to be adjourned for twenty-four hours—he asked for no longer delay; and the interval would enable honourable gentlemen to turn the subject in their minds, and to come with propriety and satisfaction to a decision. He made the proposition for a delay of twenty-four hours, in any spirit rather than that of the slightest feeling of disrespect to the illustrious personage who now filled the throne.

Lord Althorp's proposition was, no doubt, intended to act as a feeler of the pulse of the Commons at the commence-



ment of a new reign, and to pave the way for a trial of strength between the ministry and their opponents. It was accordingly seconded by Mr. Brougham, who, to give it effect, said, he felt it his duty to recommend to the house to settle the civil list in the new reign, before its members met their constituents. The people had a right, he said, to demand such a discharge of their duties at the hands of their representatives. He entertained no apprehension that the House of Commons would so far forget its duty to the crown, nor yet its duty to the people, as not to provide for the comfort and splendour of the Monarch. It was the duty of that house to provide, in the best manner it could, for the well-being of the commonwealth, and to see that it was exposed to no new risks. He then adverted to the question of a regency, in the event of the demise of his present Majesty; and strongly urged, that the house should, with as little delay as possible, take that question into its deliberate consideration. He adverted to the *possibility* of the Duke of Cumberland claiming the office of regent as his right! He therefore called upon the house not to facilitate its separation by adopting the plan of ministers, until the question of a regency was settled, and every possible arrangement made to protect the country from those risks to which, at this critical moment, it was exposed. He consequently seconded the amendment proposed by his noble friend, Lord Althorp; but he could not conclude without again declaring the profound respect and cordial attachment which he had humbly presumed to express for the illustrious Prince who had yesterday received the congratulations of that house on his accession to the throne.

On a division taking place, there was a majority of only 46 in favour of ministers, which appeared to be hailed as ominous of their declining power and influence, and it drew from Mr. Brougham some severe and sarcastic remarks: "Amongst all the arguments used on the other side," he said, "there was one which he had not heard in that house—he meant, the threat of resigning! 'If you



leave government in a minority, I will resign; and then, where will you get a field-marshal to superintend your finances, and regulate your law-courts?' (alluding to a threat in the upper house.) "If," said Mr. Brougham, "I had had the bad fortune to hear that threat uttered in this place, I should have stated the grounds on which I deemed it my duty not to listen to the threat, but to look with equanimity on what some might consider the last national calamity!" He conceived it barely possible for the united kingdom to endure the going out of office of a considerable portion of his Majesty's ministers! Let them not lay the flattering unction to their souls, and indulge fond hopes from the measure they contemplated; that hope might meet with such a disappointment as should lead them to look back even to this parliament with some of the "pleasures of memory." Their case might resemble that of Prince Polignac. He must needs send the representatives of France to their constituents; and what were the consequences? They were at this moment choosing a new assembly; and that great nation was up—not in arms, *that* might be controlled—but up in the panoply of reason, to the joy of all freemen, and especially ourselves; and they had resolved to set at nought the paltry intrigues of Prince this, and Duke that—and to care no more for them than for a knot of Jesuits, or a set of regicides. They were now up; and we should see, in that country—as would be seen in this—that the day of force was gone by; and that he who would rule this country by royal favour, or military power, might be hurled down from his height. "Him I accuse not," exclaimed Mr. Brougham, (alluding to his Grace of Wellington;) "I accuse you, (addressing himself to the ministerial benches,) his flatterers—his mean fawning parasites!"

This caustic appeal roused Sir Robert Peel's indignation, who rose, and vehemently demanded, whether the honourable and learned member meant to accuse him with being such—"Does he presume to say of me," said Mr. Peel,



“that I am the mean, fawning parasite of any man?” When the uproar had ceased, Mr. Brougham coolly explained, that “it was both absurd and ridiculous to suppose he could intend any thing *personal* to the right honourable gentleman. No, I allude,” said he, “to the votes which have passed, to the resolutions which have been come to, to the cries which have been heard; and I have as much right to answer those cries, as they to utter them. I spoke of parasites as of the *pessimum genus inimicorum*: this shall ever be my course of conduct, and this is the course of conduct which it becomes the house to adopt.” Mr. Peel courteously accepted the apology, and said, he was convinced that the expressions were not intended to apply to him, and, moreover, that they were uttered in the warmth of debate, increased by interruption—to which Mr. Brougham nodded assent.

On a subsequent day, (Friday, July 2,) when the house had resolved itself into a committee of supply, Mr. Hume concurred with Lord Althorp, in condemning the course which ministers had pursued, and thought the house had acted inconsistently with its duty, in not supporting the motion which the noble lord had submitted on a former night. He thought the arguments of his lordship unanswerably proved, that the civil list could at no time be settled with such advantage to the community as at the present moment. Mr. Brougham, too, conjured the house to pause before they adopted the course now recommended by ministers. All that he had heard, seen, or read, within the last few days, only tended to increase his anxiety for the weighty and awful responsibility which attached to them at the present perilous juncture, and he hoped they would acquit themselves of it as became the representatives of a free, powerful, and enlightened people.

Ministers having so far succeeded as to obtain a vote for the necessary supplies, parliament was dissolved on the 24th of July, and the new one convened in November following. One of the first measures that came before



the house was the settlement of the civil list, and this gave rise to a long debate, the issue of which was, that ministers were left in a minority of twenty-nine ; and Mr. Brougham having given notice that he should bring forward the question of parliamentary reform, the Duke of Wellington thought it advisable to retire from the premiership, which broke up the administration.\* On the formation of the Whig cabinet, Lord Althorp was appointed to the office of chancellor of the exchequer, which he has subsequently filled—an office of no little difficulty in the present day, when the country is clamorous for retrenchment and a diminution of taxes. How far his lordship will be able to carry into effect those plans of relief which he so strenuously urged upon his predecessor in office, time alone can disclose ; but assuredly he stands pledged to much in this way. On the 12th of February, 1830, he stated it as his opinion, that the reductions proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer would be of but little avail to the people ; and on the 15th of March, when the budget was produced, he protested against subjecting the nation to additional burdens, for the sake of supporting the sinking fund. When Mr. Hume brought forward a motion, during the same session, for abolishing the very expensive office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Althorp supported it, on the ground that, in consequence of the facility of communication, the sister kingdom stood no more in need of a separate government than any of the northern counties.

Of the very able services which Lord Althorp has rendered to his noble colleague, Lord John Russell, and through him to the whole country, in carrying the reform bill through the Commons, amidst the unprecedented opposition with which it has had to contend, the public must be well aware. The cool, collected, unimpassioned self-possession which has marked his whole deportment throughout this arduous conflict, is only to be equalled by his

\* Life and Times of William IV., p. 640.



patient perseverance, his straight-forward course in the pursuit of his great object. It is needless to recapitulate, as it is painful to dwell upon, the variety of paltry stratagems to which the enemies of the bill have had recourse, in order to impede its progress, and harass its friends in every possible way, in the hope of compelling them to abandon it in disgust—which, had it been in almost any other hands than those to which it was fortunately committed, must have been its fate. But the two noble lords evidently proceeded on the maxim—“*ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*,” and success has crowned their labours. They will be able to review the scenes through which they have passed during the protracted season of fifteen months devoted to the carrying of this great national measure, with the purest satisfaction, arising from conscious rectitude, and the attainment of a great public good ; and that satisfaction must be enhanced by a recollection of the difficulties they had to contend with, and the obstacles they had to surmount. Of this satisfaction nothing can deprive them, and it will be heightened by the tribute of applause from a grateful country.

This brief sketch of Lord Althorp's public life and services, imperfect as it is, must not be concluded without adverting to one trait in his lordship's character, too important to be left unnoticed. We advert to the striking proofs which he has afforded, since he took office, of what has been termed his “transparent candour,” or an undissembled frankness in all his official concerns as a servant of the public. There seems an utter repugnance in his nature to the trickery and finesse which characterize the generality of modern statesmen. Of the truth and justness of this observation, many instances might be adduced, which have occurred during the short period that he has been in office ; but we select one, and that because it is the most recent.

On Monday, February 6th of the present year, the subject of the revenue was introduced by Mr. Goulburn, his



lordship's immediate predecessor in office, who declared himself anxious, in the present state of the public purse, to obtain from government such information as might calm the fears for the future which were generally entertained on this subject. He described the present year as wholly unprecedented! Amidst all the difficulties and expenses of the war, it had never happened, he said, that the revenue had fallen short of the expenditure. And the result was the more extraordinary, because, only three months before, Lord Althorp had anticipated a surplus of half a million; instead of which, there was a deficiency of seven hundred thousand pounds. So that, in the short space of one quarter of a year, the finances had changed for the worse, to the amount of one million two hundred thousand pounds. Elated with this happy discovery, Mr. Goulburn resolved to avail himself of the opportunity which it afforded him of having a slap at the reform bill, and thus facetiously proceeded. He admitted that "the time of the chancellor of the exchequer was very much engaged, and perhaps he had not leisure to instruct Earl Grey better on the subject of the revenue. He might have been engaged in assisting the noble paymaster to frame a new constitution—or in assisting Lord Palmerston in those conferences in which he bore so distinguished a part—or in assisting the premier himself in the disinterested distribution of patronage to his very numerous relatives, connexions, and friends; but he could not avoid thinking that the noble lord would have best consulted his own character, and the interests of the country, if he had condescended to go down to the treasury, and look a little into the accounts of his own particular department; so as to be able, when he appeared before the house, to give statements which were not calculated to display a delusive advantage, and terminate in the disappointment and injury of the people;"—with much more in the same vapouring style.

But what said Lord Althorp to all this, and what was the line of conduct which he pursued under these taunts



and sarcasms? Very different indeed was it from what would have been pursued by a Pitt or a Perceval—a Castle-reagh or a Vansittart—or yet a Goulburn.

Instead of denying a plain matter of fact, and striving to escape undetected amid an imposing array of complicated accounts which none of his hearers could satisfactorily comprehend, Lord Althorp honestly confessed the naked truth. He admitted that a surplus of revenue over expenditure was desirable, though he could not admit that, at present, the deficiency was so great as to have produced either alarm or dissatisfaction. He defended himself from the charge of over-confidence in his calculation of the produce of the taxes; he had merely contended, as he was entitled to do, that three-quarters of the year being past, the chances of error in respect to the anticipations of the remaining quarter were proportionably diminished. He acknowledged that, in one respect, in framing his calculations, he had fallen into an error. In the last quarter, the beer duties had expired, and no mention of them occurred in it: this had produced an error of £350,000. There was a second item, in which he had been deceived by the calculations of Mr. Goulburn; that gentleman calculated on an increase in the spirit duties of £450,000, whereas there had been an actual decrease of £100,000. In the third place, a very heavy bill had been drawn on the Treasury on account of the Rideau Canal, of which ministers had not the slightest anticipation. These, with the stagnation of trade which had occurred during the last quarter, were the causes of the deficiency of which Mr. Goulburn complained.

The downright simplicity and honesty with which Lord Althorp admitted these facts, was perfectly confounding to his assailant, who anticipated nothing less; nor could any thing have happened of a nature so truly appalling to the whole tribe of financial quacks and mystifiers, as the declaration that the present administration were bent upon establishing such a degree of clearness in the public



accounts, as must enable every man throughout the kingdom, who bends his attention to it, to comprehend, without difficulty, its financial situation and concerns. The matter, however, did not rest merely in the disappointment of Mr. Goulburn. He had the temerity to affirm, that this year of a Whig administration was the *first* in which the expenditure had exceeded the revenue! On this subject he was taken up by Mr. Powlett Thompson, vice-president of the board of trade, in a way which he little expected—and as the observations were offered in defence of Lord Althorp, and for the purpose of repelling an unmerited and unprovoked attack upon him, we shall here record the substance of what was said.

“Mr. Goulburn spoke with horror of the alarming fact of the expenditure exceeding the revenue: was this, then, the first time,” asked Mr. Thompson, “that it had been the case? He sneered at the places held by the relatives of Lord Grey: had he forgotten the attempt, just before they quitted office, to quarter Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Dundas, the sons of two cabinet ministers, on the pension list?” Mr. Thompson proceeded to compare the deficiency of revenue during the present year with the deficiency of former years. He would not go further back than 1823, because it was to be recollected, that the parliament had then pledged itself, by a distinct resolution, that there should be an efficient sinking fund of five millions, which might be considered as a portion of the public expenditure. In 1823, the deficiency in the revenue, independent of the payments to the sinking fund of £5,000,000, which parliament had by repeated resolutions declared should be maintained, was £2,949,000; in 1824, £1,007,000; in 1825, £2,125,000; in 1826, £6,747,000, (being a larger amount even than the sinking fund;) and in 1827, £6,603,000. In 1828, the deficiency was reduced to £959,000; and in 1829, to £807,000; and in 1830 there was a balance on the other side of £978,000. Besides this statement, there also appeared, in evidence taken before the committee of finance,



on the admission of the honourable member for Harwich, that there was a deficiency in the income of the country, amounting to £127,000. He deplored the deficiency as much as any man; but he denied that it never occurred before. The only difference was this—that now there was no concealment whatever. Ministers stated plainly and fairly to the public the real state of the country. They did not borrow money, for the purpose of paying the debt; nor call a sum paid by the Bank, and purchased by long annuities, actual income received. They did not mystify the public accounts, but stated them honestly and openly; and were prepared to abide by the result. The right honourable gentleman had been pleased to sneer at the noble lord (the chancellor of the exchequer,) for not foreseeing, in October last, that a deficiency in the revenue would take place; but did the right honourable gentleman forget that he himself came down to the house in the middle of the year 1800, and said that he expected to receive an annual sum of £600,000 from the increase of the spirit duties, £450,000 of which was to be received in the present year? How had that expectation been verified? Instead of an increase of £450,000, there had been a deficiency of £100,000. And what was the present deficiency owing to? Was it owing to a lavish and wanton expenditure, or was it not rather occasioned by the money of the people being allowed to remain in their pockets, ready at any time to be drawn thence, on the demand of the state? He was aware of the system which had hitherto prevailed, and he dared to say that it would have been much more gratifying to some honourable gentlemen, to have found a large surplus, even if the money had been wrung from the people by increased taxation. But in that case there would have been in reality no greater surplus than existed at present, for the money now, instead of being spent, remained in the pockets of the people—was fructifying there, and would come forth when called for. He did not believe that national credit had been affected by the deficiency in the



revenue ; for the funds had exhibited no indication that public confidence had been shaken. But supposing that the noble lord (the chancellor of the exchequer) had foreseen this deficiency ; would he have been justified in withholding from the country that relief which was experienced by the repeal of the duties on coals and printed cottons ? The right honourable gentleman had vented a great deal of sarcasm on the various changes which the noble lord's schemes of finance had undergone ; but had the right honourable gentleman himself committed no blunders ? Had he forgotten the session of 1830 ? Did he never make any change in his proposition respecting the duties on rum and sugar ? Had he forgotten the memorable evening when his bill, so properly termed the unintelligible sugar bill, was discussed ? The liberal measures in commercial policy commenced when the honourable gentlemen opposite were in office. Those measures received the constant support of the present ministers, when they sat on the other side of the house. How different had been the conduct of the gentlemen opposite, to the present government ! He would not say they were influenced by party motives, but there was such a thing as going away when questions were under discussion, upon which government had a right to expect their support. Upon the question of the timber duties, an attempt was made to justify a departure from principle by drawing a distinction between a commercial and a financial measure. What was the conduct of honourable gentlemen opposite, with respect to the motion for a committee to inquire into the glove trade ? The case was exactly parallel with the motion for a committee on the silk-trade in 1829. The same principle governed both cases. Yet, strange to say, the very authors of the principle voted against the committee on the silk-trade, and for that on the glove-trade. They who, when they were the colleagues of Mr. Huskisson, were too happy with him to  
"Share in the triumph and partake the gale,"  
now turned their backs upon ministers, when they were



attempting to work out the policy of that lamented statesman. No doubt the right honourable gentleman opposite had good reason for opposing the sugar-refinery bill, which was only following up a measure introduced by himself whilst in office. There was, however, no difference in the principle of the two measures, and he challenged the right honourable gentleman to shew that there was. Under these circumstances, he would not impugn the motives of the right honourable gentleman, but he must be allowed to doubt his authority. He believed that the explanation which had been made by his noble friend would be satisfactory to the country. He believed so, because the country placed confidence in the purity of the noble lord's intentions, and the manliness of his character. He thought that the results predicted by the noble lord would be received by the country in the same spirit with which he had foretold them, and that the noble lord would be spared the necessity of imposing further burdens on the country."

Lord Althorp does not rank high as an orator: his fair fame and high character rest upon a surer basis. A gentleman who saw and heard him, at the public dinner which was given to him and Lord John Russell at Stationers' Hall, to commemorate the triumph of the reform bill in the House of Commons, thus happily describes the matter. "The chairman, Sir Francis Burdett, proposed Lord Althorp's health. The toast was hailed as it ought to have been; and the feeling of personal regard in which Lord Althorp is held, mingled itself in the testimonies that were given in universal acclamation to his public conduct. When Sir Francis Burdett pronounced an encomium on his incomparable temper, there was a loud and unanimous response to the praise, which every one felt to be founded upon unquestionable truth. Lord Althorp rose. I have often seen him, but never beheld him so excited as he was at this moment. His countenance preserved its expression of predominant *bonhomie*, (good nature,) but lost that aspect of quiescence which it ordinarily wears, and became



animated by emotions of lofty and triumphant goodness. He underwent a singular change. The low, obscure, uncertain, and hesitating tones, in which he speaks in the House of Commons, were put by. He even laid aside the huskiness of thought, as well as of voice, in which he too frequently delivers himself, and shewed that he has within him a far better oratorical *materiel* than he generally conveys to his hearers the idea that he possesses. Clear, distinct, and even impassioned, conscious at once of the purity of his purpose and of its glorious success, he spoke with a fervid integrity, and a forcible impressiveness, which, if transferred to his parliamentary enunciation, would be of signal service, not only to himself, but to the public. He owned that pride which he felt in the victories of peace which he had won; he avowed his passion for a meritorious and honourable fame; and acknowledged the pleasure which he derived from the popularity that he had obtained by measures as useful to his country, as they are creditable to himself. The speech was hailed with rapturous concurrence in every sentiment which it contained, and brought out the expression of a feeling, which induces me to consider Lord Althorp as one of the main sustainments of the government. He is evidently an object of warm individual liking, as well as of public respect. He commands the confidence of all those who either know or hear him. He is a personification of old English unadulterated honesty, and gets an easy possession of the understanding, by making a ready lodgment in the heart."









C. R. LESLIE, R.A. PINX.

FAGE & SON SCULP.

HENRY-RICHARD VASSALL, BARON HOLLAND, F.R.S.-F.S.A.

*Vassall Holland*

FISHER, SON, & CO. LONDON. 1832.



THE RIGHT HON.

## HENRY RICHARD FOX, LORD HOLLAND.

*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

This nobleman is the nephew of that illustrious statesman, Charles James Fox, and the son of Stephen, the second Lord Holland, who died in 1774, at which time the son was little more than a year old. His mother was Lady Mary Fitzpatrick, a daughter of the Earl of Upper Ossory. He was born at Winterslow House, in the county of Wilts, on the 21st of January, 1773, and, being deprived of both his parents in his infancy, the charge of his education devolved on his guardians, who sent him to Eton, at which time the Rev. Jonathan Davies was head-master of the College; but in a few months, his death made way for the appointment of Dr. Heath, who occupied that station for so long a period, and with such uniform celebrity and success. In the year 1790, his lordship quitted Eton for the University of Oxford, where he completed his studies at Christ Church, was created Master of Arts in 1792, and on coming of age, two years after, took his seat in the House of Lords, though he did not then enter upon his parliamentary duties.

The state of the Continent, at this time, and the other attractions for Lord Holland, than the domestic scene, were slightly going on in the "house of commons" and accordingly his lordship, being introduced by some letters of introduction to the celebrated statesman, proceeded to visit the celebrated statesman, Fox, who was then in the house of commons.





HENRY HOLLAND, F.R.S. LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT.

*Henry Holland*



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The state of the Continent, at this time, had greater attractions for Lord Holland, than the dull debates which were nightly going on in the "hospital of incurables;" and accordingly his lordship, being furnished by his uncle with letters of introduction to the different courts of Europe, proceeded to visit Copenhagen, France, and Switzerland.



He was present when Louis the Sixteenth accepted the constitution, after his attempt to leave the country, and his seizure at Varennes.

A long residence in that then distracted country, however, becoming perilous, he returned home, and in March 1793, again embarked at Portsmouth, on board the *Juno* frigate, commanded by Captain, afterwards Sir Samuel Hood, for Corunna: the Spanish admiral, Gravina, who fell at Trafalgar, was his fellow-passenger, and ever after a warm friend. With the exception of Catalonia and Valencia, Lord Holland then visited the whole of Spain; making the language, the habits of its various people, its literature, and government, the objects of his study; nor can we reasonably doubt that the misrule, disorder, and misery brought before his view, in this and subsequent visits, tended in no slight degree to strengthen him in those principles of freedom, of which he has ever since been the decided friend and advocate. From Spain he passed into Italy, living for some time with Lord Wycombe, the elder brother of the Marquis of Lansdowne, at Florence; and in 1796 returned to England.

In the year 1797, his lordship was united to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Vassall, Esq., a lady of exquisite beauty, congenial taste, talents, and acquirements; and in consequence of his marriage, he assumed the name of Vassall.

On the 5th of January, 1798, he entered upon his parliamentary career, which he commenced by condemning the policy of the war into which Mr. Pitt had plunged the country. His maiden speech was on the second reading of the assessed tax bill, brought in by ministers avowedly to support the war. Lord Grenville was at that time secretary of state, and Lord Holland replied to his defence of the bill. The country had then been nearly five years engaged in war, during which, as his lordship contended, the state of the country had grown worse and worse. He was therefore decidedly against voting any further supplies,



until a change of men and measures had taken place. By voting these enormous supplies, he maintained, that they were only adding fuel to the fire which must consume themselves. He accused the ministers of having trepanned the country into war. They had stated that the war was not likely to be of long continuance, nor an expensive contest. At one time the people were told that twenty-five millions would be sufficient, and within half a year half as much more was called for. "Ministers now affect to be greatly alarmed," said his lordship, "lest the French should come upon our coast—God avert the calamity! But will this bill prevent them? Ministers have constantly raised the hopes of the people, and as constantly disappointed them. They went to war, to prevent the opening of the Scheldt!—have they succeeded? They then said a great deal about protecting our allies?—have they protected any? None of these things are done, although upwards of two hundred millions are expended, and the constitution of the country, in many of its parts, totally subverted. If you would have the vigorous co-operation of the people, restore to them the constitution, and give them a ministry in which they can confide; nothing else can retrieve you. They will not assist a ministry that is appointed by court intrigue; they will not confide in those who are falsely called the representatives of the people, many of whom they know to be nominated by the members of this House, and therefore it is impossible they should speak the voice of the people."

In the final discussion of the same measure, Lord Holland made his second speech, in reply to further observations on the part of Lord Grenville. The latter had charged him with a wish to change the fundamental basis of the British constitution, and with having reviled it as unfit for a rational people to live under. But against this misrepresentation, his lordship protested. "He had not said a word against the constitution. He would never speak ill of the dead! The genuine constitution of England had every



excellence that could endear it to a free people ; but, alas ! it was no longer in existence. What he wanted, and he thought he had expressed himself in clear language, was, to revive that constitution in its purity ; and the means was, not by any innovating course, but by restoring to the people a just representation in parliament. In doing this, he had no hesitation in saying, that the species of reform that had been accurately described in another place, met with his perfect concurrence.

Not long after this, the Duke of Bedford moved a vote of censure against the cabinet, which was warmly supported by Lord Holland, who described the calamities and distresses of the country to be so great, and the dangers which menaced it, from the present war, to be of such number and magnitude, that he was astonished how any one could be thoughtless or sanguine enough to imagine that there was the smallest hope of a successful issue, particularly under the administration of those whose rashness first brought the nation into the war, and whose impotence and incapacity had rendered the war, more than any other, shameful and disastrous. “Lofty declamation, without energy,” said his lordship—“boastful eloquence, without vigour—cunning, without wisdom—feeble efforts, or temporizing expedients, will never rescue this country from the dangers which press upon it from all parts.”

Again adverting to the profligate manner in which ministers squandered the public money by subsidizing foreign powers, Lord Holland thus proceeded :

“My lords ! it is impossible but you must remember that, at the beginning of every session, the minister has said to parliament—‘There are your expenses for the year ;’ and that, invariably and constantly, the sum has been doubled before the end of the session. This is called ‘an unforeseen accident.’ Subsidies were unexpectedly found to be necessary, and the ordinary mode of supply was departed from. These were as unlucky and as wrong as all the other parts of the minister’s politics ; and here too they



plead error. But can they say that they were not cautioned against those subsidies? Were they not forewarned, at the time, that the subsidized powers would desert the alliance, and that the treasures of the nation would be squandered in vain? I will not dwell upon the desertion of Prussia, said his lordship, because this is an old affair, and indeed was from the beginning so obvious, that it must be familiar to your lordships; but Austria was subsidized, and Sardinia was subsidized, to carry on the war. Holland did not desire our interference; but they all began and carried on the war, merely because this country persuaded them to do so."

In 1799, Mr. Pitt and his associates brought in a bill to suspend, for the fourth time, the habeas corpus act, and carried it through both houses by a great majority. Lord Holland, however, after opposing it manfully in its progress through the upper house, finding his efforts unavailing, resorted to his privilege as a peer of parliament, and entered his protest upon the journals. From this period, his lordship was accustomed to take a leading part in discussing all the great questions which came before the house. When the income tax was proposed, he pointed out many imperfections in the bill that was introduced for levying it, particularly its inequality—hereditary fortunes and life annuities being placed exactly on the same footing. He also considered the public faith as in some measure violated, by the tax on funded property, and on this occasion quoted an apposite example from the conduct of the French government, which, having agreed to deliver up certain subjects of the crown of Portugal, in compliance with a recent engagement to the court of Madrid, sent off the prisoners to Barcelona, but at the same time despatched a frigate after them, observing, "We released you as Spanish allies—we now capture you as Portuguese."

It was during this same year, 1799, that the ministers proposed to lay the public press under restraints—a measure which was sure to meet with the warmest opposition



from Lord Holland. Accordingly, when the bill for that purpose was brought up, he animadverted upon it with great severity, and also on the several prosecutions which ministers had instituted against what they termed seditious publications during the war. His lordship instanced the cases of Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, and the editor of the "Courier" newspaper, both of which he stigmatized as unjust, and dwelt feelingly on their severity. And here it may be mentioned, that, during Mr. Wakefield's confinement in the King's Bench prison, Lord Holland paid him frequent visits, as also did Mr. Fox and the Duke of Bedford; a favour which that gentleman acknowledged in the second volume of his own life, p. 150.

Soon after this, Lord Holland moved the house for an address to his Majesty, praying that a treaty might be entered into with the French government—a measure which the ministers affected to scout, at the moment, though they themselves, during the same session of parliament, actually consented to a negociation; pending which, nevertheless, they talked in a haughty tone, and threw out severe and pointed insult. On this occasion, after allowing that France had often abused her superiority, his lordship asked, 'What had been our own conduct towards neutral powers? Had we not violated the neutrality of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in spite of the most solemn treaties? Had we not violated the neutrality of Genoa? What was the conduct of our allies? Did not Russia violate the neutrality of other states? Did she not prescribe to the King of Denmark, that no clubs should be permitted in his dominions? He was aware, that to prove that we or our allies were guilty of the same crime, did not exculpate the French; but when he saw such unjustifiable proceedings on the part of those who made the crimes of France the cause of the war, it proved to him that these were nothing but a pretext.

On the 12th of February, 1800, his lordship moved for an inquiry into the causes of the failure of the late expe-



dition to Holland, which he characterized as calamitous and disgraceful ; observing, that “he knew the weather and the climate of the house in which he spoke ;” and he was not mistaken, for his proposition was negatived.

It was not long after this, that Mr. Pitt retired from his post ; and Mr. Addington being called to the helm, an opportunity was seized of negotiating with France, which terminated in the peace of Amiens. Lord Holland, whose health had suffered greatly from the premature decease of his eldest son, (Stephen Fox,) now embraced the opportunity of retiring to the Continent, and fixed upon Spain for his residence, on account of its salubrious climate. The various changes occasioned by the French Revolution, had, at this time, rendered the Continent a new world, which Lord Holland was anxious to explore ; and availing himself of the short interval of peace, he proceeded to Paris, where he had shortly the satisfaction of being joined by Mr. Fox, the main object of whose visit was, ostensibly, the collecting of materials for his historical work. In company with his uncle, Lord Holland was introduced to the First Consul, who thus addressed him, “You are going to Spain ?” “Yes.” “And what the d——l are you going there for ?”—a question which some years after he might, with more propriety, have put to himself ! During his stay at Paris, he enjoyed frequent and intimate intercourse with many celebrated men, such as Talleyrand, De La Fayette, Chevalier D’Azara, the Marchese Luchesini, and others, whom the extraordinary events of the times had brought together in that capital.

Quitting France, he proceeded to Spain, and, taking up his abode at Barcelona, with Lady Holland and his family, his lordship applied himself with much success to the study of Spanish literature ; and on his return home, after a lapse of nearly three years, gave to the public, as the fruit of his studies, the lives of Lope de Vega, and Guilhen de Castro, “once,” as he beautifully expresses it, “the pride and glory of Spaniards, who, in their literary, as in their politi-



cal achievements, have, by a singular fatality, discovered regions, and opened mines, to benefit their neighbours and their rivals, and to enrich every nation of Europe but their own."

When the court of Madrid was threatened to be involved in the calamities of war, Lord Holland hastened to the capital, and, having obtained the necessary passports for leaving the kingdom, he set out on the 14th of November, 1804, in company with Mr. Frere, secretary to the British embassy, and arrived at Lisbon on the 10th of December, where he prolonged his stay during the winter months, and returned to Holland House early in the ensuing spring. His lordship now advocated the political principles he had previously avowed, with increased zeal. On the 24th of May, 1805, he supported Lord Darnley's motion for an inquiry into the state of our naval affairs, on which occasion he exposed to merited reprobation Lord Melville's extravagance in naval contracts, especially for ship building. "The first lord of the admiralty," he said, "had entered on office with great promises, but was destitute of novelty in every thing but the catamaran system!" This, however, was harmless sport, in comparison of the more serious warfare which his lordship carried on against the same nobleman, shortly afterwards, for the private use which he made of the public purse committed to his hands, and for which he was dismissed from the admiralty, struck from the list of privy councillors, and impeached by the parliament of his country. It is indeed true that a majority of the peers pronounced Lord Melville "not guilty"—but Lord Holland united with several other peers in recording their protests on the journals against such acquittal.

During the Fox and Grenville administration, Lord Holland took office as lord privy seal, and consequently shared the fate of the rest of the members of that short-lived cabinet, which did not long survive the death of Mr. Fox; on his dismissal from office, he returned to the opposition benches. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader, that the



Grenville administration was broken up by the "No Popery" cry, his Majesty George the Third having taken alarm at the proposition of Lords Grenville and Howick, to do that for the Catholics of Ireland, which the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel have since done! On the meeting of the new parliament, the address was moved by the Earl of Mansfield, 26th of June, 1807—on which Lord Holland delivered his sentiments in a speech of considerable length, particularly replying to Lord Rolle, who had seconded the address.

"If the arguments of the noble lord who had just sat down," said his lordship, "were to be adopted as the rule of conduct in that house, then all freedom of debate was at an end, and their lordships would have nothing to do but re-echo every speech which the ministers, for the time being, chose to put into the mouth of his Majesty. Such doctrines were the most dangerous and unconstitutional he had ever heard. He objected also most strongly to the introduction of the King's name, and the King's opinions, into a debate in that house, as had been done upon this occasion. The noble lord had talked of imbittering the latter days of his Majesty? My lords, is it to be endured, that debates in this house are thus attempted to be influenced? If such opinions are to prevail, there is an end of the liberties of the people." Referring to the recent dissolution of parliament, his lordship proceeded to condemn both the time and the mode of doing it. As to the former, it was a time of great irritability, and collision of opinion—a most improper period for a dissolution of parliament, when, instead of a cool and dispassionate appeal to the people, it could only be an appeal to their prejudices and passions. And as to the manner of doing it, the noble lord insisted that the entrance of that misguided monarch, Charles the First, into the House of Commons, was not a more outrageous violation of the constitution. "I, who think the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished, am a friend to frequent



appeals to the people, but not by means of dissolutions. Let parliaments, instead of septennial, be triennial, or I would not object to their being annual; let there be stated earlier periods for a recurrence to the sense of the people; but if parliaments are to be overawed with the threat of dissolution, they become subject to the will of the crown; for many would weigh in the balance a seat which they may instantly lose, and a seat for six years, which must necessarily have an undue influence upon their votes."

In 1808, petitions were presented to both houses of parliament in favour of Catholic emancipation, which gave rise to considerable discussion. Lord Holland, in delivering his sentiments, said, he did not think it necessary to enter upon the various polemical points which had been brought forward in the course of the debate. The question for parliament to consider was, what was the state of Ireland, and what the remedy proper to be applied to it in the present exigency. If four millions of the people of Ireland were necessary to the safety of that country—if Ireland were necessary to the safety of the empire—the measure ought to be acceded to. With the danger of the present day, he contended that no preceding period ought to be compared. These penal laws were in his mind always odious, but peculiarly so at present, when all the pretext for their original enactment ceased to exist. The noble lord replied in a strain of very impressive eloquence to the assertion "that the peasantry of Ireland cared not a farthing about the object for which the higher orders of their persuasion were so solicitous." What, he would ask, bound a man to the glory of his country? What made the lower orders rejoice in the honours and achievements of their generals and admirals? What made their hearts beat with exultation at the mere mention of such a name as Nelson's? What, but the principle and feeling which must excite pleasure in the Irish peasant's breast, when informed of the advancement and distinction of one of his own persuasion!



Lord Holland's liberal principles have always rendered him a great favourite with the Protestant dissenters. Accordingly, he has generally been their organ in the House of Peers. In 1811, when Lord Sidmouth proposed to introduce a bill for the purpose of amending the Toleration Act, he was chosen to present to their lordships' house, the petition of the three denominations of the London dissenters against it. The alarm which was excited throughout the kingdom by the first mention of Lord Sidmouth's proposal to meddle with the rights and privileges of the dissenters, it is not forgotten, produced such a mass of petitions, that both houses of parliament were deluged by them; insomuch, that when Lord Holland rose to address the house on the second reading of the bill, he was literally hemmed in with the piles of parchment committed to his charge, so that it was with no little difficulty he rose from his seat. His lordship's appearance was somewhat ludicrous, being surrounded with petitions; but, though the occasion produced extraordinary excitement, yet he spoke with less velocity, and more distinctness, than is usual with him. The subject was quite congenial to the noble lord's feelings, and his words flowed apace.

It was on the 9th of May, that Lord Sidmouth moved, in the House of Lords, for leave to bring in a bill for amending and explaining the acts passed in the reign of William and Mary, and also of the 17th of George the Third, as far as they applied to Protestant dissenting ministers. His lordship, after explaining the purport of his bill, and what he proposed to effect by it, proceeded to shew the great increase that was annually taking place in the number of dissenting preachers of late years, which he imputed, partly to the increase of population, and of the religious spirit of the people, and partly to the pluralities and non-residence of the clergy, together with the deficiency of churches in many parts of the country, which he thought called for the attention of parliament. At present, his lordship remarked, we were unfortunately in



danger of having an established church, and a sectarian people!

Lord Holland immediately rose, to declare his total dissent from the principles of the bill. One fundamental error, he said, ran through the speech of his noble friend, namely, that the right of any man to teach and preach was derived solely from the permission of the government under which he lived. For his part, he held it to be the unalienable right of every man who thought himself capable of instructing others, to do so, provided his doctrine was not incompatible with the peace of society. He thought it highly imprudent to meddle with the act of toleration, and that the evils arising from an abuse of the exemption granted to dissenting ministers, was not of magnitude sufficient to justify the interference of the house. The bill, however, was read a first time, and ordered to be printed. It was between this and the second reading, that the dissenters poured in their petitions in a manner such as never before had been witnessed! When, therefore, on the 21st of May, the bill was to be read a second time, the house were astounded at the mass of petitions with which the noble lords were deluged, and the mover was left alone in its support. In his speech on the occasion, he complained of the misunderstanding that prevailed respecting the bill, and laboured to shew that it was not intended to set aside the toleration act, to which he declared his adherence, but only to restrain persons from assuming the functions of a preacher or minister, without sufficient testimonials to his qualifications. In conclusion, he expressed his wish that the bill should be read a second time, in order that it might go to a committee, and receive the necessary amendments.

The archbishop of Canterbury then rose, and declared his full conviction of the right of separatists from the national church to profess their own systems of religious opinion. The bill in question he considered as having two objects in view—that of producing uniformity in construing



the act of toleration, and that of rendering dissenting ministers more respectable, by excluding unfit persons from the office. These objects, his grace thought laudable in themselves; but as the dissenters were the best judges of their own concerns, and as it appeared, from the great number of petitions on the table, that they were hostile to the bill, he thought it would be unwise to press the measure against their inclination.—The dignified prelate was followed by Lord Erskine, the ex-chancellor, who told their lordships, that if the bill had been postponed some weeks, ten times the number of petitions would have poured in against it. His lordship then proceeded to shew, that there was no necessity for such a measure as Lord Sidmouth's bill. If a man inculcated sedition or blasphemy from the pulpit, there were laws already in existence by which he might be punished. And with respect to the exemptions granted to ministers, the law was clear. If a man were a teacher of religion, and had no other avocation, he was the pastor of a flock, from which it was the meaning of the toleration act that he should not be abstracted, to serve in civil or military offices; but if this were not the case, he could claim no such exemption. He then moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

Lord Holland now addressed the house at considerable length, and began with commenting on the assertion, (of Lord Sidmouth,) that the majority of the petitioners probably did not understand the measure against which they petitioned; an assertion which he pronounced “singularly offensive and unbecoming.” He then proceeded to maintain the broad principle of religious toleration which he had before advanced, offering various strictures on the reasons that had been alleged in favour of the bill, and availing himself of a remark of the Archbishop of Canterbury with great effect, that “the scriptures are a bountiful largess to the world—a great and free gift to all mankind—not bestowed for the exclusive benefit of a particular church, but for the use and advantage of the whole world.”



Several other lords now spoke in reprobation of the bill, but not one in its support; on which Lord Sidmouth briefly replied, and the question being put on the motion for deferring the second reading, it passed without a division. Thus terminated this singular business, which will long be memorable for the surprise which it occasioned to the noble mover, and to many others, by reason of the violent opposition the bill encountered from the body of dissenters. It evinced the extreme jealousy with which they regard that great palladium of their rights and privileges, the toleration act. Add to which, that another beneficial result from this measure was—what seems not to have been in Lord Sidmouth's contemplation—namely, that of shewing the high-church party, how, notwithstanding the diversity of sentiments and practices that obtain among them, the dissenters can be brought to unite heart and voice in the common cause; and also the strength they possess when thus acting in union—a species of knowledge which, if they were already formidable to the established church, must tend to render them much more so.

In the same year, 1811, Lord Holland brought forward the subject of *ex officio* informations, which of late had multiplied considerably. His motion went merely to the production of such documents as either were or ought to be public to all the kingdom, concerning matters that related to the administration of justice in the case of individuals accused of libel. It was not the object of his motion to meddle with the law of libel as it then stood—he admitted the difficulty of defining a libel, though he thought the law had not solved that difficulty as he could wish to see it done in a complete Utopia. One great point to which he would call their lordships' attention was, that the crime of libel, in reference to the state, was placed on a different footing from all others, with the exception of treason. In both these cases, the persons who must be the agents of government could not but have a bias towards viewing offences as great crimes, even where they could



not be denominated such by any just definition. In the case of treason, the law had guarded against the circumstance by a careful definition of the crime; but nothing of the kind existed in the case of libel. It was evident that even lawful discussion was often thought to be libellous by persons in power, where it was disagreeable to them, and in opposition to their views. His lordship then proceeded to consider the particular point of the power vested in the attorney-general to file his informations *ex officio*. He did not mean to dispute the legality of such a mode of proceeding, though this had been called in question by high authorities in the law; but to shew that they were never meant to be carried to the extent now complained of. For this purpose, he gave a history of their introduction, and quoted Blackstone's account of the object of the power thus granted, which was, that immediate prosecutions might be commenced against such enormous misdemeanours as disturbed the government, and impeded the exercise of the royal functions. "If then," said his lordship, "I am able to shew to this house, that, not only such prosecutions have been instituted against such crimes as were considered of an inferior nature, and not of that dangerous description which alone required them, but also that no prosecution has been followed in a great proportion of these cases, and that, by this practice, the filing of an information was, in many cases, merely fining the party in the expenses; I will assert, that I have proved an abuse in this power, which calls upon your lordships to search into the instances, and to devise some remedy against the repetition of the abuse."

His lordship then mentioned the fact, that from 1801 to 1806, only fourteen informations *ex-officio* were filed; and that in the three succeeding years, they amounted to forty-two, of which only sixteen had been brought to justice: and he adverted to a case of *nolo prosequi* having been granted on a prosecution for libel by the then



attorney-general in favour of the Morning Post, a ministerial paper, as a proof that such power was partially exercised. He stated the ulterior proceedings which he should propose, were his motion agreed to. In that case he should move certain resolutions; one of which would be, to confine the filing of *ex-officio* informations to a certain period from the publication of the paper charged with being libellous; another, that it be compulsory on the attorney-general to bring the matter to trial within a certain time, or to state to the court the causes of delay; and that after a verdict had against the defendant, judgment should be prayed against him within a limited period. He should also be disposed to move for the repeal of the late acts of parliament which enabled the attorney-general to hold to bail any one against whom he chose to file an information. After some further remarks, relative to the liberty of the press, his lordship concluded by moving, "That there be laid before that house a list of all the informations *ex-officio* filed by the attorney-general from January 31, 1801, to January 31, 1811, with the names of the persons against whom the informations were filed." Motion refused!

During the same session of parliament, the case of the Irish Catholics came before the House of Lords, on a petition presented by the Earl of Donoughmore. The lord-chancellor (Eldon) strenuously opposed the house going into committee on the subject, and was answered by Lord Holland. He spoke with great animation in refutation of the chancellor's arguments, contending that, in cases like the present, the *onus probandi* lay, not upon those who claimed, but upon those who refused, the rights questioned. Though it might be often unsafe to discuss abstract rights, yet his lordship thought no one could properly understand questions of this nature, whose mind was not well instructed respecting the grounds on which civil and religious liberty rests. He charged the noble and learned lord (Eldon) with calumniating the Revolution, by the way in which he had



spoken of it, as if it had nothing further in view than providing that the king should be a Protestant. Lord Holland contended that it embraced much higher interests ; it was a great question, between power and prerogative—the power of the crown, and the rights of the people. The proposal for making the Test Act a fundamental law was rejected both then, and at the union with Scotland ; and it was in vain to say that such laws were inherent in the constitution of England, since they did not subsist from the date of Magna Charta to the Reformation, nor from that period till the times of Charles the Second. As to the matter of the supremacy, his lordship asked, “ Was not Scotland a part of the kingdom ? yet the Scotch church totally rejected such a doctrine. If in the decrees of councils, and other Romish documents, there were uncanceled doctrines repugnant to the principles of the British government, there were doctrines in the homilies of the church of England decidedly in opposition to the bill of rights. And with respect to the objection of the unfitness of the present time for bringing on the present discussion, he thought, on the contrary, that of all periods it was the fittest, as the concession would come with the best grace, now that the successes in Portugal had removed all immediate danger of an invasion of Ireland ; so that any favour shewn to the Catholics could not be attributed to fear.”

The time, however, was not yet arrived for the voice of reason to be heard in this matter ; prejudice and bigotry still swayed the counsels of Britain, and the friends to liberty and conscience, had only to persevere, and wait for a more auspicious season. Mr. Grattan, the celebrated Irish orator, in pleading for this boon to the Catholics, on one occasion remarked, in his classical style, “ When I see Britain grown up into a mighty empire ; when I behold her at the head of the nations of the earth ; when I contemplate her power and majesty, I own that I am deeply astonished to find her descending from her elevation, to mix in the disputes of schoolmen, and the wrangling of theologians, who,



while they seek for their own purposes to torture their countrymen, endanger the security of their common country."

Two of the important topics last adverted to, as having occupied the enlightened mind and powerful intellect of Lord Holland, during the session of 1811, were again brought forward in 1812, and once more ably argued. These topics were, *ex officio* informations, and the liberties of protestant dissenters. On the 10th of July, Lord Castlereagh moved the bringing in of a bill to repeal certain acts, and amend other acts, relating to religious worship and assemblies, and persons teaching and preaching therein. He stated, that in consequence of certain recent decisions at the quarter-sessions, doubts had arisen as to the question of qualification; and that the object of his bill was to place the dissenters in the situation in which they practically stood prior to such decisions. The bill was brought, and read a first, second, and third time, when Mr. W. Smith took occasion to congratulate the house on the unanimity with which it had hitherto passed, and hailing it as a favourable omen of the growing liberality of the age. As an Act of Toleration, he said, it was certainly the most complete which had been passed in this country; and he concluded by proposing a clause "to continue the exemptions now enjoyed by the toleration act, without requiring a fresh oath;" which was agreed to. When the bill reached the upper house, Lord Holland warmly approved of it, and gave it his support.

His lordship now renewed the subject of *ex officio* informations, relative to which, on the 3rd of July, he presented to the house two bills—the object of the first of which he stated to be, to prevent delay between the commission of the offence and the filing of the information, and between the latter and proceeding to trial. The second bill was intended to repeal so much of the act of the 48th of George the Third, as related to holding persons to bail on *ex officio* informations. The bills were read a first time, and ordered to be printed. The second reading being moved on the 17th July, Lord Holland rose, and made his introductory



speech on the subject ; but as the whole of his argument was of a legal kind, it does not admit of abridgment. Lord Ellenborough started many legal objections to it, and pointed out various inconveniences to which it would give rise, and concluded by moving "that it be rejected." The bill was defended by Lord Erskine, who manfully opposed the Chief Justice—but it was finally lost by a majority of nine. There were several other subjects before the house, which called forth Lord Holland's powers during the session of 1812, particularly a motion by his friend the Marquis of Lansdowne, for suspending the orders in council, February 28th, which he ably supported ; and, in reply to Earl Bathurst, remarked that it was disgraceful to the legislature, and disgusting to the people, that measures which affected the best interests of the country, should be discussed, not upon their own merits, but as questions of consistency on the part of this or that administration.

The fall of Napoleon gave peace to the continent of Europe, soon after this ; and in the year 1814, the allied sovereigns visited this country. Lord Holland received, through the medium of the Duchess of Oldenburgh, a message from the Emperor Alexander, intimating his wish for an interview. The day appointed for this was the 11th of June, at half past five o'clock, when his lordship proceeded, in company with Lords Grey, Grenville, and Erskine, to the Pulteney Hotel, Piccadilly, where they were received very graciously by the Emperor, who entered into a long and interesting conversation with them, chiefly on political subjects, as connected with the party in opposition. In the autumn of the same year, Lord Holland visited the continent, and, after spending a few weeks at Paris, went by the Simplon, Milan, Bologna, and Florence, to Rome, where he remained for the winter. At the approach of spring, he proceeded to Naples, where he had an opportunity of seeing much of the unfortunate Murat, who was then on the point of entering upon his desperate enterprise, to the north of Italy. Leaving Naples, his lordship travelled homewards,



making his route through Rome, Florence, Venice, and the Tyrol, Munich, and Frankfort, to Brussels.

It was during Lord Holland's residence at Naples, that an incident occurred which is worth mentioning, and this seems the proper place for doing it. His lordship, who was accompanied on his tour by the Duke of Bedford and Lord Conyngham, was, together with these two noblemen, presented to the King of Naples, (Joachim Murat,) in the latter end of February, 1815. In the course of conversation, his Neapolitan majesty informed them, that the Emperor of Russia, who had no constitution at home, was for giving new ones to every country in Europe, and asked his illustrious visitors what they thought upon the subject. Lord Holland promptly replied, "Constitutions, sire, cannot be given—they must be the growth of time." In the course of a few hours, the Duke San Theodore, who had been previously known to Lord Holland as Neapolitan ambassador at Madrid, called upon him, and stated, that King Joachim had quoted his lordship, as giving him advice not to call his estates, or establish any constitution, although he had already pledged himself so to do. Lord Holland declared that he had been misunderstood, and disclaimed the interpretation which his majesty had put upon his words; and at the duke's request, his lordship drew up, in the form of a letter, his views upon this subject. The original draft fell into the hands of the Austrian government, having been seized upon the person of a gentleman bearing despatches from Joachim to Lord William Bentinck, and was quickly magnified into treasonable importance. In consequence of the gross misstatements which were currently circulated on the occasion, Lord Holland was compelled, in self-defence, to print what he had written, which he did under the title of "A Letter to a Neapolitan Nobleman," and distribute it among his friends. It is singular, that, after sinking into oblivion, this letter should have, very recently, again been publicly referred to, and in a manner likely to create misconception as to its contents. It is a plain and manly applica-



tion of the principles of a freeman to his conception of the constitutional wants of a foreign state groaning under feudal institutions, bearing wholly on the formation of new political regulations, and without the slightest reference to the correction of long-established abuses in any existing kingdom. But the whole of this curious affair affords striking proof, if any indeed were wanting, of the distance at which the continental governments were then left by the people of England, in point of liberal principles and political science in general.

In 1816, when the bill to legalize the detention of Napoleon Buonaparte, as a prisoner of war, was brought before the House of Lords, Lord Holland raised his voice against it; not, it would seem, from any political motive, for he was not countenanced in his opinion by the party with which he usually acted. Though his lordship wished to aid the natives of the Peninsula, and preserve them from becoming the slaves of imperial and imperious France, yet, when the despot who threatened the world with the terror of his arms was fallen from his high estate, the noble lord advocated a more generous treatment than Napoleon received from the agents of the government at St. Helena. His motion, however, for papers connected with this subject, was, in 1817, lost by a large majority. Nevertheless, until death relieved the prisoner, his lordship never ceased to deprecate, what he deemed the unwarrantable conduct of government towards him. And while the noble lord was vehemently exposing in the senate, the pettiness of treatment and personal inconveniences to which Napoleon was subjected; it is creditable to Lady Holland, that she was silently employed in bestowing those thousand little attentions which her sex alone could devise and minister. When the noble Eagle was "hawked and moused" at by *Low* underlings, her ladyship was employed in forwarding to Saint Helena books, journals, and many of those apparently trifling articles of domestic comfort, to the importance of which only female minds are alive;



and in this way she contributed to assuage the captivity of the vanquished Emperor. The latter felt grateful for those little attentions, and in testimony of his gratitude, the magnificent box, with the invaluable antique gem which enriches its lid, formerly consigned by Pope Pius the Sixth to Napoleon's possession, on the signing of the treaty of Tolentino, was, under the happier influence of grateful feeling, again conveyed by the latter, with these words, in his own hand-writing—"L'Empereur Napoleon à Lady Holland, temoignage de satisfaction, et d'estime." Lord Holland has illustrated this memorial in the following Latin and English lines :

"Hanc iterum egregiæ pietatis præmiæ gemmam,  
Victori intacta misit ab urbe PIUS ;  
Hanc tibi dat meritam Dux, et captus, et exsul,  
Quod sola es casus ausa levare suos."

"This gem, twice destined to reward  
The deeds of generous pity,  
BRASCHI gave him, whose conquering sword  
Spared Rome's imperial city.

He, exiled, fallen, the prey, the jest,  
Of mean, unmanly foes,  
Grants it to you, oh ! just bequest,  
Who felt and soothed his woes."

From this digression, we return to trace Lord Holland in his senatorial capacity.

In the year 1819, Lord Liverpool brought in a bill for placing the custody of the King's person (George the Third) in the hands of the Duke of York, with an allowance to his Royal Highness of ten thousand pounds a year, as a remuneration of his services in this station. On the 26th of January, when the second reading of the bill was ordered, Lord Holland objected to it, on the ground that an *imperium in imperio* would be established by it, in the person of the Duke of York, so far at least as respected all the offices on the establishment which it was intended to confer upon him. He did not object to vesting the care



and custody of the afflicted monarch in the Duke of York, whom he undoubtedly considered, from his station, his high character, and the relation in which he stood to his Majesty, to be the fittest person who could be chosen for that high trust; but he thought the bill was, by the clause relative to the Windsor establishment, made inconsistent, and that to render it an intelligent piece of legislation, it was absolutely necessary that the clause should be struck out.—On a former occasion, when he (Lord Holland) thought the Windsor establishment much too large for any purposes of comfort to our afflicted monarch, lords of the bed-chamber started up to say, that they who had stuck by the King in his prosperity, would not desert him in his adversity; and that they would not take away one iota from the splendour which surrounded their sovereign. What security was there now, that lords of the bed-chamber might not again start up, to declare that they would not take away any of the splendour which surrounded the monarch? Surely it became the house to pause before they sanctioned an establishment, without knowing of what that establishment was to consist. If they agreed to the clause in its present shape, without any qualification, they would allow a principle of larger extent than the noble lord would himself, upon reflection, be disposed to recognize.

Soon after this, the foreign enlistment bill having passed the lower house, was introduced into the House of Lords by Earl Bathurst, in a speech of considerable length, June 28th—at the conclusion of which Lord Holland rose in reply. He began by remarking on the vast variety of motives which had been adduced for passing this bill, and also the various grounds on which it had been defended by ministers and their friends. If in the ordinary transactions between man and man in common life, said his lordship, a person was found to state various and contradictory motives for a particular action, his conduct would lead to a suspicion, that those alleged motives were mere pretences, and that the real ones were concealed. If, in addition to



the variety and inconsistency of his statements, we found that he accounted for his conduct on grounds of so romantic a nature as indicated the absence of all our usual feelings, and a neglect of our most cherished interests, it would not be uncharitable to imagine, that he not only aimed at concealment, but that his real motive, if disclosed, was of two odious a character to be openly avowed and defended. Now, when he recollected the course pursued respecting this measure, he could not but feel that the description now given was very applicable to it. When he called to mind what happened, more particularly in another place, where it was introduced on the ground of correcting an anomaly in our criminal law, by persons that opposed themselves to any revision or improvement of the criminal code, he could not but suspect the alleged motive. That ground was afterwards deserted, as being found too narrow for the superstructure to be raised upon it: and then we were told that the measure was necessary, to preserve the principles of neutrality. Subsequently it had been discovered, that this foundation was still too confined, and now the house was called upon to adopt the measure before it, because the country was pledged to it by the modification introduced into our practice by the stipulations of a particular treaty, which was completely at variance with the argument in its favour drawn from the principles of neutrality. It had been said that the interests of the country were on the other side of the question, and the noble earl himself seemed to maintain the same opinion in his reasonings from analogy; but if it was against the commercial interests of England that the bill should pass, it was still more decidedly against the feelings of Englishmen! After replying to various arguments brought in favour of the bill, Lord Holland went on to state the dangers which would result from this new doctrine of neutrality. Should the present law be found insufficient for its purpose, the King of Spain might come forward, backed by the Amphictionic council of Europe,



the assembled congress, and demand stronger measures. Ministers might then find that a police must be established, the executive armed with new and extraordinary powers, and emigration prohibited. The freedom of our press might next be attacked, at the instigation of Ferdinand the Seventh. His lordship said he was the more opposed to this act, when he considered it as one of a multitude of acts which seemed to be in contemplation, and that it went *pari jure* with the alien act. He would not proceed one step further in such a policy.

On the 30th of June, a circumstance occurred in the House of Lords, which seems to have been peculiarly gratifying to the feelings of Lord Holland—namely, the reversal of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's attainder. This nobleman, for his indiscreet conduct in Ireland, about the time of the breaking out of the French revolution, fell under the displeasure of government, and fled the kingdom, in consequence of which he was outlawed, leaving a son and daughter under a disgraceful stigma. The son entered the army under the command of the Duke of Wellington, who bore testimony to the brave, and honourable, and excellent conduct of the young man, during the time he had been acquainted with him. Lord Liverpool brought in a bill, as an act of grace, on the part of the crown, to reverse the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, by which the blood of his two children, Edward Fox Fitzgerald, and Louisa Maria Fitzgerald, had become corrupted, and to restore these two unfortunate individuals to their full rights, as British subjects. Lord Liverpool stated several reasons on which the bill was grounded, among which was, the meritorious conduct of the young man in serving his country with distinction in the field, and concluded with remarking, that "The crown, in proposing this act of grace, was performing what was peculiarly grateful to the feelings of the Prince Regent; and he had no doubt that it would be equally grateful to those of their lordships, to mitigate the severity of a measure passed in unhappy and unfortunate times."



Lord Holland rose under feelings which he declared himself unable to restrain, so powerfully were they at that moment excited. He must express his gratitude, he said, to his Royal Highness for the act of grace he had caused to be proposed, his acknowledgments to the noble earl for the honourable and manly manner in which he had moved it, and his thanks to the gallant duke for his testimony in behalf of one of the individuals who were to profit by it. "He felt great satisfaction, he said, at the manner in which the preamble was worded, both on public and private accounts: with the private reasons it would be improper to trouble their lordships; and with the public ones, it would be both injudicious and ungrateful to interfere on an occasion where unanimity was of so much importance." The bill was read a first time, and on the 7th July it was carried into effect.

Soon after the opening of parliament in 1821, Earl Grey, in the House of Lords, wished to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the allied powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, respecting Naples, where something of a revolutionary spirit had manifested itself, which drew down upon them the indignation of the holy alliance. The speech of the noble earl on this occasion, which was eminently distinguished for its comprehensive views and liberal principles, was intended to ascertain how far Lord Liverpool and his colleagues were disposed to sanction the interference of these powers with the concerns of an independent state, in crushing the spirit of freedom, and preventing the Neapolitans from obtaining a redress of their grievances, and fixing a limit to arbitrary power. As no notice has been taken of this masterly speech in the life of Earl Grey, and the better to enable the reader to enter into the merits of Lord Holland's very interesting address to which it gave rise, it may not be improper, in this place, to introduce an abridged account of the whole debate.

On the 20th of February, Earl Grey rose to move for such further information as was necessary to obtain a view



of all the circumstances by which their lordships might be enabled to form a correct judgment on the conduct of his majesty's ministers, relative to Naples. He then proceeded to notice the changes that had recently taken place in that government, and the manner in which the allied sovereigns had chosen to interfere in the matter. Of this interference, explanations had been given in the *Hamburg Correspondent*, in the preceding month of December, in a document purporting to be a circular of the allied powers. In this paper a claim was set up, which was nothing less than the right of a general superintendence of the states of Europe, and of the suppression of all changes in their internal government, if those changes should be hostile to what the holy alliance called the legitimate principles of government. Those monarchs, it appeared, had assumed the censorship of Europe, and sat in judgment on the internal transactions of other states, and even took upon themselves to summon before them the monarch of an independent state—to pronounce judgment on a constitution, which, in concert with his people, he had given to his country, and threatened to enforce their judgment by arms. This, Lord Grey insisted, was to declare plainly, that all changes of government, which did not square with their ideas of propriety, were to be put down—a principle than which nothing more unjust, nothing more atrocious, could be advanced.

Such a monstrous principle as that upon which the allied powers professed to act with respect to Naples, Lord Grey contended, had never been heard of in the history of the world. That a people offering no encouragement to rebellion in other nations, and announcing no projects of foreign aggression, but merely making improvements, or operating changes in its own internal government, should present a fit subject of complaint, remonstrance, or interference, on the part of its neighbours, was such a monstrous principle as had never been maintained by any writer on public law, nor ever before acted on by the most profligate ambition. “Look at the situation and conduct of the people that were



so menaced," continued the noble earl, "no force was offered to independent states—no aggression had taken place, or was threatened—no principles subversive of general order were professed: the laws were preserved and enforced; the sovereign was maintained in his office; and merely because the monstrous system on which the government had formerly been conducted (a system which had destroyed the resources, and depressed the energies, of the people of that country) had been improved, and the power of the king limited by his own consent: although every thing was done inoffensively, and without tumult or confusion, yet the holy alliance threatened to overthrow the constitution which had been established, and to destroy the improvements which had been effected, lest they might excite the hopes of neighbouring states to attain similar advantages. This was the reason of their interference; this was the necessity on which they justified their departure from the principles of international law. There never was a revolution, in the history of the world, brought about in a more peaceful manner, or exhibiting itself in a less offensive form to neighbouring nations. Not a drop of blood, so far as he was informed, had been shed; no tumults or violence had taken place; the property of no individual had been invaded; the king was not only maintained upon his throne, but had sanctioned the limitations of his authority, had given his consent to the constitution by which it was henceforward to be regulated; and yet it was against this revolution that the vengeance of the allied sovereigns was denounced in the general principle of interference which they professed; and this country was called upon to sanction the application of a law, which would condemn in the abstract every attempt of an independent state to improve its government, or better the laws for its internal regulation. He held in his hand a diplomatic note of Campo Chiaro, in which that minister appealed to the sovereigns of Europe in favour of the revolution effected in his country, and justified it as being neither dangerous nor offensive



to foreign states. The allied sovereigns, with this explanation before them, and acquainted with the conduct and circumstances of the Neapolitan revolution, had interfered on the general principle of a right to interfere, and had thus the merit of acting openly, and without disguise, not aggravating the violence of injustice by the meanness of duplicity and fraud. He could not but declare, that he considered this as one of the most monstrous instances that the world had ever heard of, and the conduct of our government, with respect to it, demanded the strictest scrutiny and the most explicit explanation."

Earl Grey continued: It was said, that the revolution of Naples was the work of the Carbonari—a sect formed in 1812, and at that time encouraged and protected by the allies, and supported by them as an instrument against France. The object which that sect then professed to pursue was a constitution for Italy, and the expulsion of the French power from that country; it was then a favourite with the allies. Let their lordships look at the revolution which took place in our own country, in 1688, and he would ask them if it could have been carried into effect without the combinations of those great men who restored and secured our religion, our laws, and our liberties, and without such mutual communications among them as would bring them under the description of a sect or party. And with regard to the revolution at Naples, though it had been brought about by a smaller number than such a powerful and long-established body as the Carbonari were, that circumstance, in his opinion, would not have impeached its merits, or have given the allies any additional right of interference, especially when it was considered that it was adopted by the old people, without being imposed upon them by any force or violence. They not only showed a passive acquiescence in the operations of this sect, but actively concurred in establishing the constitution which they introduced; and what was at first a sect, became at last, according to an expression which he had heard used,



“the universal people.” That the revolution was the effect of the general will, might be proved by the rapidity with which it was established, and the unanimity with which it had been supported. We had seen, during that great change, none of the usual heats and animosities with which revolutions are frequently accompanied—none of those tumults and conflicts which arise from difference of opinion. It was established in a few days, without confusion or blood, and, he believed, had no parallel in the history of the world.

They were told, said Earl Grey, however, that the Neapolitan revolution had not only been the work of a sect, but that they had employed the army as the instrument in effecting their purpose. But if so, he did not see any more strength in this objection than in the former. If they were to have armies, they must reconcile themselves to the idea, that when a soldier enlisted into them, he did not surrender the feelings of a man—that he remained a citizen when under arms, and must sympathize with his countrymen. In a revolution, the army must always take one side or the other: it must support the sovereign against the people, or aid the people in demanding their rights from the sovereign. God forbid that it should always and in all circumstances take the side of arbitrary power! God forbid that tyranny, however monstrous or oppressive, should always be defended by the army! He rejoiced to consider that soldiers when enlisted did not cease to be men, and that sovereigns were sometimes taught, by their taking an opposite side, that their best guards and protection were the confidence and love of the people. God forbid that in all circumstances they should support arbitrary power against the just claims of liberty, and that language like the following should be held to nations desirous of improving the system of their government—language, however, which was held, in effect, by the present interference; for thus it was that the allied sovereigns addressed the people: “Reform you may have, but it must come of our free will, and you must not employ the



only means, or use the only instrument, by which it can be procured. The sect, or the army, which has assisted you must be disbanded or punished; and after you have done so, we shall give you that portion of liberty which we shall think proper to dispense." What, asked the noble earl, would have been our position at the time when our ancestors exerted themselves to establish that constitution which they had handed down to us, had the army, which was then less than it is now, continued firm to that misguided monarch, James the Second, in opposing the just claims of his subjects? How lamentable would have been our situation, and how much would the recovery of our religion and our laws have been impeded, had the army at that time acted so as to earn the approbation of a body of sovereigns like the holy alliance! Divesting the principles promulgated in the circular, and the conduct of the allies, of all pretexts, what language did they hold out to the people of Naples, but the following? "You shall have no liberty, but what is agreeable to our will. We cannot permit it to be enjoyed in our states, nor will we allow it in you. As we are resolved not to give freedom ourselves, we will not have free neighbours. Naples might encourage the people of Germany, and the people in the north of Italy, to demand a similar boon. It might incite the inhabitants of Breslau, or of the banks of the Rhine, to seek for those constitutions which have been long promised and always delayed; nay, it might even penetrate into the frosts of Russia, and elicit a new spark in the breasts of those who expelled Buonaparte from their inhospitable wilds. Expect not, therefore, that we can permit you to improve the system of your government. Overthrow the constitution you have recently established, or prepare for the full infliction of our wrath."

In concluding his speech, which in every respect was worthy of a British statesman, Earl Grey remarked, that the sovereigns of Europe had met to declare, that no new reforms should be permitted, but such as emanated from



themselves, or had received their sanction. He now, therefore, called upon ministers to explain their conduct, in appearing to favour such a confederacy, and in committing the government to acts so derogatory from the interests and the honour of the country. He called upon them to explain why their conduct had been so different in the two cases of Spain and Naples, which were so similar in their nature. When the Spanish revolution was effected, no suspension of intercourse had taken place; and he wished to know why our relations with Naples should have been placed on a different footing. He asked these explanations for the honour and safety of the country, which had been compromised by the undecided, temporizing, and, he would add, pusillanimous conduct of his Majesty's ministers. He should rejoice to find that the noble earl (Liverpool) could make these explanations satisfactorily; but, at any rate, he should sit down with the consciousness of having discharged his duty, even though he might be disappointed by the vote of the house in obtaining the papers for which he moved. The noble earl then moved for copies or extracts of all communications between his Majesty's government and foreign governments, relative to the affairs of Naples.

The Earl of Liverpool, in opposing the motion, entered upon an elaborate apology for the holy alliance, and insisted that the revolution at Naples was the effect of a military mutiny, and that the contagion was spreading to Sicily, which made it necessary for the allied sovereigns to interpose, and arrest its progress.

Lord Holland then rose, and prefaced his speech by remarking, that the last time he had the honour of addressing their lordships on this subject, he had supposed a dialogue to pass between the Emperor of Austria and the British government; and he had somewhat irreverently suggested that they might borrow the materials from the burletta of Tom Thumb. He was now, however, of opinion, combining recent occurrences with the circular then upon



their table, that they had really adopted a dialogue from another work of a similar kind. He recollected that Sir Christopher Hatton, in the Critic, thus addresses the gallant Raleigh :

“ Tell me, thou champion of thy country's fame—  
For there's a question which I still must ask,  
A question which I never ask'd before—  
What mean these mighty armaments,  
This general msuter, and this throng of chiefs ?”

The stander-by immediately asks, “ How came Sir Christopher Hatton never to ask that question before ?” and the author immediately replies, “ What, before the play began ? how the plague could he ?” Sir Walter Raleigh then goes on to inform Sir Christopher Hatton of many things with which he is very well acquainted, when the stander-by again interferes, and asks the author, “ Why, as Sir Christopher Hatton knew all that, did Sir Walter Raleigh go on telling it him ?” To whom the author replies, rather indignantly, “ He knows it well enough, it is true, but the audience are not supposed to know any thing of the matter—are they ?” Now the ministers of England, Austria, and Naples were just situated like the characters in this drama ; England, who knew what was in agitation, sent this circular to Austria, who also knew what was in agitation, and kept it back from Naples, that was in the situation of the audience, and knew nothing at all about it until the knowledge of it had become as useless as it was unnecessary. “ But,” said the noble lord, “ we took the earliest opportunity of stating the disapprobation which we felt at the mode in which the revolution at Naples was effected ; and surely we are at liberty to express that disapprobation.” The noble lord, most undoubtedly, was at liberty so to do ; but then, to whom ? If he was such a lover of neutrality, as he professed himself to be, to whom ought he to have expressed it ? To the offending parties themselves, surely, and not to their enemies. The noble lord, however, in his breathless haste to prejudge the case,



reversed the whole matter—never said a word to the Neapolitans, but pointed out all their faults to their Austrian enemies; and yet this the noble lord calls acting with impartiality! He would put a case to their lordships to shew more distinctly the nature of this impartiality. “Suppose,” said his lordship, “that I have two friends; one a little weak timid man, and the other a great raw-boned hulking fellow. Suppose also that by some means or other the little fellow offends the great one. Well, I go to my great tall strapping friend, and say to him—“That’s a strange meddling little fellow, I don’t like him—I totally disapprove of his conduct.” Quitting his house, I return home, and order my porter never to admit the little fellow into my house again; and, though I pass by his house every day, I never call upon him, so that I give him no opportunity of entering into explanation with me about his conduct. I then say to myself, “How impartial I am!” and am quite vexed if any body doubts it. In a few days afterwards, I walk along the streets, and see the huge fellow trampling the little one under his feet, and belabouring his sides most unmercifully with a great oaken cudgel; I pass on, and don’t interfere, except to make a speech, and to tell all my acquaintance, that my little friend has behaved very ill, and that I don’t approve of his conduct. Should I, after this, be entitled to the character of an impartial man?”

Having contrasted the impartiality of a man acting in this manner with the alleged impartiality of the British government towards the people of Naples, Lord Holland proceeded to ask, Why the secretary for foreign affairs had, in the circular to which his name was affixed, entered into discussion with the Emperor of Austria? That grave emperor, it was well known, hated discussion: he had lately told the world so. But he likewise hated learning, and loved its opposite. The circular, therefore, notwithstanding its other faults, might please the royal and imperial palate—for, certainly, it was better calculated than any



document which had ever preceded it to captivate an individual who was not to be captivated by beauty of style or clearness of composition. What occasion, however, was there for him to interfere at all with this grave and potent emperor, and to state his disapprobation of such and such principles of action, unless they were in pursuit of one common object? What that object was, it was not for him at present to declare; and he should therefore leave the circular for a while, and advert to what had fallen from his noble friend, the Earl of Liverpool. He had told them that though there might be cases in which he should not disapprove of an army taking a part in the accomplishment of a revolution, he could never approve of one which originated with, and was entirely effected by, a military body. His lordship said he would not enter into a discussion of that principle at present, but would content himself with saying, that he hoped the recent events of Spain Portugal, and Naples, where such glorious deeds had been achieved by the soldiery, would operate as a warning to the great despots of the earth; or if not to them, at least to their subjects, teaching the former that it is better to rest their force upon the affections of their people, than upon the bayonets of their soldiers; and the latter, that the power of tyranny, however formidable in the outset, cannot long resist the united attacks of liberty and knowledge. In making this declaration, he was indulging a feeling that was common to all who had the love of liberty at heart, though the noble earl had the boldness to assert that it had never been the feeling of the people of England.

Lord Holland was very ready to admit, that Naples was not so important a power in the European system as France; and some persons might imagine, that an outrage upon its independence was therefore comparatively unimportant. But the invasion of Naples originated in the same spirit—it was the offspring of the same policy which led to the combination against France. It was, if he might so speak,



“a cub of the same litter ;” it bore about it all the marks of its lineage and extraction—

“*Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hædos.*”

Let what might take place under such circumstances, the British people would still express their sentiments ; nor would their attention be withdrawn or confused by any of the productions of the foreign department.

The noble earl (Liverpool) had distinctly stated, that it never was in the contemplation of his Majesty’s government, to go to war with Naples ; and, for his own part, he felt perfectly assured that such was not their intention. The best illustration of their views was undoubtedly to be drawn from their recorded statements and doctrines ; but he was disposed to give implicit credit to this declaration of the noble lord. What their lordships had to consider at present was, the question, whether the British government had openly avowed to the world, or clearly intimated to the King of Naples, the principles on which it was determined to act. Had the British government, or had it not, made known to Europe, in time for any useful or practical purpose, that it would lend no countenance or sanction to the enterprise of the northern powers ? might not an earlier declaration of the views of England have had some influence with other states ? that it was a supposed countenance on our part which encouraged the confederacy, was, he thought, as evident as it could be made in the jargon or unintelligible stuff that had issued from the foreign office on this subject. The more he attempted to analyze those documents, the more rigid and chemical the means by which he carried on that analysis—the stronger was his conviction that the British government had acted in a way which favoured the aggression upon Naples. The confederated kings alluded to their subsisting alliances with this country, in proclamations which boasted of their moral and physical strength, but which indicated that their alliance was upon the last alone.

The Earl of Liverpool had rested the defence of his



government on principles of foreign policy ; but Lord Holland considered them to be widely different from those which he had called upon parliament to approve, and on which he would continue the war in Spain. On that occasion, the noble earl had most truly stated the nature and limits of those causes that might lawfully lead to foreign interference with the domestic concerns of an independent people. The noble lord had then clearly shown how far it might become the interest of this country to enter deeply into those concerns. But whatever might now be said by the noble lord or his colleagues, he feared it was too late to apply a remedy. The die was cast, and, far as it was from his intention to undervalue the force of a British army, he must still say, that the real strength of England lay in its influence and authority—in its money and its character. This had been the case since the reign of Henry the Eighth, and, yet more emphatically, since the reign of Elizabeth. It was then that the genius and spirit of modern civilization were most advantageously displayed, and that principles were established which might serve as landmarks for succeeding ages. Queen Elizabeth, with a sagacity that seemed constitutional in her, and which, with various blemishes and defects of character, still made her the greatest woman that ever mingled with political affairs, acquired a mighty influence on the continent, without any trespass on national independence. She became the rallying point of the protestants in Europe ; and to her wise and magnanimous policy was protestantism indebted for its early protection and support. Without dwelling on the faults of a succeeding race of princes, he should say that many public misfortunes had arisen out of their departure from the same course. Upon prudential motives, as well as on grounds of public right and of general policy, he would call upon the noble lord to consider the probable effects of that course in which he was engaged, as regarded Naples. He had often heard him, in the instance of Spain, insist on the energy belonging to popular sentiment, and on the force which always



accompanied the efforts of a free people. He had heard the noble lord maintain, not only that the war was popular in Spain, but that its success was owing to its popularity. This was an argument, and a most powerful one, for repelling the atrocious usurpation of Buonaparte. That usurpation was one of the most unjustifiable aggressions ever committed; it had been deservedly condemned; and most readily did he join upon this point in the verdict of condemnation, passed as it was upon one whom he must still regard as a great man, and to whom, in his adversity, he was the more willing to pay the tribute due to his talents and virtues.

But the noble lord (Liverpool) had himself said, that from the period of the occupation of Spain, the French power began to lose its stability; in which sentiment he fully agreed with the noble earl. By the violent usurpation of the Spanish throne, the ruler of France destroyed himself—

“eo ictu sese confecit”—

from that moment general opinion became arrayed against the French government, and that general opinion was the cause of the ultimate success of the allied armies. But if general opinion had such an effect during war, did the noble earl think that it ought to have no effect during peace? The noble earl was too much of a statesman not to know that wars must again occur; and, when that was the case, we could place no dependence but on the justice of our conduct, our magnanimity, and our fairness of proceeding towards the rest of Europe. We had had an opportunity, by a seasonable and strong remonstrance, to place ourselves at the head of the popular opinion. The Carbonari, who were now regarded as so dangerous, had taken their origin in secret societies in Germany, instituted for the double purpose of shaking off the yoke of France, and the powers allied with France, and of establishing freedom on a better foundation than before. They had been encouraged for that purpose in almost every part



of Europe; and he believed they had been encouraged for that purpose in Italy. Every state in Europe, while thus struggling against France, promised a free constitution to its people. He must do Austria the justice to say, that she had violated no promise of this kind, for she had given no promise of liberty to her subjects. But, with the exception of Austria, all the states of Europe, even Russia, had promised free constitutions to their subjects, and all violated their promises. It had been said that the example of Naples might be dangerous to neighbouring despotisms. Mere vicinity was, he believed, the *ratio suatoria* of the interference, whatever *ratio justificatoria* might be assumed or pretended. His lordship declared he would not give five years' purchase, for the stability of a despotism, in any territory near the place where freedom was fairly established. He agreed with the noble earl, that there was danger, and he rejoiced exceedingly that there was danger to a despotic government, from the mere vicinity of freedom. But the mode of meeting the danger was, not by attacking the free government, but by improving their own. What more monstrous proposition could be stated, than that, because our own government is bad, we must protect it by attacking a neighbouring good government—because our state is founded in rottenness, we must attack a neighbouring state whose foundation was pure—because our own habitation was founded on stubble, we must prohibit a neighbour, within the enclosure of a strong wall, from lighting his pipe, for fear of our straw-built fabric! Was ever any thing so contrary to reason, to justice, to good feeling, stated among men? He was sure, and he wished that truth could be conveyed to the ears of the monarchs who were leagued against national liberty; he was sure, whatever differences might exist on questions of policy and measures of state, there was not a man within the walls of that house, who could lay his hand on his heart, and say that the motive of the Austrians was not this monstrous desire of preserving its own rottenness by



destroying the purity of a neighbouring state. Lord Holland then concluded, by expressing his ardent and confident hope, that those who attempted to stop the tide of freedom and improvement, which had set in so strongly and so auspiciously, would themselves be overwhelmed in the torrent, and that the spirit which manifested so many favourable indications of its soundness and strength, would fully accomplish its object, by renovating corrupted states, and establishing the liberty and security of nations.

The enlightened and liberal sentiments uniformly pervading this speech, so characteristic of the noble lord who delivered it, and so worthy of a British statesman, senator, and patriot, have induced us to give it at considerable length, from a conviction of its utility to the cause of constitutional freedom. It merits to be preserved and perpetuated by every possible method. Earl Grey closed the debate by observing, that the course pursued by ministers in the present unwarrantable enterprise against Naples, had degraded the character of the country, and done more to destroy the first principles of the independence of nations, and the dearest interests of kingdoms, than any thing within his memory or knowledge.

When the Marquis of Lansdowne moved the Unitarian marriage bill, May 4th, 1824, he found an able supporter in Lord Holland, who rose to reply to the lord-chancellor, Eldon, on whose speech he was not a little facetious. After the former long discussion which had taken place, Lord Holland remarked, that he did not expect so much warmth and anxiety expressed on the motion for going into the committee. On coming down to the house, instead of employing himself in considering the important bill before them, he had taken up a volume of the correspondence of the amiable poet, Cowper, in which he met with a story which he would relate. Cowper tells us, that, one day, as he was walking along the sea-shore, he met with a great lawyer, whom, in language somewhat familiar, he called Sam Cox, who



appeared meditating deeply on the vast expanse of waters before him. Cowper asked him what he was musing on; when he replied, he was thinking how strange it was that the vast element he was contemplating, should produce so contemptible a creature as a sprat! His lordship went on to remark, that what he felt was the converse of what was felt by this great lawyer; for, he was at a loss to conceive how this sprat in legislation, this miserable bill, could have produced so great a commotion in the house, and that it should be thought by the reverend bench to disturb the peace of the church. He was equally at a loss to know how the learned lord on the woolsack could think that his abstruse refinements and latent doubts should be brought into question by this little bill. He would recommend it to the noble and learned lord, not to cry "Wolf!" at every little mouse on the floor. He should not be so ready "to rin an chase, wi' murd'rin' prattle," the "wee, sleekit, cawrin' tim'rous beastie!"

Although Lord Holland was an ostensible opponent of Lord Liverpool's administration, yet, when, on the political decease of that nobleman, Mr. Canning was invested by his sovereign with the premiership, his lordship avowed his determination to give him his support, as far as consistency and principle would permit him to do it; and, accordingly, he took his seat on the ministerial benches. Being somewhat taunted with a charge of inconsistency on this score, his lordship spoke to the following effect in vindication of his conduct, on the 17th of May, 1827, and it is only an act of justice to the noble peer to record his defence.

"It has always been my endeavour to abstain from troubling your lordships with any observations at any time, except upon questions at the moment under your consideration, or likely soon to be brought before you for discussion; but it is the fashion now-a-days, since the recess at least, to introduce discussions totally irrelevant to the consideration of any subject, involving no general principles on which it would be likely that your lordships' decisions should be



required, but only making professions of faith on the one side, or examining into professions of faith on the other; not only with respect to the government, but to those individuals who are connected with it, or intend to give it their support. It has happened that recently I have changed, not so much my company as my seat, and some observations have been made upon that circumstance; and I am put upon my trial, not for any opinion I have expressed—not for any vote I have given—not for any principle I have entertained—but for the seat I have thought fit to occupy. I am called on to explain why I have changed my seat, and why those who have acted with me, have changed their seats at the same moment. It has been said, that I and my noble friends have hitherto disagreed with his majesty's government. That is not strictly true; though, if we had disagreed upon all questions, our disagreement would have been much more strong with those who have quitted his majesty's service, than with those who have remained in it; yet we are charged with inconsistency by those who have quitted that service—a charge which I again deny. It seems to me, that in point of consistency our case and their own are nearly similar; for if they claim the merit of consistency in opposing a government with which they find fault, surely we have our equal claim to that merit in supporting a government which we see approaches most nearly to those principles we have so long advocated.

“The noble lord who spoke last but one, put the question of our conduct upon that of Catholic emancipation, and seemed at a loss to comprehend the course we have pursued, as he supposed that the present government would act with regard to that question upon the same principles as those which had distinguished the administration of Lord Liverpool. Now, I hold that not to be exactly the case, because I do not think that the present government holds, entirely, the same principles as Lord Liverpool's government did. I have always heard it stated, that a person most inimical to the Catholic claims was at the head of that government.



One of two things is true—either it was as I state, or it was not. I am alluding to what has been stated as one of the reasons for the resignation of those noble lords who have lately quitted his Majesty's service ; of whose resignation I do not complain, since it will be better for my argument, if what they have done be founded upon right reasoning—and I say, that whether the general principles of Lord Liverpool's government are to be departed from or not, this I know, that the present head of the administration differs so far at least from Lord Liverpool, that he is not inimical to the Catholic claims.

“The noble earl who lately addressed your lordships, seemed to suppose that those who were favourable to these claims, and who now gave their support to the government, ought to have required, if they had been dealt fairly with, that as there was a majority in the cabinet, the government should be pledged to concede the Catholic question ; at least, this appeared to me to be his opinion, when he called on me to explain why I sit here, and why, without the certainty of carrying that question, I gave my support to government ? My reason is shortly this—that without any such absolute pledge, I can forward the claims which I have long supported. What, my lords, on the one hand, is likely to be the consequence of my taking my seat on this side of the house ? I am willing to try the propriety of the change I have made, even upon the Catholic question alone ; and I say, that when I had reason to believe that that government, which was composed of individuals to whom I felt I could unite myself upon that question, might not have been constituted, as it now is, without my support, and beyond this, that those to whom I am opposed upon that question, might then have formed the government, I was justified in affording that support which would answer, if not the immediate success, at least the ultimate advantage of that question which I had so long advocated, and would prevent the adoption of those measures which, throughout my political life, I had opposed, deprecated, and lamented. The same



arguments, therefore, upon which noble lords on the other side maintained their consistency, are sufficient to prove the consistency of my noble friends and myself. I say, therefore, that we are not fairly without a test of the consistency of both parties ; and noble lords upon the opposite side of the house can easily determine, if they please, whether a majority of your lordships can justify their opinions by your own, and can afford to place your confidence in his Majesty's ministers.

“Those noble lords have been called a factious opposition, and they seem jealous of the expression ; but I think I may assure them, that when they have sat there a little longer, they will not be so jealous of the use of that expression. At present, however, I do not wish to fix it upon them. I am willing to believe that there is nothing factious or unconstitutional in their conduct ; but I must say, that from what I have observed of them, they are a little impatient. I will apply to them an improvement of a tale of Doctor Swift, made by a noble earl who lately held a blue ribbon, and as that improvement seems to me much better adapted to the purposes of my argument than to those to which his lordship applied it, I must be allowed to quote it upon this occasion. The tale, as he stated it, was this :—About twenty-six years ago, a complete change of a very curious kind occurred in this country ; all the men were changed into women, and all the women into men ; in that change the maids of honour became officers of the blues, and the officers of the blues were converted into maids of honour.

“The noble earl said that those officers of the blues who became maids of honour, though they might at first walk with too great manliness of step, and in other respects conduct themselves rather indecorously for elegant and delicate females, yet, on the whole, at the end of a fortnight or a month, they became as respectable, as decorous, and as genteel, as the real maids of honour had been before them ; but that the maids of honour who had become



officers of the blues were converted into such a set of troublesome, impatient, quarrelsome persons as had never been seen before; they gave themselves up so much to swearing, brawling, blaspheming, and drinking, and were so constantly at the head of troops of blackguard boys, kicking up such riots, that there was no place into which they went, that it was not feared they would destroy. Such was the description which the noble earl gave of the change in the maids of honour; and that description, I think, may apply to the noble lords opposite, although I am quite unwilling to describe their conduct by the term factious. I say, my lords, I will not call them factious, because I hold it to be their undoubted privilege, as members of parliament, to enforce their opposition to the administration in every constitutional way; and I only wish that, in doing so, they would bring the matter to a plain issue, by putting a direct question before the house, instead of adopting means which I think derogatory to the dignity of the house, and to men engaged in the service of the country—I mean, the course now employed of throwing dirt upon one another, without any definite object. I am required to explain what are the principles of the administration, and how far they are engaged to act one way or the other, and to what extent my honourable friends and myself agree or disagree with them. That question will be best answered by our conduct; but as it is put with a view of casting imputations upon us, I will answer those imputations, by asking, in my turn, what vote have I altered, what opinion have I changed, what principle have I abandoned, since I quitted my former seat? I answer, none.

“This is not the first time that I have been seated on this side of the house, nor the first in which I have supported ministers in whom I thought I could place confidence. When last I was seated in this place, the question of Catholic emancipation had lately been moved and rejected in both houses of parliament, and an administration was then formed, that intended to pursue a lenient, prudent, and



conciliating system, and to keep that question at rest for the time. So far, therefore, that administration was similar to the present; yet, when I then sat on this side of the house, I was not taunted with inconsistency, although I felt, at that time, as strongly as I do now, the importance of conceding what is called Catholic emancipation. I do not mean to say, that I will not, either in this house or out of it, do every thing I can that I think calculated to forward the determination of that question; and I ask whether I should have been forwarding it, when, by my hesitation to support the present government, I should have been assisting in the attainment of power by those who entertain, what I am willing to admit, is a constitutional, a sincere. but at the same time, an inveterate opposition to the success of that question? Those who entertain the strongest opinion against the concessions claimed by the Roman Catholic are now no longer part of the government.

“The noble earl, who recently addressed your lordships, supposed that my noble friends and myself had been in constant opposition to Lord Liverpool’s government. In that opinion he was incorrect; for I must say, that for the last three years, there has not been one division in this house on which I have voted, without having the honour of the concurrence of the noble earl at the head of the council; and I think I may add, that, with the exception of divisions upon the Catholic question, there have only been two within that time, in which I have been opposed to Lord Liverpool himself. If the right honourable gentleman, now at the head of his Majesty’s government, adopts, in many cases, the same principles which I have long advocated, must I oppose him, because he does not agree with me in all? Must I go to him, and say, “Do you renounce the opinions you formerly held regarding the principles of Mr. Pitt, with which I never can concur, for if you do not, I never can support your government.” I say, my lords, can I go to him, and put these questions, and insist upon his agreeing with me in every thing, before



I consent to afford him any portion of my support? I say not; and I further assert, that if men always pursued such a line of conduct, disagreements could never end, and all administrations would as much resemble a rope of sand, as did those noble lords now sitting on the cross bench, who, when they retired from his Majesty's councils, declared that they had not acted in concert in so doing. I agree in the opinion stated by a noble lord, who had held office nearly forty years, and who for some years had thought of resigning before he could possibly make up his mind upon the subject, that the right of resignation is a sacred right belonging to a minister—a right which he may at any time exercise, and which I should have been sorry to have prevented any of those noble lords from exercising at any time they might have thought fit. I am at a loss to conceive even, on what grounds the noble lords opposite differ from myself, since I do not, by my change of seat, pledge myself to support the government in all cases whatever, and since, in supporting a continuation of that foreign policy which has been pursued for the last three years, I am only supporting that to which those noble lords themselves must be supposed to have given their full concurrence so long as they continued members of Lord Liverpool's government. But if the difference between these noble lords and myself is small, it must be at least equally small between the present administration who continue those measures, and my noble friends and myself, who have so frequently before that period pressed them on the attention of the government. When I consider what has recently been the policy of government with regard to the corn laws, with regard to the commercial system of this country, and her relations to foreign powers, I cannot, for the life of me, help thinking that these measures would not have happened to have been adopted, if the right honourable gentleman had not been in the government; and that if he should be no longer there, a different line of policy would immediately be pursued.



“There are certainly some subjects on which I differ from the right honourable gentleman ; one of these is, the subject of parliamentary reform : yet I know no right which any body possesses, to tell me, that because I differ from him on that subject, I have no right to support him on any other. I formed a part of the government twenty years ago ; and although I then held the same opinions that I do now upon the subject of reform, yet I did not then think it necessary to submit that question to the house. I have supported it from the time of my early youth ; I have always differed from the right honourable gentleman upon it ; and I declare, in all sincerity, and from the bottom of my heart, that I shall not vote differently upon that subject in whatever part of this house I may take my seat. Agreeing, therefore, as I do with the present administration upon many measures, I shall support them in all those measures in which we do concur ; but I shall not be influenced, by my change of seat, to support measures with which I do not agree. I differ from the present opposition in many things, but in none more than in the course they are now pursuing, in which, crimination on one side will lead to recrimination on the other ; neither of which can be indulged in without lowering the character and honour of those who employ such means, in the eyes of the people. But when I hear, as I have heard, a noble duke calling the right honourable gentleman at the head of the administration, the most profligate politician he ever heard of, I cannot avoid recollecting that that noble duke has for some time supported that right honourable gentleman as minister for foreign affairs, and as the manager of the affairs of his Majesty in the House of Commons. That he has supported the right honourable gentleman, is true ; he has supported the administration regularly, I cannot say cordially, because lately I must acknowledge I have witnessed in him some coldness, especially upon that topic on which I for one have given the right honourable gentleman my cordial, disinterested, and uniform support.



I confess that, looking at all these circumstances, I cannot conceive how those noble lords can find fault with us, who are convinced of the necessity and importance of carrying that question, for the support we are willing to give to a government favourable to our view of it, when they must know that we do so, because we conceive we shall serve our own principles better by supporting the present government than by opposing it, and, thereby risking the formation of a government entirely opposed to us upon that subject. I do maintain, my lords, that I am not to be charged with inconsistency for supporting the right honourable gentleman, because I withheld my support from him during the two last years in which he was a member of Lord Liverpool's administration—an administration, the head of which, and the majority of which, by their opposition to the question which I advocate, afforded me sufficient grounds for opposing them. But when I find that there are topics on which I can agree with that right honourable gentleman, I feel, as I always have felt, ready to afford him my support, in order to further those measures in which we both concur. There are topics on which we may still disagree, and one of which, I mean the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, will probably soon come under the consideration of the house; *and I declare, that if I am called upon to move it, I will do so, let me sit where I may.*

“I would ask those who idolize the memory of Mr. Pitt, whether he never formed part of an administration where differences existed upon certain subjects? I ask them whether, while he was chancellor of the exchequer, he did not move the subject of parliamentary reform? I ask them whether, year after year, he did not recommend the abolition of the slave trade? And although I have heard, that if he had applied all the abilities he possessed to the carrying of that measure, it might have succeeded sooner, yet I never did hear him attacked for forming part of an administration in which he differed from many of his col-



leagues upon those two subjects. If those noble lords will go into the history of Mr. Pitt's life, they will find that he advocated measures in which he differed from those persons with whom he was associated: and they will also discover that he even formed part of what he himself thought at the time a provisional government. To the utmost extent, therefore, can I defend myself and my conduct upon the example of Mr. Pitt. I beg to apologize to your lordships for having detained you so long upon this subject; but perhaps you will permit me, as I have entered upon the discussion, to say a few words upon what has fallen from noble lords on the other side of the house upon another subject. I am ready to acknowledge their right of resigning. I will suppose that all that has been said upon the subject of concert, is mere stuff, and idle rumour; but then I must say—and they will excuse me the use of this term—that they acted very foolishly, if, on determining to resign, they did not concert together for the purpose of rendering that resignation effectual in the way they proposed, and if they did not combine together for the purpose of inducing his Majesty to reconsider the appointment of those to whom he had committed the administration of his government. I find no fault with them for having exercised the right of resignation; indeed, there is no proceeding that has given me such hearty joy for many years past, since I think, with them, that what has happened must be a great step towards the accomplishment of those measures which they deprecate, but which I have always supported. But the noble lords must not take advantage of these things in both ways—they must not say that they will oppose the government because they fear the consequences of its measures will be to exclude the exclusionists, and will ultimately lead to some relaxation of those laws which we wish to see relaxed; and also, at the same time, turn round upon us, who disagree with them, and call for our support in their opposition to measures with which we concur. Some of these noble



lords are opposed to the right honourable gentleman, because they say he will carry the question to which they are hostile, and to which we are friendly—while others maintain, that we must be stupid or blind if we do not see that it is his intention to abandon that question entirely. They give us both sides of the picture—they shew us the black and the white—they tell us what they like and what they dislike, and would have us agree with them in both; but I say, that they, as well as we, must make our option. Mine is already made. I think that I am justified in supporting the government, because I agree with them in some things, although there are circumstances which I could wish to be otherwise. I will give the noble lords opposite all the advantage which they think they can obtain from this declaration. I speak openly, and I say again, that there are circumstances in the present administration which I could wish to be otherwise. I think this will generally be found to be the case in human affairs. I think we shall seldom witness an instance in which, when a number of men are united together, there may not be some among them who will not see things they could wish to be altered. The obedience of men to the interests of party, for the support of principles which they hold just and necessary, is seldom known to be founded upon an entire concurrence with every petty measure which their party may find it necessary to propose. It is sufficient if in the majority of the great objects of their union, their opinions concur. In the present instance, I give my support to the administration, because I believe that by so doing I am assisting the cause of civil and religious liberty, more than I could do by joining the opposition.

“The noble lord who has, till recently, maintained his seat on the woolsack, made a declaration a short time since, the sincerity of which I acknowledge, although I believe that he came to a mistaken conclusion, since I cannot but think that, throughout his life, he has been opposed to the real liberty of the country. I have, therefore, always been



hostile to him in his political capacity ; but I have received so much courtesy from him, that I entertain, if he will permit me to say so, a great regard for him personally. From our political differences, therefore, it is not to be wondered at that I should be surprised when I heard him make the declaration I have alluded to, and when I heard him state that his reason for resigning, was for the sake of religious and political liberty. I could not but be surprised at such a declaration, because I saw that he imagined he forwarded the interests of religious liberty, by refusing one-third of the people of this country admission to civil rights on account of their religious opinions, and because I recollected that during the thirty years in which I have been in parliament, there has not been one measure for the abridgment of civil liberty, which he, and those now connected with him, have not uniformly supported. I have changed my seat, for the purpose of resisting and contending against those measures which these noble lords have so long supported ; and in doing so, I do not think that I am liable to the least charge of political inconsistency."

When the Protestant dissenters, in the beginning of the year 1828, came to the determination of applying to parliament for a repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, they naturally turned their attention to the choice of a proper person in each house to prefer their claims and advocate their cause. Accordingly, Lord John Russell was selected for the Commons, and Lord Holland for the House of Peers. Of Lord John Russell's able exertions in this important cause, and of their successful issue, an account has already been given, in the sketch of that noble lord's public life and labours. But it would be unjust to Lord Holland, to pass over unnoticed, in this place, the eminent services which he rendered to his country, in the instance before us. His lordship's speech on moving the second reading of the bill, which had passed the Commons, and been read a first time in the House of Lords, though much too long to be given entire in this place, cannot, with any



propriety, be wholly omitted. The view which his lordship took of the whole matter of these statutes was so comprehensive, and his argument, founded upon them, so constitutional, his deductions so clear and convincing, and the entire subject placed in so luminous a point of view, that it exhibited a perfect acquaintance with it in all its bearings, and seemed to leave no point untouched. In fact, copious as the speech was, it scarcely admits of abridgment; and though reduced to the necessity of doing it, we are in justice bound to say, that it is not without injuring it as a whole.

It was on Thursday, April 17th, 1828, that Lord Holland moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for repealing the Corporation and Test acts; which being done, his lordship rose, and spoke to the following effect:

“I have now, my lords, to propose the second reading of that bill, which, as I observed when it went through its first stage, is anxiously expected by large, loyal, and respectable classes of the community: a bill solicited by numerous petitions to both houses of parliament, amounting, exclusive of those laid upon the table this day, to no less than eight hundred and sixty-one: a bill which has been brought up from the Commons of the United Kingdom, and recommended to your adoption, in the shape in which it now stands, by a vote of that branch of the legislature almost unanimous.

“Your lordships well know, that if you give this measure a second reading, you sanction its principle; in other words, you thereby express your conviction, that it is just, expedient, or necessary, and perhaps all, to abrogate the sacramental test as a qualification for civil and temporal office, and to substitute for it a simple and plain declaration, that the powers conferred by such office shall not be employed to weaken, injure, or disturb the church established by law. Such is the principle of the bill: and although this measure, or measures of this nature, were,



during the last century, frequently proposed in another place, and even more frequently agitated and discussed in pamphlets, public meetings, and, I believe, I may add, pulpits; yet the principle was never distinctly brought under the consideration of this house of parliament since the period when our great deliverer, William the Third, recommended the adoption of the very measure now proposed in some memorable words, to which I shall probably have occasion to advert in the course of these proceedings. It is indeed well known, that George the First, at the period of his accession, was, as well as his ministers, anxious to introduce some measure of this description, and a clause for the purpose was actually proposed to be inserted in "A Bill for strengthening the Protestant succession"—but in a way so indirect and ludicrous, that we cannot wonder it was rejected.

"With that exception, no such proposal has been made to this house since the period of the Revolution: and I think it a fortunate and auspicious circumstance, that, up to the time at which I am speaking, no opinion directly hostile to the measure I recommend, has ever been expressed by a British House of Lords. Here, then, is a bill, which, having glided smoothly through all those perilous passes which proved so fatal to its predecessor, has safely arrived at this

"Region, mild of air, serene, and calm,"  
where, until this day, not a breath of adverse wind has blown upon it—

"Semperque innubilus æther  
Integit et largé diffuso lumine ridet."

"My lords, I hail the omen: I consider it auspicious, both as to place and season. Happy indeed will it be for this house, creditable to this parliament, and glorious to the reign in which we live, if future historians shall have to record, that an act of mercy, which alike broke asunder the chains of the crown and the fetters of the people, was as obviously and undeniably the result of deliberate wisdom



and dispassionate justice, as the laws imposing those chains and fetters had been obviously and undeniably the offspring of precipitation, fear, suspicion, and alarm.

“I am well aware that an important duty devolves upon the individual who proposes for adoption a measure with such an object ; that in order to give to it its due character of deliberation and solemnity, he is called upon to state at full length, and with all possible clearness, the nature, history, and operation of the laws he proposes to repeal. To that undertaking I now proceed, not altogether calm and confident, but yet, I trust, undismayed ; though I cannot but reflect on the intricacy of the subject, and the difficulties which surround the origin of these statutes, passed in one of the most interesting, but complicated, periods of our history. When I recollect that the state of the law is involved in many technicalities and perplexities, I fear I may have been rash in stepping forward to engage in a task much above my powers, and, in some respects, inconsistent with pursuits so entirely unprofessional as mine. Your lordships, therefore, must forgive me, if, from anxiety to be clear, I should unfortunately deviate into prolixity.”

Lord Holland then proceeded to a history of the passing of these acts, which he accompanied with an explanation of the actual state of the country in regard to matters of policy and religious parties, which shewed him to have something more than a mere superficial acquaintance with the subject before him. “The general design of the Corporation act was to effect a purpose possibly salutary, possibly necessary, but certainly of a temporary nature. Many of its provisions have expired, others are repealed ; and in those points, as in others, it forms a complete contrast to the Test act, and is as much at variance with it in its subsequent fate and treatment, as it was in its original design, history, and principle.”

Dismissing the Corporation, his lordship proceeded to the passing of the Test act, which, he said, sprung from a deep-rooted suspicion, in the public, of the possessor of,



and a yet deeper of the presumptive heir to, the crown. It was wrested from the king, (Charles the Second,) who had recourse to every subterfuge to avoid it. The money bill was actually withheld until the crown had given its consent to the Test act. It was, in truth, a stigma, perhaps well merited, but a stigma fixed on the reigning prince and his family; and it was known and felt to be an invasion of what had always been the true, ancient, and lawful prerogative of the crown. It followed the declaration of indulgence—it arose out of cabals, irritation, and violence scarcely paralleled in our history. His lordship thus proceeded: “But why do I argue such a point? Read the act: look to the ingredients of the drug—look to the label upon it, and doubt, if you can, what disorder it was intended to remedy. What say the title and the preamble? Do they say, the act is directed against protestant dissenters? that it is to enforce conformity? to secure the crown? to form a bulwark for the church? to strengthen the alliance between church and state? &c. No, not a word of all this. It is “to prevent the danger arising from popish recusants, and for quieting the minds of his Majesty’s subjects.” After dwelling at some length in proof and illustration of the objects which the framers of the bill had in view, his lordship proceeded:

“This is the key to the whole transaction; and the Test act was consequently passed to guard against a popish prince and a popish successor, then, to all appearance, an inevitable inconvenience. But all such dangers have now vanished. We have happily got rid of the Stuarts: they, and the dangers they menaced, are buried and gone with all the Capulets. We have no dread of a popish prince, or popish successor; we have neither: the thing is impossible, and the provisions then devised against its consequences are now clearly unnecessary and inapplicable. Our laws secure us a protestant prince, and a protestant succession; and even with regard to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, the danger, if any, of their admission to



their rights, is otherwise amply provided against. I will not dwell on the terrible penalties inflicted by the Test act, not only for non-compliance, but for mere neglect of its provisions. My lords, they are terrible—loss and incapacity of office, incapacity of inheriting legacies, of acting as guardians or executors, and fines to an enormous amount; punishments, in short, equivalent almost to civil death and outlawry itself.

“What I have endeavoured to prove is—that the original intention and present effect of this act are at variance; that the principles from which it sprung are almost the reverse of those which its continuance on the statute book sanctions, and on which its supporters defend that continuance. The act meant to protect, assist, and co-operate with Protestant dissenters—it now oppresses or degrades them. It was directed against Roman Catholics only—they are now excluded by the operation of other acts.”

Lord Holland next proceeded to point out how the Test act interfered with the prerogative of the crown:—What, said his lordship, is this prerogative, but the right of the prince on the throne to call for the services of all his liege subjects, and the right of rewarding them for the honest and zealous discharge of those services? And what power more grateful to a generous mind, more congenial to the feelings of a prince of the house of Brunswick, or more conducive to the real benefit of the community? Why, then, are such portions of our fellow-subjects to be debarred from the honour of serving a monarch to whom they are attached, and why are we to withhold from him the prerogative of rewarding them?

“Reward,

The part of heaven in kings; for punishment

Is hangman's work, and drudgery for devils.”\*

It is that noble and godlike prerogative which this iniquitous, impious, and unnecessary law, in principle, seeks to

\* Dryden.



disfigure and abridge. The principle it would establish is this—that a man's religion, not his character, his talents, or his actions, fit him for office, or entitle him to reward. The lesson it teaches is this—that the gratitude of the state shall be limited to those with whom it agrees in religion—not extended to those on whom it depends for support, or from whom it derives strength and prosperity—that the zeal, the labour, the devotions of the subject shall be checked, if he cannot, on matters purely speculative and abstract, either agree, or affect to agree, with certain dogmas and theories of authority. After he has “scorn'd delights, and lived laborious days,” animated with a zeal to serve his prince and his country, and to raise his name among the benefactors of mankind, and when he expects to find the fair guerdon of his exertions, then steps forward this accursed law, and says, “No : you have earned these honours, it is true, but I shall snatch them from you ; you have shewn the zeal and borne the burden of a subject, but the fame, the reward, the distinction shall never be yours—and why ? because (O shame !) because you have some conscientious scruples about the manner of taking the sacrament of the Lord's supper.” And, are there men, and Englishmen, who will maintain that there is in all this no persecution, no hardship, no injustice ? Can they, with the praises of the constitution flickering on their lips—of that constitution, one principal maxim of which is, that he who contributes to the state, has a share of its power ; that all born under it, are eligible according to their merits—can they, I say, after vaunting their attachment to such a constitution, have the face to assert, that those who are debarred from its enjoyments suffer no injury, and have no right to complain ? Shall they tell me, that I am indulged with paying the taxes and performing the duties of a subject, and that it is a circumstance which must endear to me the government of the country ; that the privation of power, emolument, and fame is a mere trifle, a nothing ; I can have no right, no political power : I may be thankful



for living in a country where I may enjoy my personal liberty, my property, and my opinions ; while they, forsooth, are revelling in the possession of that very power, striving to procure it, enjoying it when obtained, and attached to the constitution from whence they derive it—for it is a little remarkable, my lords, that those who maintain that the privation of political power is no great evil, are, in their own persons, mighty lovers of that same article, and annex no small value to the monopoly of it—I say, these said persons kindly undertake the task of persuading me, that it is no grievance to be excluded, without any fault of my own, from enjoyments so gratifying to them, and to which, but for these statutes, I might have reasonably aspired ! Such is the lesson these laws inculcate ; such the language by which they must be defended !”

The noble baron next called the attention of their lordships to the tendency of these penal statutes, as affecting the case of conscientious clergymen of the established church. “Another principle sanctioned by the Test act,” said Lord Holland, “is the right of the state to render religious ordinances subservient to purposes purely political. It has always been a matter of astonishment to me, how persons sincerely and deeply impressed with a sense of religion, and with the importance and solemnity of that religious rite in particular, could reconcile to their consciences the selection of the Lord’s supper as a test and qualification for worldly offices. Mark the operation of this law, and consider the extent and consequences of the profanation, which, if it does not compel, it tempts so many to commit ! To the scoffer, the man of no religion, it prostitutes the most sacred institution of the church. He has no scruple, though he may have no desire, to take the communion : but this law makes it his interest to do so ; and, to serve his interest, the clergyman must administer it to him, and that for his security ! But what security is there to the state, in a test which its bitterest enemies can take, and which is not so likely to disarm their enmity, as to



invite their impiety and derision? The infidel and the hypocrite are admitted—the conscientious dissenter is excluded. What is the justice, where is the sense, of such a proceeding? What is the nature of that device which, miscalled protection, lets in your enemy, if enemy you have—lets in the unprincipled, and excludes none but the conscientious? If a man be a dissenter upon conviction, this law exposes him to temptation. Does he resist that temptation? the state is deprived of the services of an honest man. Does he yield?—where is your security against his opinions, or, if you will have it so, his hostility? Do you think it is disarmed or mitigated, because you have galled him in the tenderest point, wounded his conscience, and disturbed his repose?

“But,” said Lord Holland, “it is not dissenters alone that are exposed to such painful trials by this law—look to its operation on the churchmen, both laymen and clergy. It tempts the former to commit a sin which may embitter the remainder of their days. The doctrine of the church is, that every communicant must approach the table of the Lord with faith, charity, repentance, and a stedfast purpose to lead a new life: he must be prepared to partake of the ordinance in a temper of mind suitable to such a covenant transaction; nay, more, the absence of such a disposition, at such a moment, is a sin, and visited with anathemas dreadful even to repeat! But what says the law? It says to the member of the church, when appointed to office, “You must either renounce your prospects and your office, or you must take this awful sacrament, without reference to your being properly prepared to do so, or not.” It says to him, at the moment his ambition is gratified, and worldly prospects are opening before him, that is, in the hour of his elation and prosperity, a season surely not particularly propitious to self-abasement and repentance, “Eat and drink, at the risk of your salvation hereafter; or refuse, at the certain loss, to yourself and your family, of all worldly advancement and property here.”—



My lords ! can there be a system more horrid, or torture more refined, than this ? One's reason revolts, one's heart recoils, at so iniquitous, so cruel an alternative. The ingenuity of man can scarcely devise a more exquisite torment for a mind impressed with religious awe, and at the same time glowing with zeal and affection for his country, his family, and his friends.

“ Nor is it the communicant alone who is exposed to these cruel dilemmas. The clergyman who, in the discharge of his sacred functions, is sincerely and painfully anxious to discharge his duty aright, is placed by this law in a cruel and perplexing predicament.” After adverting to what is required of a clergyman by the canons and rubric of the church, in relation to this matter, his lordship thus proceeded to illustrate his subject. “ Now, my lords, what might happen ? I will suppose a possible case : I will suppose that a king should appoint a lord-chancellor, not quite so moral as the famous Lord Shaftesbury, and a secretary of state not quite so pious and religious as the equally famous Lord Bolingbroke.\* I will further suppose, that to some subordinate situation in the law, was advanced, at the same time, a smart barrister, who was more remarkable for his ready acuteness, learning, and vivacity, than for sweetness of temper or mildness of disposition. Now, let us conduct these three persons together to church, to qualify for their recent appointments : and there we will further suppose that the parish priest, without being an absolute Parson Adams, has yet the simplicity to imagine that his spiritual duties supersede all other considerations, and that, in observing the injunctions of his ecclesiastical superiors, and the canons of his church, he can incur neither injury nor reproach, or offend the laws of either God or man. Well, then, when the two noblemen and the lawyer present themselves, the clergyman thus addresses the first : ‘ My lord, I really am very sorry, but I cannot receive you at the communion-table : really, there are some circum-

\* Two notorious infidels !



stances so notorious respecting your lordship's moral character and conduct, that I must conscientiously consider you as one of the *bad livers* from whom I am compelled to withhold the sacrament. And as to you, my lord,' turning to the secretary of state, 'I really have seen in manuscript and in print such writings, and have heard from credible authority such language of your lordship's, respecting the very rite I am about to administer, and the Deity whose altar you now wish to approach, that, till I am enjoined by my ecclesiastical superiors to communicate with blasphemers and infidels, I must decline handing the bread and wine to your lordship. As to you, sir,' turning to the lawyer, 'it is equally impossible for me to admit you. Why, it is notorious you have brought law-suits, and fomented disputes without end, among my parishioners. You are not upon speaking terms with one-half of them, and there is a want of charity and good-fellowship in all your conduct in the parish; which clearly brings you within the description of persons to whom I am precluded from offering the holy sacrament.'

"Now, what, as the law stands, would be the answer to the clergyman so conducting himself according to the strict duties of his sacred profession? Possibly the two lords might withdraw themselves in silence, and with that politeness and courtesy which the habits of such high station, and an intercourse with members of this house, so naturally create. But not so the little lawyer, who, by the terms of my hypothesis, is a captious, sharp, and disputatious practitioner. What he would say, might be something to this effect: 'You decline to give me the sacrament, do you, Mr. Reverend? Very well, we shall soon see who will win at that game. I shall have you *in Banco Regis* in no time. I'll have swinging damages from you. You have spoilt my preferment, lost me my place, and you shall pay for it. I'll let fly my little *Per Quods* at you, and we shall soon see who will smart for the costs.' I know it may be said, the clergyman may justify—he may



plead the fact and the law, and get a verdict in his favour. Be it so—still there is the anomaly of a secular court deciding on a matter purely spiritual, namely, the fitness of a man to take the holy sacrament, and the propriety of the conscientious motives which induced the priest to refuse it. My lords, this anomaly is, as far as it goes, an indignity to the clergy. Let me not be told, that no church but that of Rome, would so consider it; that no priesthood but such as are popish, hold their heads so high, or view with any jealousy even an unnecessary and unusual interference of secular authorities. It is not so. All churches—even Protestant churches—feel in some degree such a jealousy. I will not quote Bishop Gibson, and others of minor authority; I will go to the first and great authority among Protestants—to the early reformers themselves. What will the learned lord say to Luther himself? Speaking of the mania of meddling with ecclesiastical matters, which it seems that some of the learned profession of the law were infected with even in his day, he has the following passage: but when I read part of it, I must beg the house and the right reverend prelates to recollect, that certain strong phrases in it are not mine, but those of an intrepid and sanctified reformer. ‘I could wish,’ says Luther, ‘the lawyers would appear in the game, so would I thoroughly try to teach them what *subjectum juris* is. I acknowledge *Jus* is a fair spouse, so long as she remaineth in her own bed; but when she strideth into that of another, and will rule divinitie in the church, then she becometh a great strumpet, and’—[*illud quod dicere nolo*, my lords, for the word is too strong for polite ears.] ‘I never read such fundamental and fearful examples of heart’s-hardening, as in lawyers. They far surpass the Jews, Pharaoh, and the others. In a word, they are next neighbours to the devil. My heart panteth and quaketh whenever I think of them.’”\*

Lord Holland concluded his long and able address with examining how far the annual indemnity bills could be

\* Luther’s Works.



considered an antidote to all the mischief and misery that are fairly attributable to the Corporation and Test acts. But though to follow him closely in all his reasonings on this point, is incompatible with our limits, we cannot refrain from quoting, in this place, the following interesting passage.

“It is a whimsical circumstance, that one of the most practical grievances which the present state of the law actually produces, falls exclusively on members of the Church of England. The grievance I allude to has shifted. During the first half of the last century, it lay heavy on the dissenters, but it has since shifted in a more mitigated shape upon the Church-of-England-man. In either case it elucidates that great truth, that a vicious principle cannot be admitted in legislation, without inflicting injustice in some quarter or other, in a greater or less degree. Your lordships know, that in most corporations there are places of burden as well as emolument. Now, by common law, all subjects are obliged, under certain penalties, to take those offices, when imposed on them by the corporations to which they belong. In the course of last century, this usage, combined with the Corporation act, was ingeniously, but wickedly, perverted to the purpose of extorting money from the dissenters who scrupled to take the sacrament in the prescribed form. Such was the case in London. The corporation was in the habit of choosing non-conformist sheriffs—they knew they would not qualify, and they compelled them to pay the fine! I am sorry to mention such a practice in a body like the Corporation of London; but I rejoice to think that that very body who, fifty or sixty years ago, acted with such bigotry and injustice, has justly and liberally petitioned this house to repeal those odious laws which they formerly held in such superstitious veneration, and which they turned to such iniquitous purposes. I am afraid the magnificent pile of the Mansion House was raised out of these fines, and has been for that very reason, somewhat severely, but not inaptly, called “the Palace of



Intolerance." The practice went on, till one, who had, in his own sphere of life, that sturdy, honourable, and persevering spirit which distinguished the immortal Hampden, and which is of more common growth in English bosoms than in any other, was marked out as its victim. Mr. Evans—for the names of such unbending and useful men should be commemorated—resisted the attempt to impose the office upon him, or yet the fine; he fought his case intrepidly in all the courts of law, and through all the fields of chicanery and persecution, where his enemies were enabled to drag him—and he finally appealed to this house. That appeal drew forth the ever-memorable judgment of Lord Mansfield, one of the greatest magistrates and accomplished orators that ever graced the forum or the senate. That speech and that judgment, whatever may have been his political delinquencies—and, I am sure, I do not know of any, though he was lavishly accused of them in the libels of the day—but, I repeat, whatever they were, that noble speech and judgment, teeming with wisdom, philosophy, justice, and philanthropy, made large amends for all of them. They secured justice at the time: they have perpetuated benefits to posterity. In that speech, Lord Mansfield declared that he read the preface of De Thou's History of his Own Times every year of his life, and never without tears of gratitude and admiration for the just sentiments of religious liberty which it inculcates. My lords, one may say without exaggeration, that the very speech in which his study of that great and impartial historian is recorded, should be studied as earnestly and as frequently by all who wish to imbibe the true principles of philosophical toleration and Christian charity in legislation. He decided, that the toleration act had not, as some narrow minds had imagined, merely rescued the dissenters from punishment and persecution; it had acknowledged their rights, protected their worship, and, in some sense, established their religious profession. After such an acknowledgment, you could not convert their adherence



to that dissent which you had legalized, into a crime, and visit it with fine and punishment. Just and benevolent judgment ! which rescued the dissenter from extortion and vexation. But what were its other consequences ? Why, it threw on the members of the Church of England in corporate towns an undue proportion of the burdens. The dissenter urges his dissent, and escapes his fine—the conformist must bear the burden. It comes in consequence more frequently upon him, and he must pay the fine. Pass this bill, and both are upon an equality.”

Here we stop, and take leave of this invaluable speech, so honourable to Lord Holland, merely apprising the reader that what has now been given, scarcely amounts to one half of it, and that the whole is very deserving of his deliberate perusal. It abounds throughout with the noblest sentiments of civil and religious liberty, at the same time reprobating every species of tyrannical usurpation over conscience. But before we take a final leave of the subject, it is proper we should record, that the bill for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts was read a third time, passed, and received the royal assent on the 29th of April, 1828.

On the 17th of May following, Lord Holland presided, for the third time, at the anniversary meeting of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, at the City of London Tavern, when a vote of thanks being moved to him for the eminent services he had rendered to the dissenting body at large by his parliamentary labours, Lord Holland rose, amidst deafening bursts of applause, which continued for two or three minutes, and were again and again renewed ; when, at length, they had subsided, he spoke as follows :

“ Gentlemen, I really am afraid that I shall not be able to address you. I feel myself so overwhelmed with emotions of gratitude for the manner in which you have greeted me this day, and in which you have now received the mention of my name, that I really fear, in attempting to address this



meeting, my voice and my whole frame will fail. However, I will begin by stating, that when the too favourable, and, I may almost say, the too partial judgment of your estimable secretary, and of the committee of gentlemen who manage the affairs of this institution, offered to me the honour of again presiding at this meeting, I had some hesitation and scruple as to availing myself of what I considered so great a favour. In addition to those considerations of personal habits and personal health, which are fast advancing, and fast proceeding to disqualify me from attending meetings so vast, so intelligent, so animated as this; exclusive of them, I felt there was some sort of arrogance and presumption in rising, for the third time, to return you my thanks. I felt that to preside three times at these meetings, partook a little of the nature of that monopoly against which we have directed our energies, and which, I may say, we have almost, in principle, exterminated and destroyed.

“Gentlemen, these considerations, perhaps, were such as should have induced me to decline the honour. But when I reflected upon what would probably be the main business of the day, I confess frankly, pardon the weakness, I could not resist the pleasure, the delight, of standing up in this place, and in this society, for the protection of civil and religious liberty, and congratulating you upon the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, now happily achieved. I feel, indeed, that the share your kindness and partiality have ascribed to me, is considerably exaggerated. Such are my feelings. But, at the same time, I am not made of such stone and wood, as not to feel grateful for the kindness you have expressed. I feel that your success is to be ascribed, in some greater measure perhaps than you are aware, to the sentiments which were so beautifully expressed by Mr. James at the commencement of this meeting, and which, I can assure you and him, were more gratifying to my heart than any personal eulogies that could be pronounced: I mean the sentiments of



respect and pious regard to one, who scattered those seeds of which we now reap the fruit; for the seeds were sown by one whose name I can hardly trust myself to mention, even at this distance of time. It was indeed Fox who sowed these principles in gloomy, and many times in seasons of trouble, misrepresentation, and calumny; but who was not deterred from acting consistently, uniformly, and steadily, to promote the harvest we this day enjoy. Hence arises the deduction, that we should not neglect to sow the seeds of good principle, deterred by inclement seasons or tempestuous skies; for when the seeds are implanted, and especially in the bosoms of Englishmen, the period will at length come round, the tree will ultimately bear the fruit, and our posterity shall have the benefit, and bless our names.

“Gentlemen, I receive with heartfelt gratitude the thanks you may have expressed. I will say more; I will say that constantly to have had this great object in view; if to have kept the eye fixed upon it; if to have exerted every little energy I had for its attainment; and if you value the motives and conduct that come from the bottom of the heart; if these wishes, these emotions, be deserving of your thanks, even your thanks I have deserved. It will be a satisfaction to the latest hour of my life, to have been allowed to fight in the ranks upon such an occasion; and that you should have imagined that those endeavours had been useful, is a source of more rapture to my heart. But I cannot think that those endeavours, however zealously and unremittingly devoted to the cause, have been quite so necessary as you suppose. The real cause is due to another source. The main cause to which success should be ascribed, is the justice of the cause. Truth, consistently and steadily pursued, always gains the victory. The next thing to which the success is owing, is the wise, the judicious, the temperate, firm, and loyal conduct of the protestant dissenters. And when I utter this expression, I entirely agree with the reverend gentleman to my right



(Mr. Adkins,) who said, that wherever a protestant dissenter was to be found, or wherever, in other words, there was a puritan dissenter, there was to be found a friend to civil and religious liberty—a friend to the excellent constitution under which we live. To their judicious, liberal, and consistent conduct, the success is greatly due. But it is still more owing, perhaps, to the general improvement of public opinion, to education, and the liberal principles that diffusively prevail. These are the three great causes. But if any part of the success be attributable to individuals, I must say, that to Lord John Russell it is more due than to any other man. It required all the energy of his unblemished character—all the firmness of purpose which is hereditary in his noble race—it required all the sobriety of judgment, the moderation of temper, as well as the ability and profound constitutional knowledge for which he is distinguished, for carrying, successfully, such a measure through the Commons house of parliament. To him, therefore, as an individual, I think you are under the greatest obligation. I will not enumerate many other persons, though I cannot help expressing the satisfaction I feel, that you have named, in your resolution, my worthy and excellent friend, Mr. William Smith; whose parliamentary career, I will venture to say, is equal to any which the annals of parliament afford, for steady, uniform, and honourable conduct.

“Gentlemen—I have told you what it was that induced me to accept the honour you have conferred. It was the pleasure of congratulating you upon the great event, and in congratulating you upon that event, it was my intention to have explained the nature of the evil happily removed, but that has been done so much more ably and eloquently in the report, the resolutions, and the addresses you have heard, that it will be unnecessary for me to dilate upon that theme. He takes a very narrow view of this subject, who imagines that it is the mere act of the repeal, the mere benefit which directly flows from the event, at which



we alone rejoice. Not protestant dissenters only, but the public have gained by the event. The consequence of the existence of those laws, as it has been stated, and eloquently described, was "hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness." The principles upon which those laws were founded, were the principles of intolerance and persecution. They were a disgrace to the statute book. Had the common law and constitution of England been consulted, they would never have existed. They were foreigners to the glorious principles of native Englishmen. To the ancient law of the land, they were unknown; and I firmly believe they were as repugnant to the principles of religion, as to all the principles of civil right. In God's name, then, let us rejoice that they have fallen. I will not follow up the general principle, so far as to affirm that no exception can exist; but the burden of proving the necessity for that exception is with those who maintain its being. It is not necessary for a man to concur with the opinions held by the rulers of the state, to entitle him to his rights as a subject. The principle laid down in the canon of inspiration, is, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." But what man shall tell me, that Cæsar is to interfere with the things of God! In rendering "to God the things which are God's," are we to be injured in our liberty for the manner and mode in which we render them? There may be exceptions, I might allow, but all the exceptions which now exist, seem to me unjust, and directly contrary to the fundamental principles on which we profess to act. But they are merely exceptions, and as mere exceptions they must henceforth be strictly argued. For myself, I am quite certain, that those principles are not only to be found in the ancient law of the land, and in the principles of every free government, but, above all, they are written in the hearts of those whom I address.

"A French gentleman, (the Reverend Mr. Scholl,) in a very interesting, as well as clever speech, said, he knew



little of this institution, but by name. I think we can say, this institution has earned, and well deserved, its name. But when I come here to say, 'I congratulate you upon the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts,' I congratulate you, not merely as Protestant dissenters, but as Englishmen—as Christians—as men. If I congratulate this institution, I congratulate it because I think it has been a fellow-labourer in the vineyard, and has considerably contributed to the triumph we have obtained. I congratulate this institution, because it is founded upon principles that go to the destruction of all exclusive laws. It is called "The Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty." It is not called "Protestant" from an exclusive feeling, either to Jew, or Mahometan, or Papist; but because it is founded on the very principle of Protestantism itself; namely, the right of private judgment in matters of religion. To the principle—the principle—we must recur then. We must make no distinctions. If I have a right to private judgment, I have a right to surrender my will, or to withhold it, as I choose. All we mean by maintaining the right of private judgment in matters of religion is, that the strong arm of Cæsar shall never interfere with God. With respect to the origin of this society, since our friend (Mr. Scholl) has said he is ignorant, I will take the liberty of saying a few words upon the subject. Gentlemen, about seventeen years since, there was an intention somewhere of interfering with the toleration act, of requiring securities, (for some people are fond of securities,) before a man could be allowed to preach to his fellow-subjects. This originated somewhere, and I will imitate a man who said, 'More I do not choose to recollect;' I do not wish to recollect the birth-place of the design, but such was the attempt. I had the honour to inform the public of my view of the consequences of that attempt, and upon that occasion I had the satisfaction of receiving the thanks of a very respectable, learned, and pious body. When they came to me, and I gave them my assistance, they asked me



‘ what they could render in return ? ’ I answered, ‘ All I want of you is, if you are pleased with the defence of your own rights, then, whenever any body stands in need of such assistance, allow me to call on you for your co-operation in their defence. A year did not elapse before I had occasion to sign the draft ; and I must say, that it was duly, it was gloriously honoured. A meeting was called by men favourable to intolerance in Wiltshire. I invited my friends among Protestant dissenters to redeem their pledge. Well was it redeemed. The Protestant dissenters hastened to support me. The intolerants were scattered ; and energy and union in a good cause then prevailed. After the attempt to which I have referred, this society was formed ; namely, as you have already heard by our good friend so near me (Mr. Wilks) ; and since its formation, it has never slumbered heedless at its post. Nor will it slumber while religious liberty needs protection ; or the fundamental principle of protestantism and dissenterism may be infringed.

“ When persons, indeed, have seen individual opinions, and speeches, and sermons, they have raised a charge against the whole body of Protestant dissenters, and said, Though these people call out for toleration, and though they ask for religious liberty, yet they are not willing to grant to others that which they claim. But I always have said, and now repeat, I have found it quite the contrary. Now if you feel any gratitude to me upon this subject, (and I wish I deserved it more,) I make the same answer to you that I made seventeen years ago, ‘ Assist me to assist others who need to be assisted.’ I can only assure you, and what I say here I have said in my place in parliament, that though I should rejoice to find that the great victory you have gained over intolerance and persecution shall lead to a further victory, and to further improvement of the statute book, yet it was not with this view I acted. For if I was convinced that every man in this immense assembly was an enemy to Catholic emancipation, I would have struggled



for your wishes, nor to you should justice have been by me denied. Certainly, without having any particular religious tenets to bind me to the body of Protestant dissenters, I have ever had a powerful predilection for them. Yet it was not on that account that I urged the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts. And now, when I recommend the repeal of acts still more oppressive on six millions of our fellow-subjects, it is not from any great love, or great admiration, for their particular ritual or creed. But shall I grasp, or allow other puny arms to grasp, the lightning and thunder, and punish by exclusion those from whom I differ; and persecute and proscribe those who, as honest men, adhere to the ritual and creed of their forefathers, and to which their judgment and their will adhere? No, no, no! Such are my rules of conduct; such the principles you have aloud proclaimed. These are the grounds on which I think this institution was wisely founded. The founders have acted up to their principle, and now gather, joyfully, some of their summer fruits. A gentleman to the right, (Dr. Cox) mentioned that he looked forward to the funeral of this institution. I look forward to it also; but I hope it will remain in vigour as long as its energies shall be required. As long as there be any thing imperfect, such as the matters mentioned in your resolutions; or as long as the principle of persecution lingers on in life, I trust it will abide and flourish all along, and cling most closely to the sacred principles which Protestants as well as Protestant dissenters, must profess. Enjoy the relief you have acquired, and extend to all the benefits of your energy. But, exhausted, I must sit down, and I sit down with an overflowing heart, thanking you again, and again, and again, for the attention and kindness you towards me have uniformly shewn."

It still remains for us to take some notice of Lord Holland's exertions in the cause of the Roman Catholics of Ireland; but on this we are compelled, by the extent to which this memoir has already carried us, to be very concise.



The Catholic relief bill, as it was called, having passed the Commons, was brought up and read a first time in the House of Lords, on Tuesday, March 31st, 1829, when the Duke of Wellington proposed that it should be printed, and read a second time the following Thursday, which being objected to by several noble lords as being too early a day, Lord Holland spoke at some length against procrastinating a measure of such importance to the empire, and so imperiously called for. Some noble lords had complained of being taken by surprise. "Talk of surprise," said his lordship, "it is monstrous, it is laughable to hear of such a thing. It may be a matter of surprise that the noble duke, with his acute and penetrating powers of mind, should have been so tardy in giving to this question the benefit of his support; but to say that it is matter of surprise this question should come under the consideration of parliament this session, is so inconsistent with common sense, that I wonder how any man can assert it. No delay was necessary on the principle of the measure, as it had been before the country long before many noble lords had the honour of sitting in that house.

But it was on the 6th of April, when the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for fixing the qualification of freeholders in Ireland, was moved, that Lord Holland spoke most largely on this subject. It was in reply to the Earl of Winchelsea, that he rose, and began by expressing his satisfaction at finding that the noble lord (Manners) did not think the coronation oath contained any bar to the legislation of parliament on the subject of Catholic relief. The noble earl (Winchelsea) admitted that parliament had a right to change the constitution of the country: and, moreover, that they could effect one change which the noble earl appeared to have much at heart, which was, that the spiritual lords should be turned out of the house, and that their revenues should be equalized. This was rather a bold proposition, said his lordship—a stroke of sweeping reform, to come from such a quarter.



According to the terms of the coronation oath, the sovereign was bound to maintain the church and the clergy of this kingdom in their rights and privileges. It had been said that the Irish tenantry were now swayed by the priests. For himself he must say, that he was not fond of an undue influence on the part of priests of any class: he was as free from that weakness as any man could well be; but if slaves were to be driven, he would rather they were driven by drivers of their own choice, than by persons of whom they less approved, although they might happen to be the original drivers. The conduct of the Irish electors since the year 1825, so far from being an aggravation of their offence, his lordship thought, was directly the contrary. "It was to their praise," he said, "that these poor unhappy and most unfortunate men, who had been long labouring under the yoke which your ambition imposed upon them—these slaves and serfs of the land—was it to be spoken to their condemnation, that, impelled by religious and strong political notions, they had incurred the risk of actual destitution and punishment by opposing their taskmasters? Though it might be true, that the basis of the English constitution and representation consisted in property, it was false that the overweening property of one man could constitutionally command the votes of others. The really guilty men were the proprietors of land in Ireland, who, for the basest, lowest, and most grovelling of political objects, had bestowed rights and privileges upon their fellow-countrymen." After all, his lordship acknowledged that he could not vote for this bill with the same degree of pleasure and satisfaction as he had felt when, two days ago, he went below the bar in support of the measure of emancipation, with a mass of talent, liberality, and learning—a constellation of all that was brilliant and benignant in human nature, such as perhaps had never before been enclosed within that narrow space. The noble lord, after noticing the assertion, that the present was a terrible infringement on the Irish elective franchise, and



glancing at the argument relative to the different value of £40 now, and in the time of Henry the Eighth, proceeded to observe, that, although, for the reasons already stated, and in accordance with the evidence taken in 1825, he was willing to vote for the second reading of the bill, yet, much as he wished to reconcile his mind to all the clauses and provisions suggested by those individuals who had so nobly, wisely, and magnanimously brought forward the measure of relief, he could not deny that there were clauses in the present bill to which he could not give his hearty concurrence.

After particularizing his objections, Lord Holland concluded with an apology to the house for saying a few words about himself, explanatory of the motives and reasons for acting as he did. "The noble earl (Winchelsea) had complimented persons on this side of the house for their consistency. He (Lord Holland) neither boasted, nor wished to be thought proud of his consistency. His whole object was to think as justly, and act as honestly, as he could. And if he happened to be consistent in his public actions, it was simply because his opinions had not changed. If they had undergone an alteration, he trusted he had virtue, honour, patriotism, and honesty enough to act on the change. He wished to shew, by his actions, that these were his real opinions—the sentiments on which he had always acted; and therefore he wished to shew the sharpshooters of the opposite party, who endeavoured to bring down every body, that he was a fair mark for them. He wanted to shew them that he had—not a white feather—that he did not believe he possessed—but a few discoloured feathers, and that, therefore, they might have a slap at him. Should their lordships, after what had been already done in the meditated alteration of the law, attempt to halt, and disappoint the expectations which had been so generally excited throughout this and the neighbouring kingdom, he could not contemplate the dangerous effect of such a line of conduct without being appalled at the too probable



consequences. This was the most powerful of all the reasons that have been recapitulated in favour of the bill; and, impressed as he was with the weight of this argument, he could not but give it his sincere support."

Here, then, we take leave of Lord Holland's parliamentary career, presuming that we have traced it in a way sufficiently minute, through a period of almost forty years, to enable every reader to judge for himself of the noble lord's principles as a statesman, his accurate knowledge of the laws and constitution of his country, his love of freedom, and inflexible attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty. Educated in the school of his immortal uncle—a man whose genius has cast so brilliant a lustre on England—his whole political life bears testimony to his proficiency as a pupil, and how much he has profited by the lessons of his instructor. The liberal principles early implanted in his mind have been strengthened and invigorated by study, and the experience acquired by an intercourse with the world, at home and abroad. He is a scholar, without the least taint of pedantry; and he possesses all the superiority of talent, and goodness of heart, which command esteem and inspire affection. Yet, as an orator, his lordship does not by any means rank high. This is, in a great measure, owing to 'the mighty soul working out its way' with a vigour too overpowering. His lordship's thoughts o'ermaster his words; and the more he struggles, often the more he is at a loss for the 'current coin of debate.' Nor does the vehemence of his action, or the fine and deep tones of his voice, compensate for this hesitation—a defect which in some degree characterized his renowned relative, but which early practice in public speaking, such as was enjoyed by Brougham and Jeffery in the Speculative Club of Edinburgh, might have corrected or removed. Lord Holland is energetic, copious, and effective; but his utterance is imperfect, and his gesticulation inelegant. But, notwithstanding this defect in Lord Holland's oratory, which renders it somewhat ungraceful, he is almost sure to bear



away the hearts of his hearers at the end of a debate ; for his benevolence is more boundless than his satire is poignant ; and if he inflicts a wound, he seems uneasy until he has applied a lenitive.

Lord Holland's manners are said to be very agreeable—his conversation elegant—and even his personal appearance, which calls strongly to mind that of his illustrious uncle, all afford convincing proof that the two characters of an accomplished scholar, and a convivial companion, are by no means incompatible. His lordship patronizes men of letters, and enjoys considerable reputation as an author. Among the acknowledged productions of his lordship's pen, are the *Lives of Lope de Vega*, and *Gilhon de Castro*, already mentioned in the course of this memoir—but to these may be added, the *Preface to Mr. Fox's Historical Fragment*—*Preface to Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs*—*Letter to Dr. Shuttleworth on the Catholic Claims*—*The Twenty-Fifth Canto of the Orlando Furioso*, and the *Seventh Satire of Ariosto translated into English Verse*, and appended as *Specimens to Mr. Rose's Version*—*The Account of the Suppression of the Jesuits in Doblado's Letters on Spain*—and a *Letter to a Neapolitan, from an Englishman in 1815*. He was also the editor of *Lord Orford's Memoirs*, and republished *Townsend on the Poor Laws*, with a *Preface addressed to Lord Grenville*. Mr. Jerdan, in the short sketch of his lordship which accompanies the fine portrait of him contained in a recent number of the *National Portrait Gallery*,\* mentions, what he calls 'a charming bit of Utopian philosophy,' entitled "*A Dream*," as the product of his lordship's waking hours ; it is addressed to his old friend, and the admired poet, *Samuel Rogers, Esq.*—never printed, we believe, but merely privately circulated among his lordship's friends. He has also favoured us with "*A Poetical Epistle*" attributed to his lordship's pen, which displays much playfulness and grace, in union with fine moral feeling.

\* Published by Messrs. Fisher, Son, and Jackson.









Painted by Sir Tho<sup>s</sup> Lawrence P.R.A.

Engraved by R. Page & Son.

THE R<sup>t</sup> HON<sup>ble</sup> FREDERICK JOHN ROBINSON, VISCOUNT GODERICH.

*Goderich*

FISHER, SON & CO LONDON, 1832.









Painted by Sir John Everett Millais

Engraved by J. G. Heath

THE R<sup>T</sup> HON<sup>BLE</sup> FREDERICK JOHN ROBINSON, VISCOUNT OF RIPON

*Goodrich*

FISHER, SON & CO LONDON 1862



THE RIGHT HON.

## LORD VISCOUNT GODERICH,

*Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.*

LORD VISCOUNT GODERICH, formerly known as the Honourable Frederick Robinson, is a younger brother of Lord Grantham, and born on the 30th of October, 1782. His father was a distinguished diplomatist; and among various other services rendered to his country in that capacity, he concluded the preliminaries of peace with France in the year 1783. The ancestry of the family can readily be traced to the distance of two hundred and fifty years, about which time, William Robinson, its founder, and an eminent Hamburgh merchant, became lord mayor of the city of York.

The first member of the family elevated to the peerage was Sir Thomas Robinson, who, after a long and honourable diplomatic career, was created Baron Grantham, in the first year of the reign of George the Third. The present Lord Goderich takes precedence of his elder brother, notwithstanding the latter inherits the more ancient and family title; the reason of which will be explained hereafter, when we come to narrate the circumstances attending his elevation to the House of Peers.

Viscount Goderich, the present secretary for the colonies, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where, in compliment to his rank and talents, he obtained the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In 1807 he took his seat



in the House of Commons, as representative of the borough of Rippon, as the successor of Sir James Graham, which station he continued to fill for several succeeding parliaments—a period of twenty years. Shortly after his first return to parliament, the lamented death of Mr. Fox broke up the Whig ministry, and the noble viscount, then Mr. Robinson, was found among the supporters of those who had returned to power. From his first appearance in the House of Commons, he became a favourite, particularly with agricultural and aristocratical members, who considered that they had a guarantee in his name and family, that he would always speak and vote for the predominancy of the landed interest. His appearance at this time was the more cheering to the ministerial members, as, on the opposite side of the house were to be found a class of political economists—a sect just then becoming important in parliament, from the ability displayed by Messrs. Horner, Brougham, and Ricardo.

It was not, however, till the year 1812, that Mr. Robinson began to take an active share in the business of parliament; and in following that course, he, no doubt, acted with sound discretion. Many a young member has done himself great injury by a too precipitate movement, in speaking without a thorough knowledge of his audience; and the more especially, since, in St. Stephen's Chapel, as with the female sex, one false step for ever ruins their fame. Some of the greatest statesmen of modern times have seen the wisdom of proceeding by slow and cautious step, ere they hazarded their reputation by a maiden speech. The late Mr. Canning remained nearly a year a member of the house, before he made his first essay; and though he did not escape the lash of Mr. Courtney's irony, yet the success which awaited that effort was the best and truest proof of his tact and discretion. Nor was Mr. Robinson's tardiness less creditable; for, at the period when he began to take a more prominent part in the debates of the house, experience had divested him of those classic puerilities, in



which gentlemen fresh from the academic groves are so apt to indulge. He had, moreover, acquired that happy facility of phrase which is something more than fluency ; and that winning grace and artlessness of manner, which may be called the coquetry of public speaking, and the possession of which is essential to the finished debater.

It was not long a secret to ministers, that Mr. Robinson was not divested of honourable ambition, and that he was willing by patient labour to make his way to office and distinction. There are rarely wanting in parliament young gentlemen of this description, the younger sons and brothers of the nobility—so many indeed that the task of selection is by no means an easy one ; but it has been observed, that Lord Castlereagh gave proof of his quickness and knowledge of mankind by his preference of Mr. Robinson, who was certainly the most promising, and at the same time the least assuming, of all the candidates for ministerial favour. He had resided about two years, it seems, in Ireland, in the office of chief secretary for that country, where he probably acquired that animation of style, of which he at this period gave pleasing specimens ; and it is not too much to suppose, that he had observed the good effects of those declamatory and passionate appeals in which the natives of the sister country are so prone to indulge. Mr. Robinson's addresses, however, were not solely distinguished by declamation—on the contrary, their characteristic features were good sense, sound information, and a degree of judgment which enabled him to adapt himself with a nice exactness to the house and the subject, and to hit the mark (to use an expression of Mr. Burke) “ precisely between wind and water.” This adroitness, joined to his daily and rapid improvement in the art of public speaking, pointed out Mr. Robinson as a fit and proper person to fill the office of vice-president of the board of trade ; and towards the close of the year 1812, he was appointed to that situation, and also made treasurer of the navy.



The noble president of the board of trade, the Earl of Clancarty, seldom appearing at his post, the government of the committee devolved almost entirely upon Mr. Robinson; but neither the board nor the country had reason to regret the event. The enlightened and industrious vice-president entered upon the duties of his office, like one resolved to insure the utmost possible improvement in the commerce of the nation. At the time his active services in this department of the state commenced, the Continent was under the system of exclusion to British produce and manufactures, which the rancour of Napoleon had established. And though the despot's purpose to crush the trade of this country had in a great measure failed by reason of its own violence, that trade was materially suffering through the want of a direct and an unrestrained communication with the states of Europe. But the inconvenience and injury had now only a short time to exist; and the ardent zeal of Mr. Robinson to restore the commerce of his country to its former prosperity was soon encouraged by the partial opening of the continental ports, and shortly after was amply recompensed by the establishment of a general peace. It may here be added, that, while discharging the important duties of the office of vice-president, he accumulated considerably to his stock of knowledge, and acquired a competent acquaintance with the great interests of the country, both foreign and domestic, which could not fail to qualify him for the highly important station which he now fills in the administration of public affairs.

It has been remarked, and the thing is no way incredible, that the exertions of Mr. Robinson, during the few years of his presiding at the board of trade, were almost unprecedented, owing to the arduous and difficult duties of his office. The merchants and manufacturers of the country, and not less the agriculturists, are little aware of the extent of their obligations to him for his unwearied labours through that period of vicissitude and perplexity. When his mea-



asures had not all the success which could be wished, the shafts of censure were darted against him without mercy, and without remorse; and even amidst the numerous instances in which his foresight and industry succeeded, those whom he most benefited were frequently the loudest in their complaints against him. Omitting subordinate measures in parliament, which he either originated, defended, or opposed, we may select, as an instance in point, the introduction of the corn-bill in the year 1815. In this bill, which it was his lot to introduce, Mr. Robinson identified himself with the interests of landlords, though the cry of "cheap bread" resounded through the country. Popular violence increased with the progress of discussions on the measure, and riotous assemblies were held. A mob took possession of the avenues of the House of Commons, cheering and hooting the members, according as they agreed with the popular opinions, or dissented from them. Nor did the evil stop there. The mob proceeded to violence, attacked the house of Mr. Robinson, and destroyed his furniture and writings. The police being unequal to the task of quelling the tumult, a military guard was sent for, which, without harm to an individual, dispersed the mob, and protected the parliament. The resentment of the populace, however, did not subside, for, when driven from the House of Commons by the military, they divided into small parties, in order that by simultaneous attacks they might destroy the houses of such as supported the bill. A desperate band, of about seventy men, made a second effort; they assembled near the house of Mr. Robinson, though a military guard was posted in it for protection, and his servants were also armed. The mob demanded to know where Mr. Robinson was, threatening to put him to death, and all who protected him; and, about seven o'clock, when darkness favoured the deed, they attacked the remains of the house with redoubled fury. The military fired, and unhappily two innocent persons, who were mere idle spectators of the tumult, lost their lives—one a young midshipman, of the



name of Vize; the other a female, of the name of Watson. For his conduct in reference to this matter, Mr. Robinson was vigorously assailed by an honourable baronet, who denominated the massacre "a military murder committed in ambuscade!" This made it necessary for the vice-president to appeal to the house, which he did in a pathetic, yet firm and manly speech. He stated the ravages committed by the mob on the first night, and their outrageous return the next day, threatening his life, and the lives of his domestics; and he contended that the soldiers, posted within the house, were compelled to act in their own defence. The force of this appeal was felt by the House of Commons and the country, though all deplored the result.

From this period, Mr. Robinson was in the habit of speaking on most public questions, and proved himself to be an infinitely superior person to his patron, the late Lord Londonderry, to whom he had acted in the capacity of private secretary—though much inferior to the noble marquis in political finesse! But, while less experienced, he was more sincere; and while less versatile, he was more direct, and more to be depended on than the minister. In the early stages of his parliamentary career, he occasionally appeared to painful disadvantage, while engaged in advocating the measures of ministers—more, however, through want of accurate information, than a deficiency of tact or power. An instance of this kind occurred in the memorable discussion of the system of espionage, in 1818, when Mr. Phillips introduced his motion respecting committees of secrecy. To Mr. Robinson was assigned the difficult task of replying to the honourable gentleman's statements; and though successful in some parts of his reply, there were others in which he betrayed his want of correct information to such an extent, as to call forth the cheers of the opposition, by evincing his failure in the establishment of the point contended for.

It was in the year 1818 that Mr. Robinson delivered



his masterly speech on the foreign enlistment bill, which gained him no little fame. It has been considered one of his ablest parliamentary efforts during the years he was "not of the cabinet." Glancing at the state of South America, he observed, that "Spain would have a justifiable cause for declaring war, if we did not do our utmost to fulfil our treaty with her. And though her weakness might deter her from hazarding hostilities with a generous nation, that ought to be the very reason why all cause of complaint on our part should be removed. It was urged that the cause of the South Americans was just—that it was most fitly and naturally popular in Great Britain; and that to support it would in a most important degree relieve the commercial and manufacturing interests of the kingdom. But, recollecting the solemn treaties entered into by this country, Mr. Robinson said, "he could not but pause, at least, before he consented to sacrifice to feeling and interest, the honour and good faith of the nation: in his view, nothing on earth should be held so dear by a country, as fidelity to its engagements."

This was language worthy of a British statesman, and upon these honourable principles ministers regulated their proceedings in reference to South America till their very operation had produced such a change in the councils and conduct of Spain, as to open the way for an equally honourable recognition of South American independence. Had the ministry taken the advice which some were forward to tender, and pursued an opposite line of conduct at this critical period, they might have involved this country in a war, the certain success of which would have ill repaid the waste of blood and treasure to which it must unavoidably have subjected us, and that without securing the independence of the South American colonies, or our advantageous recognition of them, so well as has been effected by the minister's prudent and peaceful measures.

It was in the year 1818, that Mr. Robinson, on the death of Mr. Rose, and the resignation of Lord Clancarty, suc-



ceeded the latter as president of the board of trade, and the former as treasurer of the navy; the necessity of holding the two offices at the same time, being occasioned by the circumstance of there being no salary whatever attached to the higher office of president, although one had been assigned by act of parliament to the inferior post of vice-president. He became also at the same time a member of the cabinet. The office which the right honourable gentleman now filled was one of peculiar difficulty, owing to the heavy pressure that, about this time, lay on the agricultural interest. At the commencement of the session of 1820, numerous petitions were presented to the House of Commons, stating, in strong language, the extent of the evil, and imploring parliament to apply a remedy. On the 30th of May, the subject was brought fully before the house, by Mr. Holme Sumner, the member for Surrey, upon a motion, that the petitions relating to agricultural distresses be referred to a select committee, to consider the matter thereof, and report their opinion to the house; and it was seconded by Mr. Gooch, member for Suffolk. After Mr. Curwen, Mr. Western, Mr. Brougham, and others, had spoken in favour of the motion, Mr. Robinson took up the subject, and spoke against the proposition at great length. He did not deny the existence of agricultural distress, but he questioned its universality. The honourable member for Yorkshire had acknowledged that there was little distress in the district with which he was personally acquainted. Mr. Robinson went on to remark, that he did not perceive the usual symptoms of general agricultural embarrassment—poor-rates increasing—tenants leaving their farms—strangers taking them on speculation. But whatever might be the extent of the suffering, it was chiefly important, he said, with a view to the application of a proper remedy, to consider the cause from which it proceeded; not merely its immediate cause, which was clearly a diminution of demand and of price; but the primary cause to which that diminution of price and demand was



to be ascribed. It was impossible, he thought, not to believe that the reduction of price arose from the immense quantity of land which had been brought into cultivation of late years ; and, as the price of corn must be sufficient to pay the expense of growing it on the poorest soils actually cultivated, he conceived it to be impossible, by any legislative contrivance, to retain those lands under the plough, when the circumstances which led at first to their improvement had ceased to exist.

Mr. Robinson then proceeded to lay before the house an account of the total imports and exports of wheat for the last five years, in order to shew what had been the actual consumption of the country during that period, and also the average prices during a term of nineteen years, from which he inferred, that the price of corn had been sufficient to enable the farmer to cultivate his ground with spirit, and with advantage to himself and its owners. In conclusion, he observed, that, in calling for inquiry, with a view to an alteration of the existing corn-law, it appeared to him that they were bent upon a delusion the most gross, by which it was possible for millions of people to be deceived. Many supposed, that the warehouses for the reception of foreign corn were a great evil, and tended to keep the farmer in perpetual alarm, lest he should be crushed in the market, the moment the ports were opened, by the immense stock of foreign grain which would pour in upon him. But if they did not allow these warehouses to exist, what would be the consequence ? It would be merely to shift those warehouses from one side of the water to the other. Ships were said to fly ; and those who knew what was the speed they could exert, would feel, that it was almost as easy for them to cross from Holland to England, as it would be to sail from the coast of Essex to that of Kent. The only result of such a prohibition would be, to deprive British capital of that advantage which it at present derived out of a foreign commodity.

The reasoning of the right honourable president, however,



failed to satisfy the county members, and accordingly, on a division, ministers found themselves in a minority of fifty; which was a matter of no little surprise to them, and it even surprised Mr. Holme Sumner, who had brought forward the motion for a committee, who declared that, convinced as he was of the propriety of the measure, he had not expected that it would have been so favourably received. Two hundred and fifty members had divided on the occasion; but Lord Castlereagh stated, that some of his friends having inquired concerning the course which the discussion was likely to take, he had replied, that their attendance would not be necessary, as he did not think the question would be pressed to a division. This mistaken opinion was the source of Mr. Sumner's success. Many members, who scarcely ever agreed on any other occasion, united in deploring the vote to which the house had come. In this, Sir Robert Wilson and Lord Castlereagh were of one mind; they both thought, that the determination of that night would spread alarm over the country; and his lordship declared that, had he at all anticipated the result, there would have been a very different attendance of members. The debate was protracted till four in the morning, in consequence of which, Mr. Baring suggested that the selection of the members of a committee, upon whom so much depended, ought to be delayed to a fitter time; and, with that view, he moved, that the debate be adjourned to the same evening.

On the 1st of June the debate was resumed, and Mr. Robinson now brought forward a proposition, to this effect, "that instructions be given to the committee to confine their investigations to the mode of ascertaining, returning, and calculating the average prices of corn in the twelve maritime districts under the provisions of the existing corn-laws, and to any frauds which may be committed in violation of the said laws." They who had originally supported the appointment of a committee, regarded this as a device for frittering away its powers. Mr. Walter Bur-



rell, member for Sussex, consequently moved as an amendment, "that it be an instruction to the committee to inquire, whether the present mode of taking averages ascertains the actual market-prices of corn throughout the United Kingdom, or whether any plan can be devised better calculated to effect that purpose;" and this amendment was, of course, supported by those who had voted with Mr. Sumner.

Lord Castlereagh, who had taken no part in the previous debate, spoke in support of Mr. Robinson's motion. He declared himself decidedly adverse to opening the whole question of the corn-laws, which would be the necessary result of the appointment of the committee, unless its functions were limited in the manner proposed. He saw nothing that could result from wide-extended inquiry, except much agitation and alarm of the public mind, unaccompanied with any benefit to the agricultural interest. He was equally averse to any alteration in the mode of ascertaining the averages; but the reason which he assigned for his opinion on this point was at variance with Mr. Robinson's argument on the preceding evening. To go into an explanation, however, of the different views that were taken of the matter, by the two ministers, would lead to a detail somewhat prolix and foreign to our purpose. Mr. Brougham opposed the motion in a speech of some length, in which he expatiated with considerable sarcastic humour on the surprise with which ministers found themselves in a minority on the preceding evening, and the means to which they were now having recourse for the purpose of repairing their defeat. Mr. Tierney supported Mr. Robinson's motion, which, on a division, was carried by a majority of 143.

It is impossible to observe the course of the debates which occurred during this session of parliament, on commercial policy, without remarking the rapid progress which sound and liberal views had made in the minds of all parties. Questions, the discussion of which had, in



former times, called forth nothing but violent prejudice and invective, were now the points on which ministers, and the more enlightened of their opponents, approached most nearly to entire coincidence of sentiment. In proof of this, we might instance some very interesting discussions which took place about this period, on the means of reviving our internal industry, by removing some of the restrictions which had formerly been imposed on our foreign trade. Petitions from various manufacturing districts for the removal of these restrictions, were laid upon the table of the house. In presenting that of the merchants of London, May the 8th, Mr. Baring entered upon the subject at great length, and, after illustrating several general principles, recommended specifically to do away with all enactments that were absolutely prohibitory, to revise our navigation laws, to repeal the wool-tax, to facilitate the transit trade in German linens, to permit the importation of timber from the north of Europe on the same footing as from America, and to remove the restraints on the trade with China.

Mr. Robinson candidly admitted both the soundness of the general principles laid down by Mr. Baring, and the correctness of his application to the particular instances he had mentioned. He declared himself an enemy to the restrictive system, which he conceived to be founded in error, and calculated to defeat its own object. But while he freely admitted all this, he regretted to say, that it now involved so many interests, that it could be departed from only gradually; and it had taken such deep root in the public mind, and had enlisted so many prejudices in its favour, that, even where it could be abandoned safely and without delay, it was difficult to persuade men to give it up.

In attempting this more liberal line of policy, Mr. Canning now began to stand prominently forward; and it is scarcely necessary to add, that Mr. Robinson, in the prosecution of these measures, lent Mr. Canning most effectual



aid. Nor can we wonder, that one who had become so useful and active a member of the ministry, should be recommended by the first lord of the treasury to the office of chancellor of the exchequer, at the commencement of the year 1823. The recommendation was approved by the King, and Mr. Robinson was immediately appointed to that important post. The country, having by this time forgotten his share in the corn-laws, saw his advancement with satisfaction, and the ministry gained strength by the accession of the new member to the cabinet. The truth is said to be, that the landed gentlemen again became alarmed at the state of agriculture, and at the measures reported to be in agitation, and they all rallied around Mr. Robinson as their advocate and protector.

Having been thus appointed chancellor of the exchequer, it became his duty, at the opening of the session of 1824, to introduce his financial arrangements for that and the three succeeding years. In these he unquestionably had in view the benefit of the country, and not his own popularity; nevertheless, had he studied only to render himself popular, he could not have chosen a more certain mode of effecting it. The reduction he proposed to make in the duties on wine and spirits, on wool and silk, and in the assessed taxes at large, while it indicated a gratifying improvement in the revenue of the nation, secured for the minister a large share of popular applause and general approbation. Probably that applause and approbation would have been as great, had he spoken of the payment of a long-standing debt by Austria, in less surprised and sacred terms, and had he not appended to his encouraging report of our finances, a hint of some further change in the interest on government stock!

The disclosure of the budget in the year 1825, shewed Mr. Robinson more confident than ever in the success of his measures of finance, and he now congratulated the house and the country in such lofty terms, as to acquire for himself a name, which his subsequent transition to the peerage



has not obliterated from the public memory. When, however, he pronounced the prosperity of the nation steadily progressive, and predicted a future surplus of not less than a million and a half a year, later discoveries have shewn how much he was in error; but he erred with thousands, if indeed with not almost the whole commercial community. From the commencement of the late war with France to the present moment, the country seems to have been continually hoodwinked in regard to its actual state in a financial point of view; and it was reserved for the present upright, straight-forward, and uncompromising chancellor of the exchequer to make the country properly acquainted with its real state of debt and income. In this respect the explanations and discussions which took place in the House of Commons on the 6th of February last, are of vast importance, and must be very beneficial to the nation at large.

On the formation of the Canning ministry in 1827, Mr. Robinson became secretary of state for the colonies; and on the 28th of April in that year, he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Goderich of Nocton, in the county of Lincoln, for the purpose of acting as ministerial leader in the House of Lords, retaining his office of colonial secretary, as the successor of Earl Bathurst. In his new position, placed among the peers of the realm, and leader of their debates, the noble viscount bore his full share of the difficulties with which the early part of Mr. Canning's ministry had to contend. His able introduction of the new corn-bill, and the obstacles thrown in the way of its success by the Duke of Wellington, Earl Grey, and others, are fresh in the recollection of many of us; as is also the excellent spirit with which he sustained and answered the reproaches of those who had very recently acted with him in preparing the very same measures—reproaches which were equally unmerited on his part, and unjust and disgraceful on theirs.

The death of Mr. Canning was a most “untoward” event



for his administration. He had become most deservedly popular, for the spirited and liberal opinions which he had lately professed and most powerfully advocated, as well with regard to foreign as domestic policy. He dissented, pointedly, from the principles of the holy alliance; accelerated, if he did not produce, the recognition of the republic of Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres; and insisted on the necessity of aiding Portugal against Spain, with such fervent eloquence, as had rarely, if ever, been heard in parliament, since the setting of those great political luminaries, during whose splendid meridian the dawn of his genius had glimmered. But he died at the zenith of his political reputation; he had attained the pinnacle of all his earthly ambition, as well with regard to popularity as place. His early errors were forgotten, in admiration of his recent spirited, manly, and upright conduct. No unprejudiced mind could withhold its applause from a minister, whose views were at once so eminently patriotic and so universally benevolent. In his latter days, he was, with two or three glaring exceptions, the advocate of all that was liberal, enlightened, and conciliating. Had his life been prolonged, he would, in all probability, have become entitled to the gratitude of the world. No political adventurer ever terminated his career more honourably; no man's principles became more ameliorated by his success. The close of his public life was as deserving of applause and high approval, as its commencement had merited contempt. In the early stages of his progress towards that eminence which he at length attained, his conduct seems to have been governed by his necessities. He had adopted politics, as being a more lucrative profession than the law; and circumstances made him a senatorial slave to a powerful party, whose measures, for a long time, he was compelled to justify from motives of necessity—he could not afford to oppose them—like Paley, who could not “afford to keep a conscience!” As soon as he could safely throw off the yoke which he had courted, he emancipated himself



from thralldom. The first gleam of his independence occurred on his obtaining a competency by marriage ; and when he had, in some measure, obtained by his talents the individual influence which he coveted, he became more intrepid. As he rose, his views were proportionably enlarged ; and at length they became extensive, bold, and philanthropic, as his station was exalted.

The reader, it is hoped, will require no apology for sub-joining, to what has now been recorded of Mr. Canning, the following estimate of his oratorical powers, though not strictly called for in a memoir of Lord Goderich. "A very high degree of excellence has been attributed to his orations. He enshrined the most appropriate classical allusions, the most brilliant ideas, and the most exquisite irony, in language which, with rare exceptions, even when uttered without premeditation, no art could refine, to which no labour could give an additional polish. For elegance and purity of composition, he has perhaps never been excelled ; and in taste, with regard to rhetorical ornaments, but seldom equalled. His raillery was often irresistible, his wit pure and poignant, and his humour at once admirably refined and remarkably effective. He was possessed of so large a share of political courage, that, during his whole public life, he was rarely known to flinch from an adversary, however powerful ; or avoid an attack, however well merited. His boldness, especially at the early part of his career, often rose into arrogance ; and his retorts degenerated into daring vituperation. But his speeches, as well as his opinions, improved with his years ; they became more noble, manly, and conciliating, in proportion to his success ; and, at length, he ceased altogether to bolster up a bad cause by reckless assertions ; or to overwhelm an opponent with virulence, whom he could not silence by argument. He seldom lost his perfect self-possession, but when, in the fervid utterance of his thoughts, he rose into the most lofty and spirit-stirring eloquence. As an instance of the effect which he frequently produced on his auditors, it is



related, that when, one night, in allusion to the part he had taken in recognizing the infant republics of South America, he exclaimed, in the style and manner of Chatham, that, looking to Spain in the Indies, he had called a *new* world into existence, to redeem the balance of the *old*, the effect was actually terrific—‘it was,’ says a late writer, ‘as if every man in the house had been electrified. Tierney, who had previously been shifting his seat, removing his hat and putting it on again, and taking large and frequent pinches of snuff, seemed petrified, and sat fixed and staring, with his mouth open for half a minute.’”\*

Mr. Canning’s ministry was gazetted on the 27th of April, 1827, and, on the 8th of August following, he expired, at the age of fifty-seven. As parliament was not then sitting, the ministry stood their ground, Lord Goderich being regarded as at the head of the cabinet, assisted by the Marquis of Lansdown, who, for the present, filled the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Canning’s death. From that fatal moment to the middle of January, 1828, the cabinet ministers had an opportunity of reconnoitering the ground on which they stood, and forming a proper estimate of their strength and competency to meet the approaching storm when parliament should assemble. It was, however, found that Lord Goderich had neither political strength nor talent enough to maintain his ground against the Tory party, with the Duke of Wellington at their head. Accordingly, his grace was invited to take the seals of office, and form an administration of his own friends, which he accomplished previous to parliament assembling for the despatch of business, and on the 25th of January they were gazetted, to the exclusion of Lords Goderich and Lansdown. The most sanguine hopes were entertained, at the time, of bringing over Lord Goderich to join the new ministry, he having pledged himself, it was said, to the King, to give his support to them, if the administration should be found to comprise Mr. Huskisson

\* Georgian Era, Vol. I. p. 408.



and the other Canning Tories. In that expectation, however, they were disappointed; Mr. Huskisson, indeed, took office under the noble duke, but happening to vote on one occasion contrary to the allegiance due to the commander-in-chief, and though it was done to preserve his own consistency, he was instantly ordered "to the right about."

The session of parliament was opened by commission on the 29th of January; and in the King's speech, the brilliant achievement of the British fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Codrington, in defeating the Turkish squadron off Navarino, was spoken of as an "untoward event," which threw many of the ministers, who had retained their seats in the Wellington cabinet, into an awkward and perplexing situation, inasmuch as it was making them to condemn a successful enterprise projected and sanctioned by their own councils. Lords Lansdown and Goderich, too, though not of the cabinet, took up the subject, in the debate on the address. The former said, that, after what had been stated in the course of that night's discussion, he felt himself called upon to declare that there was no one act of Sir Edward Codrington, and more especially connected with the transaction which had been the principal subject of conversation that evening, which he should feel himself more strongly called upon to defend, than his conduct at Navarino. He was not only bound to make this declaration, but he felt it his duty to say, that, in relation to the recent conflict, if any blame did attach anywhere, most assuredly it was not to the gallant officer who commanded the fleet. Although he was anxious that the present motion should be carried without opposition, and, above all, with his acquiescence, he could not have given it his support without the explanation from the noble duke with respect to the term *untoward*, as applied to that gallant commander who had presided over the allied fleets in the conflict: he could not give his vote that night, without protesting to the house, that the gallant admiral was entitled to the approbation of every individual who possessed a particle of British honour.



Lord Goderich said, that as it had been his lot to form one of the administration, when the noble duke (of Wellington) signed the protocol at St. Petersburg—and as it had, moreover, been his lot to be a party to that treaty which the noble marquis (Lansdown,) had defended—he felt himself bound, in justice to his own character, to say, that he subscribed entirely to the reasoning which his noble friend had used. He concurred with the noble marquis, that the gallant admiral, alluded to, had exercised a sound discretion, and had ably supported his own character, as well as the honour of his country. He had been placed in circumstances of no ordinary difficulty, and he had performed his duty like a man. He was prepared to support the gallant admiral—not upon the mere principle that it was the duty of a government in general to uphold those who executed its orders; for it was his firm and deliberate conviction, that the gallant officer was justified in the course he had taken. He was happy to say, that the British admiral had not in the least tarnished his own previously acquired fame, nor had he sullied the honour and glory of his country.

On the 11th of February, the Earl of Carnarvon moved for a copy of the orders and instructions sent by the combined powers, (England, France, and Russia,) to the officers of their respective squadrons, signed by the ambassadors of all the powers. The ministers refused to grant this, and it led Viscount Goderich to address the house in the way of explanation, on several interesting points concerning himself, and his retirement from office. “If any excuse be necessary,” said the noble viscount, “for troubling your lordships on the present occasion, I trust I shall find it in the speech of the noble earl who commenced this discussion. The immediate cause which led to the change of government was the existence of an irreconcilable difference of opinion, upon a subject of the deepest importance, between two individuals, members of that government. In the course of the last session but one, it was announced in the other



house of parliament, that it was the intention of government to propose, in the course of the last session, the appointment of a committee of finance. The state of Portugal was becoming more and more settled, and the time was not far distant when it would be competent to the British government to withdraw its troops from that country. But it was a matter of uncertainty how early that desirable object could be attained; and, above all, it was a matter of uncertainty how soon the relations between this country and the Ottoman Porte might be brought to an issue. Hence it was impossible for me to state or explain what might be the extent of the demands on our revenue; and the maintenance or reduction of our establishments must of course depend very much upon our external relations. For these reasons, the propriety of appointing a committee was not submitted to the house of commons. In the course of that friendly and official intercourse which necessarily takes place between members of government not suspicious nor jealous of each other, it was intimated by a member of the cabinet, that, in his opinion, it would be a very desirable thing, if there were placed in the chair of the committee, an individual in the other house, whom he considered eminently qualified. With regard to the individual whose name was suggested to me, I will say this—I have known him long, and have a very sincere regard for him. A communication was made to that individual (Lord Althorp,) to ascertain whether, if ministers should nominate him to the office, he would undertake it. This communication was unknown to me, as well as to the chancellor of the exchequer. That right honourable gentleman (Mr. Herries,) objected to such a communication having been made without his knowledge; and it finally led to a disagreement between him and the right honourable, the colonial secretary, (Mr. Huskisson,) which I vainly endeavoured to reconcile. I represented to his Majesty the situation in which the government was placed. His Majesty decided on sending a communication to the noble duke (Wellington,) and I ceased to hold the



situation in which I was placed. It was one I never coveted ; and when it was proposed to me to succeed Mr. Canning, I felt that I was in a situation, in which it was impossible to refuse the office. Under the circumstances under which I have retired, I have secured to myself, as regards my personal interest or advantage, nothing—but as regards my honour and character, every thing. If the measures of the present government be founded on principles of liberality, justice, and discretion, it shall have my best wishes for its success ; for we live, my lords, in times in which persons and names are nothing, but principles and measures every thing. The noble secretary of state has informed the house, that he feels it inconsistent with his duty to consent to the production of the papers ; and I own I am perfectly satisfied with the reasons he has assigned. No man can doubt that we had just grounds of interference, both as regarded the state of Europe generally, and what was likely to happen between the two powers immediately engaged in the contest. I have no doubt of shewing satisfactorily, that no principle of the law of nations repudiated the course which has been pursued. I believe the justice of the treaty will be maintained ; and if my old friends, now in office, bring the question to a successful issue, they will have the unqualified thanks of their country.”

The breaking up of Lord Goderich's administration, which paved the way for the return of the Ultra Tories to power, is an event of so much importance in his political life, that it is only an act of justice to him to record at large his own account of the causes which led to it ; for which reason his speech is here pretty fully detailed. The subject, however, did not go immediately to rest. His lordship's statement of facts was found to bear hard on Mr. Herries, and the friends of that gentleman exerted themselves to the utmost, to furnish a different version of the matter. The consequence of this was, that on the 19th of February, Lord Goderich rose, and thus addressed the House of Peers :—



“It is imputed to me, that I went to his Majesty with a statement that was not correct; and that the immediate cause which led to the precariousness introduced into the government did not arise from what I stated, but from some other motive. But if the immediate cause was not the resignation of the chancellor of the exchequer, as I stated, then am I among the basest of mankind. But it is impossible I could be guilty of such baseness. When I wrote to Mr. Herries on the subject of the committee, I told him in the plainest terms what was the opinion of my right honourable friend. I stated that he considered it impossible that he could acquiesce in the nomination of the chairman of the finance committee, which had been the subject of discussion. My right honourable friend stated, that if the decision should be against that nomination, he should resign; and I stated that the resignation of the secretary of state would dissolve the government. I added to this, that his resignation would be attended with the same consequences. How then could he state—how could any man state—that I went with a false pretence, to procure the dissolution of the government? I say that the conduct of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Herries) was the immediate cause of the dissolution of the government.” This representation of the affair was further corroborated by the Earl of Carlisle, who, speaking from his own knowledge, declared it was quite impossible to believe otherwise than that the difference of opinion between the two right honourable gentlemen (Herries and Huskisson) was the real cause of the dissolution of the government.

Before this subject is entirely dismissed, it must be said, in justice to Mr. Herries, that, when called upon by Lord Normanby, in the House of Commons, both Mr. Huskisson and that gentleman entered into an elaborate statement of their conduct in self-defence, each being anxious to shift the burden of inculpation upon the shoulders of the other. Mr. Herries produced and read to the house several letters which had passed between himself and Lord Goderich,



which called up Mr. Tierney, Mr. Stanley, Lord Althorp, Mr. Peel, Mr. Brougham, and others—but a most extraordinary veil of mystery hung over the conduct of the two gentlemen above mentioned, which nothing that could be said had any power in unravelling; and, after a speech of Mr. Herries, on the 21st of February, Mr. Brougham thus terminated the discussions: “Sir, after the extraordinary speech which we have heard from the right honourable gentleman, I presume the house will be inclined to pass to the consideration of some other subject; for I am persuaded it must be very perfectly apparent to every honourable gentleman present, that from the right honourable gentleman no further explanation can be expected.”

Taking a review of the whole of this affair, it may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the reader, if we subjoin the remarks which were made at the time by one of our journalists, who, appreciating Lord Goderich's qualifications for the premiership, shrewdly observes: “His lordship is an amiable and unoffending man, with a large share of the milk of human kindness. Amiability, however, will not do for a first minister, though it may be an admirable quality for a subordinate station! Great men are the guide-posts and land-marks in a state; and it is remarked by Burke, that the credit of such men at court, or in the nation, is the sole cause of all the public measures; but it is laid in the unalterable course of things, that he who aspires to be premier of England, must have in his train all the masculine virtues, with the subtleness and cunning of the reptile tribe. Such a man must be firm, constant, grave, magnanimous, bold, and faithful, or wear the seeming of being so; and must, moreover, be proof against all deception. He must be ‘wise as the serpent,’ which Lord Goderich was not; he must be ‘harmless as the dove,’ which Lord Goderich was. He must hazard his ease and his comfort—he must simulate and dissimulate—he must flatter, and bully, and lie, by turns, and conform himself exactly to the temper of party and the times. He must



be prepared to meet animosity, and defeat intrigue. Nor is this all: he must not scruple to sow in the paths of others those tares which were spread about his own; and in order to make himself respected, he must first make himself feared, whether by firm and resolute policy, or insidious intrigue. To the honest, he must oppose the semblance of principle: to the needy and corrupt, he must present a purse! Talking of the virtues, he must minister to the vices of mankind: and if he would rule long and successfully, and be, what is called, a great minister, he must trample on every moral and social principle, and 'put his tongue in his cheek,' when such unsubstantial phantasies as honour, truth, and virtue are arrayed before him, in opposition to the tangible and potent influence of a handsome woman, an intriguing doctor, and a cunning Israelite worth a plumb. Was Lord Goderich such a man? Assuredly not! and his ministry fell before an intrigue—without parallel for paltriness, in British history."

"Our own frank opinion of Lord Goderich's conduct," says another, "is, that it has been weak, timid, vacillating, and altogether unworthy of a man holding the place of prime minister in a free country. If the opposition to the liberal views of Mr. Huskisson and himself were, as it is stated to be, so strong in the House of Lords, as at present filled, as to render it impossible to carry them into operation, without strengthening their hands by the creation of twenty or thirty new peers, the minister should have asked the King to do this, and stated the grounds of his demand. New peers have been made for much worse purposes than that of carrying measures for the relief of the public burdens; and if the King refused to accede to the wish of the minister, it would be seen by the people with whom the obstacle to their relief originated. Even then, however, he should not have resigned, but have gone boldly before parliament, at the opening of the next session; stated his plans of finance and general reform; and if the impossi-



bility of carrying them into effect arose from the opposition of the landed aristocracy of the country, the people would, in that case also, see for themselves on whom the blame for retarding relief truly rested. A minister would be much more honoured by being beaten in a good cause, than by being beaten in a bad one. As it is, however—a retreat before the battle begins, is an abandonment of duty, which must cut off from Lord Goderich all the respect and admiration of the people, which he would have enjoyed to the highest degree, if he had persevered, and shewn, that as long as a plank of the state-vessel remained afloat, he was to be found at his post. This is not the character of an able pilot, and certainly not the way to weather the storm.”

It has been already stated, that, on the formation of the Wellington cabinet, very sanguine expectations were entertained, for a time, that Lord Goderich would be prevailed upon to become a member of it, the noble viscount having pledged himself to the King, it was said, to support the new ministry, if it should comprise Mr. Huskisson and the other Canning Tories, as they were called. The consummation, however, so devoutly wished for, was not realized; and the gallant duke's cavalier treatment of Mr. Huskisson soon afterwards put an end to all hopes on that score.

On Friday, March 21st, 1828, Lord King presented a petition to the House of Lords from a clergyman of the name of Griffin, who had been employed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in his Majesty's Colonies of North America, in which heavy charges were alleged against the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and praying that a committee might be appointed to inquire into the expenditure of the public money granted to that Society. After Earl Bathurst, who then filled the office of secretary of state for the colonies, had spoken on this subject, and resisted the motion for the appointment of a committee, Lord Goderich took up the subject, and declared, that “he thought the reverend gentleman, whose petition was the ground-work of the



present motion, was of all petitioners whose cases he had ever had to consider, the most unfortunate, in failing to produce any reasoning, or any substantial allegations, calculated to obtain the respect or attention of the house. The noble lord (King) had admitted that there was no ground on which he could found his motion, except the assertions of this gentleman, whose petition he had presented. Lord Goderich said, he had read the petition over, and he must confess that it did appear to him to contain a good deal of that figure of rhetoric, which was usually known by the name of rigmarole ; and that no part of it was of a nature to require any degree of attention from their lordships. But he had in his possession a curious specimen of the temper in which this reverend gentleman was disposed to express himself when his views were thwarted, or when his feelings were under excitement. The reverend gentleman had taken it into his head to address a letter to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, upon a subject that had nothing whatever to do with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as the bishop's income was not derived from any grant to the Society by the public. In this letter, he tells the bishop that the public will judge him to be a man who was so crafty, and had such an art of duplicity, that he was acting the part of a madman or a devil. Such was the language in which the reverend gentleman thought fit to address a bishop. If the bishop's conduct had been improper in using a hasty expression, what was that, compared to this clergyman's calm and deliberate use of such language ? The whole of this letter was in a corresponding strain."

We shall now wind up the narrative of Lord Goderich's public life and services, by exhibiting a specimen of his views and principles on the three grand constitutional questions which have recently agitated the public mind, namely, the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts—the removal of civil disabilities from the Roman Catholics—and a reform of the Commons house of parliament. On each



of these questions, when brought under discussion, his lordship delivered his sentiments with much freedom and explicitness.

The second reading of the bill for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, was moved by Lord Holland on Thursday, April 17th, in an elaborate speech, the substance of which has been given in the life of that nobleman. When several of the bishops and lay lords, among whom was the ex-chancellor Eldon, had delivered their sentiments, Lord Goderich thus addressed the house.

“After the able, powerful, and perfectly satisfactory speech of the noble lord, who moved the second reading of this bill, and after the sentiments which your lordships have heard from several right reverend prelates—sentiments, which, in my judgment, do no less honour to themselves than to the assembly to which they were addressed, and the church to which these reverend prelates belong—it would ill become me, my lords, to trespass at any length on your lordships’ time, or to go at large into the general arguments which might be adduced in favour of the second reading of the bill. My lords, I feel great satisfaction at the opinion expressed by the noble duke at the head of his Majesty’s government, and the announcement of his intention to support a measure which it was the original purpose of government to oppose. Strongly favourable as I am to the bill before your lordships, I am little disposed, and still less should I be justified in quarrelling with the present determination of government on the subject. Of one thing I feel confident, that if ministers considered the repeal of the existing acts calculated to endanger the church, or put in hazard its union with the state, they would never, as they never ought, to support it. My lords, if I participated in the fears of the noble and learned lord (Eldon)—if I could bring myself to think that the proposed measure would, in any degree, shake the foundation on which the security of the Church of England stands, I would be ready to fight, side by side, with the noble and learned lord, and to support



him to the uttermost in his opposition to this bill. For, my lords, I fully concur with him, and with other noble lords, in considering that the union subsisting between the church and the state can never be violated with impunity, and I trust it will always prove inviolable. My lords, I shall always be ready to do every thing in my power to preserve their union : but I vote for this measure, because I think the laws to be repealed by it are an exciting cause of discontent against the church, and tend to arouse public feelings against it. My lords, I think that the present measure is supported by many and urgent reasons, not the least of which is, that it may be expected to have the effect of removing much religious difference and animosity which at present subsists; at the same time that, so far from weakening the church, it must add to her strength, by conciliating a great number of individuals in her favour; and these, in my mind, are sufficient reasons for passing the present bill. I acknowledge, that I am in the situation of those described by the learned lord, (Eldon,) as not having been far enough removed from infancy to have been competent to form a correct judgment upon this question, at the time when that learned lord was last called upon to express his opinion upon it. It so happened that, during the time I was a member of the other house of parliament, the question was never agitated; consequently, I never voted on it, and am not now bound by any feeling of consistency to oppose it. I, therefore, look on the measure solely with a view to its principle and expected operation, and on both these grounds I consider it entitled to my cordial support."

After refuting an objection which Lord Eldon had started against the bill, on the ground that the expediency of passing it was not stated in the preamble; Lord Goderich proceeded—"My lords, the reason why I think it expedient to abrogate the present law, is, because I feel that it must frequently conduce to a profanation of religion, by imposing the necessity of taking a sacramental test for secular purposes. I cannot believe the present acts to be consistent



with a right christian feeling, of the nature and object of the sacrament. I cannot think it correct as regards the church, or right as regards the state, to make a test of the most holy sacrament of the church. One thing might be said in its favour, that the existing system was not very frequently called into operation; but that constitutes no argument for its continuance, because, if it be inoperative, it is idle to maintain it. Though many noble lords in this house have, doubtless, held various public offices, I am satisfied few were ever called upon to qualify themselves for office by complying with the sacramental test.

“My lords, it is probable I may speak on this subject from feelings in which few of your lordships can share; for, it has been my lot to hold various offices, and I have also taken the sacrament on various occasions; but I was only called on to qualify for one office, and that was the chancellorship of the exchequer. Why this was the case, I really do not know, except it be that, perhaps, the chancellorship of the exchequer is a peculiarly dangerous office—why it is so dangerous, however, I cannot tell. Be that as it may, soon after my nomination, I was told it was absolutely necessary that I should, upon a certain Sunday, in a certain church, qualify myself for retaining office by taking the sacrament. Certainly I had not the smallest objection to do that; I was accustomed to do so. But it did so happen, that I had received it shortly before my appointment, though not with a view to qualify myself for the enjoyment of any secular office; and I naturally said to my informant, “Won’t that do?” but the answer was, “O no, not all, by no means.” Well, I complied, and to the church, on the day intimated, I proceeded, for the purpose of receiving the sacrament; and I will say, to me it was one of the most painful duties I had ever been called to perform, considering its object, and combining, as it did, two duties, of the combination of which I could not approve.

“My lords, I again assert, that this was to me one of the most painful things possible, for I did not like being thus



obliged to set two duties in opposition. But suppose I had been of a more tender conscience, and had refused to take the sacrament—suppose that I could not have made up my mind to mix together duties of a secular and spiritual nature, in the way required—suppose me some rigid presbyterian, and that I had gone before my noble and learned friend, (Eldon,) to take the oaths for my new office. The law required, before I could exercise the office of chancellor of the exchequer, that I should take the oaths, either in the court of chancery, the court of exchequer, or before the sessions, and that I should produce a certificate of having taken the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. If, trusting to the annual bill of indemnity, I had not taken the sacrament, and my noble and learned friend had not asked the question, I might have fulfilled the duties of the office ; but if my noble and learned friend had asked the question, I could not have been allowed to take the oaths, and consequently could not have held the office. If I had said to my noble friend, that I had before taken the sacrament, though not for the present purpose, the noble and learned lord might have refused to swear me in, and I should not have occupied the office of chancellor of the exchequer—which circumstance, after all, perhaps, would have been no great loss to the country. My lords, I mention this instance, to shew that the Test act imposed a painful sacrifice even on the members of the Church of England, without any adequate benefit to the public, without being of service to the crown, or adding to the security of the church. I say again, as matters now stand, a member of the Church of England may be placed in a situation not only painful to himself, but totally unnecessary, as far as the safety of the state, or the security of the church, is concerned.

“My lords, I think this bill will pass, and I hope and trust it may ; and if it does, I can see in it no reasonable ground for alarm. If amendments should be proposed, and if they are of a kind to satisfy noble lords who may think them necessary, at the same time that they do not alter



the principle or impair the operation of the bill, let them be made. So far from opposing, I shall concur in them, though I may not happen to entertain a high idea of their necessity. My lords, if this measure shall pass into a law, the Church of England will present one of the most magnificent spectacles that can be imagined, to the admiring eyes of men—the magnificent spectacle of a church strong in the purity of its doctrine and discipline—strong in the affections, faith, and attachment of the great majority of the people—strong in its indissoluble connection with the state—strong in the support and presence of those right reverend prelates who occupied seats, and represented it in their lordships' house—strong, as it ought to be, in its wealth and endowments, to which it possesses as much right as your lordships to your own property and estates—strong in its unsullied faith and discipline—subsisting in its own strength, unprotected by restrictions, and unimpaired by the fluctuating and unstable support of exclusions. I repeat, my lords, I cannot, it is impossible for the mind of man to conceive a more noble spectacle than this. I shall only add, May it long flourish, dispensing blessings among those who admire its ministry, and believe in its doctrines—preserving its faith pure, and its discipline firm. Long may this be the condition of our establishment—may the greatness of its happiness and splendour be only equalled by its permanency !”

On this speech of the noble viscount, it is not the province of his biographer to indulge in critical remarks. His panegyric on the Church of England could not fail to be in a high degree pleasing to episcopal ears—how far the speaker was sincere in lavishing these high-wrought compliments on their lordships and their church, it is not for us to decide. There is such a thing as “throwing a sop to Cerberus,” and it is possible that Lord Goderich, in the latter part of his speech, may have intended something of this sort—but of this enough. His lordship has had an opportunity of taking a nearer inspection of the episcopal



bench since this speech was delivered, and also of knowing in what estimation the Church of England is, at this moment, held—and it is possible, were he now called upon to speak his sentiments of one or both, he would deliver himself in more guarded terms. *Sed hactenus hæc!*

At the opening of the next session of parliament, an intimation was given in the speech from the throne, of the intention of ministers to grant the Irish Catholics their long-sought emancipation; and on Thursday, February 5th, 1829, on the motion for an address of thanks, the noble viscount spoke as follows:—

Lord Goderich said, he was well aware that the paramount importance of the principal topic which had been so wisely introduced into his Majesty's speech would have necessarily occupied their exclusive attention, and rendered the present moment inapplicable to the consideration of other topics, which were nevertheless of urgency in the contemplation of the internal relations of this country. In looking at the latter, he confessed he was somewhat disappointed at finding that his Majesty's speech conveyed so little information on one of those points, which policy, interest, faith of treaties, combined to render interesting—he meant Portugal. All he learned was, that “diplomatic intercourse still subsisted between the two courts, and that government was endeavouring to settle the existing differences by the negociation with the Emperor of the Brazils.” But nothing was said of the nature of these negociations, or of the mode in which they were proceeding, or of the expectation of the result. He had no hesitation in saying, that if there was any spot of Europe, or the world, which more than another had strong ties upon the friendship and alliance of Great Britain, it was the little kingdom of Portugal, which was now in a situation of so much peril and distraction. He therefore most earnestly hoped that parliament would speedily receive such information upon that subject, as would shew that the respect for ancient alliances had not been compromised, and that no diminution had taken place in



the value of dear and long-cherished ties, and well-kept interests. With respect to the relations of the country in the east of Europe, all that he had to say was, that he thought that his noble and learned friend, who had threatened them with a serious animadversion upon the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, and upon the battle of Navarino, was a little too late in coming forward with any observations upon such topics. It would have been natural enough for the noble and learned lord to have called in question the policy of that treaty last year; but now, when one part of it had been fully carried into execution, and when the war which had raged with such atrocity between the Greeks and the Turks had been terminated by its operation, it was too late for the noble and learned lord to come forward, and attack it as a violation of the law of nations. He was then ready, as indeed he always had been, to defend the treaty of the 6th of July, upon those great and leading principles of policy to which reference must always be had when the country was placed, as it was then, in circumstances of no small difficulty.

Having stated these desultory considerations to their lordships, more with a view of guarding himself from attack hereafter for not adverting to them now, than from any conviction of its being necessary to advert to them at all, he would proceed to say one or two words on a more important, because a more domestic, subject, which touched most nearly the feelings and prejudices of all classes of his Majesty's subjects. He agreed with the noble lord, that the present was not a fit opportunity for entering into a discussion of the principles on which Catholic emancipation ought to be granted; but he felt himself bound, as a sincere friend to that question, to express his entire concurrence with what had fallen from his noble friend the president of the council, as to the principles on which any measure for effecting it ought to be brought forward. "It has been my fortune," continued the noble lord, "to be a member of various administrations, in which we agreed to act



independently on this great question. This was a positive evil in itself, and as such I always felt it. I never concealed, either from myself or from others, that such was my feeling. On the contrary, I avowed it publicly more than once within the walls of parliament. Nevertheless, I always thought, and I still continue to think, that the circumstances which existed at the time when Lord Liverpool formed his cabinet, not only justified the members of it in acting independently of each other on that question, but absolutely rendered it impossible to form an administration upon any other principles. I felt it to be a sacrifice so to act; but larger interests were at stake, and a combined sense of duty and necessity reconciled my conscience to making the sacrifice which was then demanded of me. I have great pleasure in hearing that that difference of opinion on this subject, which weakened and paralyzed so many former administrations, has ceased to exist in the members of the present administration."

The noble lord then proceeded to say that he concurred specially in the recommendation given in the King's speech as to the tone and temper in which their lordships ought to consider this subject. He also concurred with the noble lord who had recently addressed them, that there never had been any manifestation of violence in their mode of considering it in that house—there had been nothing seen but that calmness and moderation which ought to regulate all deliberations for the public welfare. He would say for himself, that so deep was his conviction of the paramount importance of settling this question, that, whatever might be his feelings on the recent events of the last two years—which had certainly not been such as to induce him to anticipate the blessed event, which he now saw upon the eve of completion—he should make it a point of duty to suppress them, although he could not pretend to disavow them altogether. He had never been a party to the consideration of this question, except from a persuasion of its necessity; and he therefore had no difficulty in ap-



proaching it at present with the feelings which he had just recommended, especially as he saw a consummation near at hand, which would do justice to complaining millions, and would give permanent power and invincible strength to what he must now be permitted to call a disunited people. In saying this, he knew that he was speaking warmly—but he felt deeply, and a man's heart must warm at hearing such a speech as had been delivered by the noble lord opposite, under the conviction that the proposition to be offered to their consideration would, as to terms, and to time, and to other circumstances, be such as they could honestly and conscientiously assent to. With respect to the measure which was to precede or accompany it—he did not rightly understand which—he would only say this, that whether it preceded, or whether it followed, if the two were united, he should be fully satisfied. It was his hope and belief that the government intended to blend the two measures together; and if such was their intention, he would again repeat, that he should be perfectly satisfied. With respect to the Catholic Association, he fully agreed with the noble lord who had expressed his opinion of its conduct in terms equally terse and elegant. He would himself go further than that noble lord—he would say, “When you grant a great boon to a complaining people, it is useless for you to put down by law those associations which will dissolve of themselves in the ordinary course of nature.” He did not advise the Catholic Association to dissolve itself, and for this plain reason—that if the disabilities which affected the Catholic part of the community were removed, the nature of things would dissolve that association. You take away the food on which it exists, you destroy the vitality of the atmosphere in which it breathes, when you say to it, “The two houses of parliament are ready to consider your grievances, and to remove them.” You avert by one generous act a thunder-cloud which has long been lowering over your horizon, and threatening to burst with ruin on your heads. He would not be over nice, either as to the Catholic



Association, or as to the question of securities; for he was convinced that they would find the strongest security of all in doing justice. When justice was performed, six months would not elapse before they would all wonder how this question could have excited so much dissension in the country, and could have disunited and upset so many different cabinets. He sincerely trusted that the government would carry into effect the proposition which it had just announced. He knew that they would be opposed in attempting it. They would have a great deal of hard fighting to encounter; but if they acted with resolution, there could be no doubt that they would be successful. It would be his duty to give them the best support in the power of so humble an individual as himself; and he should be amply repaid for that support, by feeling that he had contributed to the utmost of his power to the accomplishment of the greatest good which parliament had ever yet conferred upon the country.

On the second reading of the Catholic relief bill, Friday 3d April, 1829, Lord Goderich entered upon an extended vindication of the supporters of the measure from the calumny thrown upon them at county meetings, and in placards—after which, he proceeded to discuss the principle of the bill. One thing, his lordship declared, had greatly astonished him—that both in the petitions against the bill, and in the discussions that had taken place on the question, the state of Ireland, that unhappy country, bleeding at every pore, should have been almost wholly left out of consideration. In fact, it had never been fairly put to the people of England, who had the power to forbid the boon required by the sister kingdom. That power they never would have had, had it not been for the act of union; and that measure never would have been carried, if the Roman Catholics of Ireland had not given it their support. It was told them by Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh, that their claims should be conceded; and if that expectation had not been held out, the union would not have passed. In the view which the



opponents of this measure took, they were in the habit of going back to the transactions of the reign of queen Mary. They forgot, at the same time, that Mary was treated harshly, to induce her to change her religion. The true policy of the day was not to examine who was to blame in former times, but to cast a veil over past errors, and endeavouring to soothe rather than irritate the public feeling. There was another case to which he might allude, namely, the Duke of Monmouth's transactions in the reign of James II. The Duke of Monmouth was chargeable with the crime of rebellion; and if there were persons who referred to the cruelties of Kirk and Jefferies, he might ask whether they knew that judge Jefferies was a bigoted Protestant, and Kirk certainly not a Catholic at the time of committing his cruelties. It was well known that when he was asked by king James to turn papist, he said, he was not disposed to embrace any religion; and, that if he did change, he should become a Mahometan. It was in vain to refer to past ages, for the purpose of fixing principles on the Roman Catholics which affected the temporal interests of states. What passed in 1791? The emperor of Germany, Joseph II., was a reformer, and he determined on a plan of abolishing monasteries. The pope came to Vienna, and remonstrated with him, but still the emperor Joseph carried on his plans of reform. What passed at the treaty of Vienna? One of the articles established by the congress was, that there should be no prevention to persons following out their religious profession. The pope sent Cardinal Gonsalvo to remonstrate, but he had no power to interfere with that arrangement. He should say, from a review of all the transactions which had taken place in Europe, that the power of the pope, at this moment, was no more than the shadow of a shade. The great engine of power at the present day was mind aided by education—the march of intellect—which was a security against the abuse of religious power. He wished to advert again to the question, “What will you do with Ireland, if you reject this bill?” That question had been sometimes



answered by an *argumentum ad hominem*; but that was a poor answer. Some said, give education to Ireland. He said so too; but he thought those who opposed the bill were not friendly to education. At the same time he did not see that education would relieve those in Ireland who smarted under exclusion from the blessings of the constitution. The Catholic and Protestant were the subjects of different sensations. To one a prospect opened, gilded by the rays of hope; the other trod a devious way, amidst clouds and storms. Great, indeed, was the expectation founded upon the measure before the house, and, on the other hand, the rejection of it would be felt as a dreadful calamity. In his lordship's opinion, it was the sole remedy for the misfortunes of Ireland: the boasted *panacea*, the poor laws, would not answer. They were sick at heart, and might say—

“Canst thou minister to a mind diseased?

—And with some sweet oblivious antidote

Cleanse the foul bosom of that perilous stuff

Which weighs upon the heart?”

The English poor laws would not answer. Was it to be supposed, that when there existed in Ireland a baneful disease, they could rely on the application of the common law? No, they must remove the cause of complaint, or resort to “brute force,” to civil war. No one could think of resorting to a force of that kind, without shuddering. The noble viscount concluded his speech with calling their lordships' attention to another point. It had been said, both within and without those walls, that if the bill should pass, and his majesty be graciously pleased to give his assent to it, he would forfeit his title to the throne. He would only, in answer to that, if there was one man bold enough to raise the standard of the house of Savoy, he would find that the throne of Brunswick was fixed on a rock not to be shaken. It was based upon the free voice of the people—it was supported by the continuance of one hundred and forty years; it was sanctioned by forty successive parliaments; it was ratified by the consent of many millions of people;



and he was at a loss to describe the contempt and ruin which must fall upon any man who should attempt to impugn it.

On the great subject of parliamentary reform, Lord Goderich does not appear to have declared himself with any considerable explicitness, prior to the 5th of October, 1831, when the first reform bill came under the consideration of the upper house ; and the noble viscount's connection with Mr. Canning, who had avowed his opposition to it—to say nothing of his own family connections—rendered it a matter of considerable curiosity, to ascertain how his mind stood affected towards it. In justice, therefore, to his lordship, we shall allow him to speak for himself.

Viscount Goderich said that it was his misfortune to rise in opposition to two of his noble friends, for whom he entertained a most sincere respect and esteem. He had felt it his duty to abstain from taking part in the incidental discussions which had frequently taken place on the presentation of petitions, although he had often felt it difficult to do so. But if he possessed the feelings of a man, it was impossible for him now to abstain from expressing his opinions upon this great question, when he recollected the remarkable words, with which a noble friend of his, last night, concluded his speech, which had been alluded to in such just terms of eulogy,—namely, that ministers had brought forward a measure, the consequences of which he might probably be called upon to avert. In the attempt which he, in common with the rest of his majesty's ministers, were now making, to bring to a settlement one of the most difficult and formidable questions which had ever been under the consideration of statesmen, his conscience told him that he was doing nothing to disgrace himself, and nothing inconsistent with that duty which he owed to his sovereign and his country, as a minister and a peer. A noble friend of his had charged the government with creating all the excitement which prevailed with respect to this particular question, declaring that it would have been but a transitory feeling, but for the



conduct pursued by the ministers of the crown. If that was a correct statement of the circumstances connected with the question of reform, he would admit that the government were liable to blame. But any man who looked to the nature of the question itself, and to the history of its progress, must be convinced that the feeling which prevailed in the country on this subject, was not founded on any thing transitory, and was not likely to change either its character or its strength. It had been truly said by the noble earl near him, that this was no new question—it had been now agitated for fifty or sixty years. The events which had occurred previous to the close of the last century were calculated at the time to excite great distrust with respect to any proposition for change; and he, for one, had he then been in a condition to take part in public affairs, could not have brought himself to support a plan of reform. This was, however, a question which, though it might slumber, could not sleep, and there was something in the constitution of human nature, and the working of men's minds, which rendered it impossible that it should ever be extinguished.

For many years after the commencement of the French revolution this question was comparatively unfavourably received in this country; but in the progress of the war which ensued, there occurred many circumstances, which, in his opinion, had a direct tendency to give ultimately a new and increased force to the anxiety of the people for some change in the constitution. The duration of that war, the miraculous change which the circumstances attending it produced in the various interests of the country, led ultimately to a condition of things in a great degree unnatural. When all these circumstances came to their full maturity, then did occur, in the midst of the highest glory which had ever adorned the annals of this nation, from La Hogue to Trafalgar, or from Blenheim to Waterloo, an alarming and serious change in the condition of society in this country. There was scarcely a single interest of the country, manufacturing or commercial, which



did not, before the close of the war, partake of that sudden and alarming change, and experience the effect of frequently recurring depression. What was the conclusion to which people came, upon observing these repeated and sudden changes? They attributed them, whether justly or unjustly, to the vicious construction of the House of Commons. He certainly did not join in that opinion. He did not support the present measure, because he thought that the constitution, as at present existing, was incapable of working good. That would be a libel on the constitution—upon all those great men who had acted under it, and upon the many generations of people who had lived under it. But he did not think that it was to be wondered at, that great masses of people, who saw themselves by turns unnaturally elevated and prejudicially depressed, should come at last to the conclusion that the constitution of parliament was the cause of their evils, and that a reform of the representation was the source from whence a remedy was to be derived. They had expected, that on the return of peace they would find the return of many blessings, of which they considered that they had been deprived: but that was a mistaken expectation; and the restoration of peace, however desirable or necessary, did not, in point of fact, restore to all the different branches of internal interest that benefit which had been anticipated. The consequence of this state of things was, a growing feeling throughout the country in favour of parliamentary reform; and that question had now taken so strong a hold in the minds of the people, that their lordships must deal with it, not by perpetual rejection, but by attempting to come to some settlement on the subject.

Besides the events to which he had alluded, other circumstances had occurred, which were calculated to give greater force to the impressions of the people as to the necessity of reform. In earlier times, he believed that that monstrous abuse in the constitution, which belonged to the practice of buying and selling seats in the House of



Commons, did not exist. The first notice, in any part of the history of England, of transactions so monstrous, occurred in a letter written by Lord Chesterfield. They were at first covered over with a decent veil of mystery; but at length they became publicly known, and were declared in parliament to be notorious. They were defended as being the means of introducing into parliament the most independent characters; and, on the other hand, they were condemned as being inconsistent with the constitution, and contrary to law, which denounced this very practice we now lauded as a part of our constitution, as essential to the maintenance of the just influence of the peerage, and to the preservation of the balance in the constitution. When the people observed that this practice, thus denounced by law, was carried on with the same unblushing effrontery as before, was it to be wondered at that a feeling for reform began to spring up among them? Their lordships might say that the people were not capable of judging who should be their representatives: but the people of England were not such fools as to be made to believe that that part of the system of government which the law denounced as a crime, ought in practice to be considered a virtue. He did not ascribe to the practice of selling seats for money much of the feeling in favour of reform which at present prevailed. He knew many noble individuals possessed of the power to send nominees into the House of Commons, who would not for the world soil their fingers with such dirty trash. He had experience of that himself, and he wished he could say that he had no experience of the contrary.

His noble friend objected to the principle of population, upon which, he said, the present measure was founded, because that was the principle upon which all democracy was founded. But was it true that ministers had founded their measure on the principle of population? They had only taken population as an indication of the degree of decay, or of vigour and importance, of particular places;



and they had not taken population alone, but in conjunction with taxation ; and in order that their lordships might not be destitute of information in deliberating on this subject, papers had been placed on the table of the house, shewing what was the proportion of assessed taxes paid, both in the towns proposed to be disfranchised, and in those to which it was intended to extend the right of representation. Without the adoption of some plain and intelligible rule of this kind, he was at a loss to know how it could be possible to select boroughs either for disfranchisement or enfranchisement.

But then it was said, that the practice of nomination was necessary for the daily working of the government, and that great inconvenience would result to the administration of public affairs, if there were no places, through the means of which individuals, in certain situations, might always be sure of entering the House of Commons. His noble friend had pointed out to the attention of their lordships the advantage derived by the country from those persons, who would, at one time or other, be called upon to discharge in their lordships' house hereditary duties by virtue of hereditary honours, having previously found their way into the House of Commons ; there to be initiated into an acquaintance with public business, to be mixed up with their equals and inferiors, and there to have the rust, as it were, of their particular stations rubbed off by the jostling which they must encounter. He admitted the advantage which the country experienced from the heirs of their lordships' titles commencing their parliamentary career in the House of Commons. He should be blind to all history, if he did not admit the full force of that argument ; but he must deny that, for the introduction of that class of persons into the House of Commons, the existence of nomination boroughs was necessary. Was it not the fact, that many popular places were represented at that very moment, and had been represented in former parliaments, by sons of peers ? The county of Northumberland had



been a long time represented by the noble earl near him, and was at present represented by his son. Besides this county, there were the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Derby, York—indeed he might go through half the counties of England, and shew that they had been, time after time, represented by the eldest sons of peers. Then, he asked, can the advantage of such an introduction into parliament, for which they had to depend on the affection and esteem of their neighbourhood, be compared with their slinking into the house through the medium of nomination, or by the more corrupt means of money? How stood the case with respect to Scotland, under the present system? In that country, the eldest sons of peers were incapacitated from representing the Scotch counties in the House of Commons; and one of the things which the bill proposed to do was, to remove that incapacity, open to them a wider field for fair ambition, and thus counterpoise those evils which the noble earl opposite apprehended were likely to result from the excision of nomination boroughs.

The noble earl also feared that the constituency which would exist under the operation of the 10*l*. qualification, were not likely to choose representatives for their acquaintance with the different interests of the state; and he expressed his alarm that the East Indian, the West Indian, and colonial interests would not be properly represented. The noble earl was much mistaken in supposing that nomination boroughs were the only means by which these interests could be represented. Newcastle, Liverpool, Bristol, and he could mention fifty other places, where there was a popular election, which had returned as representatives men connected with those interests. But their lordships were told that there was something extremely shocking in depriving corporations of their right of returning members. What, he asked, was the avowed practice pursued by corporations where the right of freemen decided the election? Their lordships had heard of Liverpool and Dublin; and unless he thought that he ought to speak with some



reserve on the subject in that house, he could name half a dozen other places which were not free from similar impurity. He would state one instance, in order that their lordships might see how things were carried in some of these places. Some time ago he was anxious that an individual of great talent, and high character, who had done much service to his country, should offer himself as a candidate for the suffrages of a certain town. He accordingly spoke on the subject to some persons who were most influential in the place, excellent and honourable men, and above the possibility of being influenced by considerations of money. He stated to them, that there was one thing necessary before the gentleman could offer himself as a candidate ; and that was, that it should be distinctly understood that no *douceur* would be given to the electors. He inquired what chance the gentleman would have under these circumstances, with respect to the out-voters ; and the answer he received was, that not one would vote in his favour. He then asked, Supposing the gentleman avowed on the hustings that he would not give the usual sum of money, and called upon the other candidates to act in the same way, what success was he likely to have ? The reply was, Not the least in the world : and the consequence was, that his friend never stood for the place.

Their lordships had been told, in general terms, of the fatal consequences to be expected from this bill ; and the noble lord who spoke last, and who complained exceedingly of what he was pleased to call the declaration of the noble marquis, (Lansdown,) had called the attention of their lordships to the events of the first revolution, and had said, that he could not believe that it was the intention of the noble earl (Grey) to set himself up as the Necker of this country. Lord Goderich hoped that it was not his intention ; but he must say, that those who ascribed that revolution to Necker, overlooked the history of France, and the circumstances which had produced that tremendous event. On looking back in the history of France for the causes of



that revolution, he thought that they were to be found in a corrupt court, in a degraded nobility, degraded by their conduct, as well as by the exclusive privileges they possessed, and in what might be called an enslaved people. The whole history of France proved that the people of that country were not formed to be slaves. If their lordships read the accounts which had been given by those who were parties to the public acts of that day, they would find in them many predictions of the consequences which would inevitably follow. Those consequences had lamentably and fatally happened; they had led to events which had drenched Europe in blood; and the evils which sprung from them we yet felt, and would never entirely forget. If we did not trace these evils to their true causes, we might be unhappily driven to courses we might never cease to repent; but if we profited by the lessons of experience, we might be guided to a port of safety.

One word only with respect to himself, though he was sorry to obtrude so insignificant a subject upon their notice. It had been said, that his opinions were not now what they were on this question. But if their lordships had paid attention to what he had stated, they would perceive that he had not adopted these opinions without the deepest consideration. In taking this course, he would not presume to say, as some of his noble friends could say, that he had made great sacrifices of personal influence or power; he had not either one or the other. He had nothing to sacrifice, except personal character. He had, indeed, made a sacrifice of his own preconceived opinions, and of some very long-cherished and highly valued personal attachments; and he would ask their lordships whether he could make such sacrifices, if he had not been supported by the conscientiousness of honest intentions, and by a most perfect conviction, on the faith of which he threw himself on that house and on the country, that he had not consulted any interest, in this change of opinion, except that which was the most honourable of all, the interest of the country which he loved.



When the second reform bill came before their lordships, in April, 1832, Lord Goderich again came forward on the last night of the debate, in reply to the Earl of Carnarvon. He said, he had listened with the utmost attention to the noble earl, but his mind was not convinced that the objections which he had urged with so much force against the principles of the bill, were founded on solid reasoning, or supported by conclusive argument. One thing, he said, was quite apparent on the present occasion—it gave an air of novelty to their proceedings; and as it was well worthy of their lordships' notice, he thought it right to advert to it. If their lordships' former discussions of this subject did not prove that a general wish for some degree of reform existed, it was now perfectly clear, from the concessions made by all, that, whether the bill now before their lordships was or was not the proper measure—whether it did or did not embrace the right mode of correcting the defects in the representative system, still the general opinion evidently was, that some material change must take place in the system. He stated this fact, in justification of the course which he had adopted with reference to this question. If he wanted to vindicate himself against the charge which the noble earl seemed half disposed to bring against some members of his majesty's government, who now pursued a course different from that which they had taken in former periods of their life, he thought he might appeal with confidence, as the ground of his justification, to the consentaneous opinion which all had expressed, as to the necessity of adopting some species of reform. What that reform ought to be, was now the subject of debate. He quarrelled not with those who fairly stated their objections to the measure now under consideration. It was fit that they should consider the plan submitted to them for their approbation. It was right that they should investigate, whether the plan now brought before the house was the best that could be devised for the purpose which his majesty's government had in view. Among those who were compelled to make the admission



that some reform was necessary, there appeared, however, to be a sort of intuitive horror against any effectual reform—an intuitive horror against the extinction of that which was at the bottom of all the evil, and the attempt to get rid of which, formed the head and front of the offending of his majesty's ministers—he meant, the extinction of the nomination boroughs. The arguments of the noble lord (Ellenborough) who moved the amendment, and of a noble friend of his (Lord Mansfield) who spoke ably on the subject the other night, all proceeded on the principle, that these nomination boroughs were extremely useful. The former had paraded before their lordships, a list of many distinguished individuals, who had found their way into parliament, and some of them now sat there by virtue of this very abuse. The noble baron had told their lordships of the utility of the presence of those members in parliament, and he argued that the honour of their character, and the value of their services, were sufficient to vindicate the defective mode by which they got into parliament. The noble baron painted with great warmth the more agreeable parts of the system, but he left untouched those darker shades by which it was disfigured. Noble lords might conceal those defects from themselves, but they could not conceal them from the eyes of the country. The noble baron, in addressing their lordships, had not defended what had been called the shameful parts of the constitution; but the subject had produced a bolder champion—a member of the church—he might almost say, of the church militant (adverting to the Bishop of Exeter.) That right reverend prelate, with a boldness that filled his mind with astonishment, defended that system, the defects of which the noble baron had attempted to conceal, and loudly called on their lordships to perpetuate its most glaring abuse. The arguments of the right reverend prelate were the most dangerous he had ever heard. Were it asked, why were those defects termed the shameful parts of the constitution? Lord Goderich would answer—They were shameful, in the first place



because they were inconsistent with the constitution—they were shameful, because they were not agreeable to any intelligible idea of representation—they were shameful, because they placed in the hands of irresponsible individuals, an influence which they ought not to possess—they were shameful, because it was impossible to have any guarantee against the liability of that power being subject to that disadvantage to which all such power must be more or less subject, viz., the danger of gross abuse. In fine, they were emphatically shameful, because it was well known they were abused. The right of nomination, it was contended, might be safely exercised; but their lordships must be aware, that that right frequently changed hands; and they must also be aware, that those who wished to procure it, were compelled to pay for it. What, then, were they to expect from those who made a sacrifice of their property to obtain an interest of this kind? Looking to human nature, they could only expect that individuals so situated, would rather attend to their own views of interest or of ambition, than to the public good. And yet they were gravely told, that this great right, this power of nomination, ought to be preserved as the best feature of the constitution, without which, their lordships, and all their honours, must tumble to the earth and be ground to powder, for such was the phrase used by the right reverend prelate. Their lordships, however, must all well know, that this so much boasted right was contaminated by money; and he would contend, that it was a stain, a shame, a blot to the representation of this country. He would contend that it was contrary to individual rights—that it was contrary to freedom of election—that it was contrary to law—that it was contrary to ancient usage—that it was contrary to the well-considered constitution of the country.

Lord Goderich went on to observe, that he did not offer these remarks from any private feelings of his own, unsupported by authority—his words were not extracted from ancient musty records, over which the antiquarian loved to



pore—he did not go to philosophers of old, for the sentiments which he had expressed—nor did he apply to the constitution-mongers of France, or of any other country, to bear him out; he quoted an authority, which, give him leave to say, their lordships durst not dispute; he gave them the words of an act of parliament. And, perhaps, it was worth while to consider how the law dealt with the improper meddling with representation. The law described this offence, which was an invariable adjunct, a component part of the system of nomination—for he defied any noble lord to dissociate the offence from what was called the right of nomination—the law first described the offence, and then proceeded to lay down the punishment. It declared that the individual who paid the money which was to place him in the House of Commons should be subjected to a penalty of £1000. It declared him incapable of sitting in parliament for that place, or any other, and, in short, pointed him out, *ipso facto*, as no member of parliament. This system, Lord Goderich contended, was calculated to destroy all respect for law—it tended to confound all notion of right and wrong—it tended to involve in inextricable difficulty the limits of obedience and disobedience. He agreed with the right reverend prelate (the Bishop of Exeter) in considering this the most august assembly in the world; but he did not see that it was likely to be supported in its lofty state by the admission of the doctrine which the right reverend prelate had laid down; and he looked with the utmost dread on the effect which such doctrines as his was likely to have on the minds of the people.—It was said that such a system was necessary, to maintain the dignity or power of that august assembly: but such assertions he could not hear without extreme surprise. If their dignity depended on the maintenance of that abuse of system, where would it come to at last?

The Earl of Carnarvon, who spoke last, had quoted a beautiful sentiment of Mr. Burke, which Lord Goderich said



he entirely adopted ; but so far was it from justifying the reasoning of the noble earl, that his lordship thought it told on the other side of the question. The substance of what Mr. Burke said was, that "Wisdom dictated the propriety of granting a change in time—not to suffer ourselves to be driven into a corner—to apply temperate remedies to prevent those consequences in which the want of such remedies had in all times, and in all countries, involved governments." Their lordships had heard much about revolution ; and a right reverend prelate had given them, the other night, what appeared to him the most singular history of the revolution which had taken place in France, that he had ever met with. That prelate seemed to think that the excesses which were committed in the early part of that revolution were sanctioned by the law. His words were, "I will shew you that great changes were effected in France, and that dreadful excesses were committed under the sanction of the law which those changes had produced." Lord Goderich said, he should like to know by virtue of what law, or by virtue of what part of the French constitution, it was, that the mob of Paris stormed the Bastille ? He would ask that prelate, by virtue of what law of France it was, that a furious crowd of beings, more like demons than human beings, thirsting for blood, proceeded to Versailles, burst in upon the privacy of the King and Queen, murdered their guards, and conveyed the royal family to Paris, preceded, not by the ensigns of royalty, but by two frightful symbols of murder ? Was that, he demanded, done under the sanction of law ? It was perfectly true that all these horrors occurred at a moment of great excitement, and when great changes were taking place in France. It was also true that there existed a sort of representative body ; but it was the very opposite of any legislative authority that had ever existed in France. There had been a chamber of peers—there had been *tiers états*—but these horrible transactions took place when those bodies no longer existed, and a forcible revolution



had taken place. Was there, then, any thing in the extinction of nomination boroughs which was at all similar to what had taken place in France? Certainly there was not: and he would say, not only was the extinction of those boroughs consistent with, but it was required by, the constitution. The extension of the elective franchise to large towns was justified by every principle of constitutional law.

Lord Goderich then proceeded to argue the principles of the bill, which he did with great clearness and force, and with superior ability defended all its main points—the necessity of extending the elective franchise to large towns—and that of giving representatives to the middling and lower classes of society. Those who opposed the £10 qualification, contended that it was too democratic—the qualification was too low; but his lordship said, he defied any one to shew, by any intelligible argument, that it was opposed to the law or the practice of the constitution. And if they came to the discussion of this question in detail, it would be easy to shew that there never was a greater delusion than that which existed on this subject. In all large towns to which it was intended to give the right of representation, there were some wealthy, some powerful, some highly educated individuals, who would have the right to vote; but were others, who were less wealthy, less powerful, less highly educated, who had nothing perhaps but their industry to recommend them—were they to be excluded? They might not be great politicians—they might not be men whom you would take into your councils, to decide upon political questions; but he, (Lord Goderich) would maintain that individuals who paid such a sum as this bill provided—who were chargeable with the poor-rates and all the assessed taxes, and had occupied for a twelvemonth the house in which they lived—deserved to have a voice in the choice of representatives, because the fact of their having paid rent and taxes furnished a fair presumption that they were honest and in-



dustrious. He wished to know why they should suppose that all persons of this description were a set of levellers? He believed that there were persons, in this as well as in other countries, who were anxious for a war of no property against property; but if the legislature adopted this bill, and thereby shewed that they had confidence in that class out of which the ranks of the discontented were likely to be strengthened, they would take the best method of binding them by a new tie to those whom Providence had placed above them; and he had no doubt that they would send to the House of Commons men fit to represent them, who would be capable of performing their duties properly. Lord Goderich concluded by declaring his concurrence in the prayer of the Bishop of Exeter, and expressed a wish that the charge of indifference to religion and the church, made against his Majesty's government, by that prelate, had been better considered before it was uttered.

Here then we stop; having traced Lord Goderich's parliamentary career, during a period of nearly thirty years from his first connexion with public life in 1804, when he acted as private secretary to his relation, Lord Hardwicke, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to his taking his seat in the cabinet of Earl Grey, as colonial secretary. His lordship has repeatedly visited the continent of Europe—in the summer of 1807, he accompanied Lord Pembroke on a special mission to Vienna, and returned to England with that nobleman in the following autumn. In the winter of 1813, he accompanied Lord Castlereagh to the Continent, and thus became personally cognizant of the many interesting events which terminated in the overthrow of Buonaparte's power. Of his capacity for public business, something has been already said.\* The various posts which he has been called to occupy, were such as could not have been committed to ordinary hands. The extraordinary duration and peculiar character of the war, which terminated in 1814, had placed all the commercial relations of

\* See the Life and Times of William the Fourth, p. 645.



the country in so strange and perplexed a situation, that the restoration of peace did not offer any immediate means of determining what ought to be the precise nature of the regulations under which they should thenceforward be carried on. Our currency was in a very unsatisfactory state, and parliament had not as yet pronounced any thing like a definitive opinion upon its future condition. The taxes in every branch were enormously high; and, as his lordship has expressed the matter on more than one occasion, had unavoidably been imposed rather to meet an immediate fiscal necessity, than adopted from any prospective consideration of the consequences to which such heavy burdens might ultimately lead. The price of almost every article, whether designed for home or foreign consumption, was thus, by the combined operation of a depreciated currency and an excessive rate of taxation, unnaturally high. In the mean time, and under these circumstances, it was not to be expected, that the trade of the world, which had been long cramped, restricted, and distorted by the inevitable effects of Buonaparte's continental system, and of our retaliatory policy, during the last years of the war, could at once revert to a natural and healthy state. Many new interests had grown up; many new prejudices had apparently been engendered, and many old ones confirmed; and even if it had been possible to see at one glance what ought to be the course of our policy, no one could presume to say what might be the views or principles of other countries in similar circumstances. These are matters that ought to be taken into the account, in forming a candid estimate of the difficulties that Lord Goderich has had to encounter, in the departments he has filled in the service of his country, and we are not aware that in any of these situations his conduct requires apology. We believe that Lord Goderich has been accused of having contributed to the panic which took place at the close of the year 1825—it has been said that he helped to promote this by the exaggerated picture which



he drew in that year of the prosperous condition of the country, and that its effects were afterwards accelerated by the language which he used, on the subject of country banks in England, in a correspondence with the governor of the Bank. But he has been able to vindicate himself, and with success, from both these charges, and the subject is not worth reviving. The department allotted to the noble viscount, as a member of the present cabinet, is certainly one of unprecedented difficulty, and requires wisdom and firmness of the highest order to manage. The critical posture in which our West India colonies are at this moment placed—the British public clamorous for the abolition of slavery—a spirit of insurrection and revolt rapidly spreading among the black population—and the government and planters at issue, on some important topics, with that of the mother country ; all these things combined, present an appalling picture, which it is impossible to contemplate unmoved. It is consolatory, however, to think, that the affairs of the colonial department are, at such a critical conjuncture, in the hands of Lord Goderich, than whom it may be doubted if any man in the kingdom be better qualified for managing them. His conduct in relation to the late insurrection in Jamaica, affords one pleasing proof of this. When a deputation lately waited upon him from among the dissenters, to ask information respecting their missionaries, and the intentions of government, Lord Goderich received them in the most courteous manner, or as they express it, “with the most marked kindness.” They had also the satisfaction to find that the government had already sent out the fullest and most explicit instructions that no sentence passed by the local authorities upon any of the missionaries should be carried into effect until it had undergone a revision by the government at home ; and he further assured them, that the most effectual steps would be taken to discover and punish the perpetrators of the outrages that had been committed. What friend to justice could wish more !



Sir Egerton Brydges, who was several years a member of the House of Commons, and who has given us his judgment of the principal speakers in the house during that period, thus describes Mr. Robinson: "He spoke seldom; but when he did rise, he spoke with liveliness, talent, vigour, knowledge, and sound sense, and with an extraordinary portion of gentlemanly and honourable feeling." This is handsomely said, and doubtless it is a very correct account of the matter. Sound learning, good sense, varied and accurate knowledge, correct taste, amiable temper, and remarkable patience and forbearance, were always exemplified in his addresses to the house, as well as in his intercourse in more private circles. His speeches are perspicuous and pointed, lucid and logical, animated and unaffected. On ordinary occasions, when the subject is a common one, he usually delivers himself in a conversational tone; but if his theme be important, and require it, he can rise into the boldest animation, elevating his style and manner of address to the occasion. From the commencement of his public career, Mr. Robinson was regarded, by the candid of all parties, as possessed of superior, though not of first-rate talents. If we may not award him the profoundness of Burke, the brilliancy of Sheridan, the energy of Fox and Pitt, or the eloquence of Canning, we can claim for him urbanity and candour, honest intentions, and skill in the practice of his official duties, all of them useful qualities in a statesman. And when to these we add the enlightened views of Canning and Huskisson, on questions of commercial policy, we think him entitled, in no ordinary degree, to the confidence of the country. That confidence, indeed, Lord Goderich justly enjoys, and he may be looked up to as a patriot and a friend, whatever betides us in these perilous times.









Painted by Sir Tho<sup>s</sup> Lawrence P.R.S.

Engraved by H. Cook.

HENRY FITZMAURICE-PETTY, D.C.L. F.R.S. MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE.

*Lansdowne*

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Portrait of the Marquess of Lansdowne

Engraved by H. Cook

FRANCIS HENRY DICKSON MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE

*Lansdowne*

VICKERS, BROS & CO. LONDON 1891



RIGHT HON.

## THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN,

*Lord President of the Council.*

THIS nobleman, who was at one time known among us by the name of Lord Henry Petty, is the younger son of the celebrated Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdown, by his second wife, Louisa Fitzpatrick, a daughter of the Earl of Upper Ossory. He was born, July 2nd, 1780, and from his infancy was a great favourite with his father. The rudiments of his education were acquired at Westminster school, from whence he was removed to Edinburgh, where he resided, with other young noblemen, under the roof of Professor Dugald Stewart, and became initiated in the science of debate by attending the disputative meetings of the Speculative Society; the identical club at which Henry Brougham and Francis Jeffrey were initiated. His lordship completed his education at Trinity College, Cambridge; and, on attaining his majority, entered the House of Commons as member for Calne, in Wiltshire, and while the short peace of Amiens remained ostensibly unbroken.

It may be mentioned, that, after his return from college, and prior to his taking his seat in the house, Lord Petty was sent abroad by his father, confided to the care of Mr. Dumont, for whom the marquis had obtained a place in one of the government offices, during the period that his friend, colonel Barré, held the clerkship of the Pells. It was in



company with that gentleman, who was well acquainted with foreign languages and foreign affairs, that he visited France during the short interval of peace, and had the honour of dining with Napoleon Buonaparte, who treated him with great respect, and expressed his hope, that when his lordship returned home, and became a member of parliament, he would exert all his influence to maintain a state of amity between the two countries. Happy had it been for himself, and for the world, could he himself have taken the advice he gave.

Lord Petty appears to have been a silent member of the house during the first session; but on the 13th of February, 1804, he made his maiden speech, on the "Irish Bank Restriction bill," and was much complimented for it by Mr. Foster, formerly speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, and then Chancellor of the Exchequer of that country. Soon after this, he supported the motion for an inquiry into the origin and prosecution of the destructive war in Ceylon. He professed his astonishment at the sort of argument made use of by ministers, which appeared to him to resemble that of a ship's crew, who, when a proposition was made to examine the timbers, or general state of the vessel, should say, that such an inquiry would come much better after they had got into port.

On the 18th of June, when Mr. Pitt brought forward his additional force bill, Lord Petty spoke against the measure at some length, combating the reasonings of that gentleman. He thought the bill should be rejected, because it went to establish a tax, unequal, unconstitutional, and every way injurious—because the means by which it was to be carried into effect were imperfect and unfit for the end—because it threatened to disturb and endanger the whole administration of parochial justice, by imposing functions on parish officers, incompatible with those they at present exercised—and, above all, because it held out no reasonable prospect of effecting its object, that of raising an efficient and respectable force for regular service.



It has been said, that on the first appearance of Mr. Pitt's declining health, Lord Henry Petty aspired to the honour of succeeding him ; and with that view took an opportunity of making preparatory impressions on the house. The subject which gave occasion to the eliciting of his lordship's powers, both of speech and argument, was the debate on Lord Melville's conduct as treasurer of the navy—which took place a little before Mr. Pitt's decease. On Monday, April 8th, 1806, Mr. Whitbread moved a series of resolutions tending to criminate the noble treasurer, when Mr. Pitt, throwing the shield of Hector around his friend, proposed an amendment, which called forth Lord Petty in reply. The whole of his speech on this occasion would deserve a place in this memoir, but our limits will not allow of it. His lordship began by remarking, that he would have left it to others better acquainted with the secrets of office, to have followed the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt,) through his elaborate speech, had he not felt that there could be no impropriety in his speaking thus early, conscious that the present was not altogether a question in which long practice was so much required, as a regard to that respect and dignity which every member of that house ought to be equally solicitous should characterize their proceedings. He confessed, that he was never more surprised than at the manner in which the right honourable gentleman had begun, by charging the honourable mover of the resolutions with want of moderation and temperance, although, so far as he was able to judge of the matter, they were resolutions founded on facts, and the whole of the honourable gentleman's speech was composed of deductions from those facts.

His lordship continued : The right honourable gentleman, Mr. Pitt, had said, that the mover of the resolutions dealt in a complicated matter of figures. He begged it, however, to be recollected from what this had arisen, namely, from the obscurity in which matters had been involved by Lord Melville and his paymaster (Mr. Trotter,) and that the com-



plication was founded on the violation of an act of parliament. Had the right honourable gentleman wished to state the matter fairly, he would have avoided the mention of any such complication. It could not be disputed, first, that Lord Melville had violated an act of parliament, by allowing his paymaster to apply the public money to his own use ; and, secondly, that he had also violated the same act, in having himself applied the money entrusted to him for one branch of service, to another entirely unconnected with it. Did the right honourable gentleman mean to call these facts a complication of figures ? Or were they not rather facts standing admitted on the confession of the noble lord (Melville) himself ? The question before the house neither required nor admitted of delay. It concerned the breach of an act of parliament made by their own body, and which the person accused of breaking it, admitted that he had broken.

Mr. Pitt had laboured to palliate the guilt of his friend by stating that the public had sustained no injury ; but that was a species of defence which he (Lord Petty) could not admit. It was sufficient to say, that a heavy loss to the public *might* have been incurred. But, in addition to this, he would contend, that it was hardly possible that, in transactions where such large sums were involved, a positive loss should not be sustained. Mr. Pitt had said, that sums could not be drawn out for the naval service but as they were wanted—and yet, said Lord Petty, immediately after making that assertion, he was obliged to confess that great sums had been diverted from that to other services. Now, he was at a loss to conceive, if the right honourable gentleman was correct in his first assertion, that no money could be drawn for the service of the navy till it was wanted, how this appropriation could have been made without leaving the navy destitute of the necessary supplies. But, further, if money might at all be so diverted from its proper branch of service, it might with equal facility be misapplied to private advantage ; for if the door



of abuse was once opened, there was no saying where the evil might stop. The right honourable gentleman's answer, however, again recurred. The speculations had been successful—no loss had occurred, and so no harm had been done! His lordship, however, was of a very different opinion; and if the speculations of the noble lord, or his paymaster, or broker, had been successful, it was not difficult to ascertain from whence their knowledge had been derived. Mr. Mark Sprot, the broker, was in the confidence of Mr. Trotter; Mr. Trotter was in the confidence of Lord Melville; and Lord Melville was in the public confidence; and so they had an opportunity among them of carrying on successful speculations in the public funds! He had heard of formidable conspiracies; but, for his own part, he declared he never heard of a conspiracy more formidable than that formed by these three persons. His lordship then adverted to a systematic train of deception practised by Lord Melville, whenever any inquiry was set on foot relative to the nature of his office, and particularly mentioned his declarations before the committee of finance, which he must have known, at the time, not to be founded on fact!

Lord Petty said, he knew that the principal purpose of the enactments of that committee and of parliament, from the year 1786, had been, that all moneys should issue through the Bank, and that his office should cease to be a treasury; yet he knew that those instructions had been regularly, systematically, and uniformly abandoned. And was the house now to be told that they must proceed further in their inquiry into the conduct of such a person, before they determined on the propriety of dismissing him from his official situation? Suppose him to ask Mr. Mark Sprott if he had been in the habit, instead of investing the money entrusted to his care in the name of Mr. Trotter or Lord Melville, of applying £20,000, or £30,000 to his own use? And were he to decline answering the question, he suspected he would soon cease to be broker, either for



Mr. Trotter or Lord Melville. Or, suppose him to plead, as an excuse, that, from the mode of keeping his books, he could not say whether he might not have invested part of the money in his own name; would it not be answered, that that was a mode of keeping accounts not to be tolerated by any broker on the exchange of London? If so, his lordship would ask, was such conduct to be tolerated in the treasurer of the British navy?

“The people of England” said Lord Petty, “pay their servants liberally, and in no department more so than in Somerset House: and they had as good a right to see justice done them as any person on the Stock Exchange could have. His lordship then alluded to Lord Melville’s letter, and said, that, if in that letter even the noble viscount had asserted his innocence, however much he might have been convinced of the contrary, there would have been some ground for going into committee. He would even like to see any of his friends bold enough to make such an assertion. Neither the noble viscount himself, however, nor any of his friends, asserted any such thing. And what more remained for the noble lord than to address him as Cicero did Piso, in his oration against him, when he breaks off, exclaiming that no person can be more guilty than he who dares neither write nor speak his own innocence. He would ask the noble viscount himself, what he would have said, if at the time of proposing the act, any person had thus addressed him: “I approve of your act; but you labour in vain, for twelve months will not have elapsed ere it will be broken by a treasurer of the navy, and that treasurer of the navy is yourself!” But still more must he or any man be astonished, had it been added, that, at the end of fourteen years, during the whole of which period the act had been violated, there could be found in the House of Commons a person hardy enough to propose that further inquiry should take place, before it was determined whether the dignity and character of the House of Commons, and of their acts, were to be as-



served, and the public purse vindicated, against so gross a system of speculation." [*Loud and repeated applauses.*] His lordship concluded a speech, which appeared to have made a deep impression on the house, by expressing a hope, "that the decision of that night would evince a determination in parliament to come forward with one voice in defence of the safety, honour, and existence of the country, which had been endangered by so flagrant a violation of their own acts, in the person of a nobleman to whom they had confided an important trust, the administration of that part of the revenue of the kingdom, applicable to the naval service."

This masterly speech, not only surpassed all Lord Petty's previous efforts, but even most efforts of preceding speakers of his own age. Mr. Fox was lavish of his commendations, and congratulated his side of the house on such an accession to their strength. "I recollect," said he, "when Mr. Pitt made his first essay in the house: I recollect the just pride we all felt to see him, much of the same age then, that the noble lord now is, distinguishing himself in hunting down corruption—in unmasking abuses in the public expenditure—and in proposing and enforcing reforms of various kinds." But to proceed:

When Mr. Whitbread moved an impeachment of "Lord Henry Melville of high crimes and misdemeanours, in the name of the Commons of England," he was again ably supported by Lord Henry Petty, who recapitulated the fresh subjects of accusation which had been produced, and in an animated tone pointed out the dangerous consequences likely to ensue, as regarded the interests of the public creditors, from the combination of three persons, one of whom was a jobber in the funds, a second had an immense sum of public money at his disposal, while a third was acquainted with all the secrets of government. "This," said his lordship, "was a combination from which more mischief was to be apprehended, than from those Jacobin committees which had been the theme of so much declamation."



The crisis, however, had now arrived, when an important change was about to take place in the political horizon of the country. While a vote of censure, followed by an impeachment, had been carried against one of his colleagues, and the situation of Europe began to assume a most perilous aspect, Mr. Pitt pined away with mortification and chagrin, sickened, and died. His feeble and fearful colleagues, finding themselves inadequate to the proper management of the affairs of government, gave way, and another cabinet was formed, under the auspices of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville; and in the new ministry, Lord Petty succeeded to the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and member of the privy council. He also succeeded Mr. Pitt as representative of the University of Cambridge.

It is matter of regret, that a regard to truth will not permit us to compliment the new chancellor of the exchequer on his successful mode of raising such supplies as the exigencies of the state then required. The office of providing taxes must be at all times an ungracious one, and the new ministry found themselves surrounded with difficulties. The expenditure, during the thirteen years the war had continued, and against which the financier had to make head, was annually upon the increase, and at a fearful ratio. Lord Petty, too, was to follow Mr. Pitt, who, whatever were his errors or his faults, has always been considered by impartial persons an able financier. The proposition to increase the property tax—and, more especially, the extension of our excise laws, the most odious and vexatious of our fiscal regulations, by laying open the private dwelling of every man in the kingdom who brewed his own small beer—excited a clamour throughout the country against the Whig administration, which made them very unpopular. The short time, too, during which they were allowed to remain in office, afforded them but little opportunity of redeeming their reputation by any salutary measures of public utility. Mr. Fox, whose name and talents were the sword and buckler of the new



administration, outlived his great political rival but a few months, and the power of his colleagues did not long survive the existence of their chief. The rock on which they split, was an attempt to do that for the Catholics of Ireland which was afterwards effected by the Duke of Wellington, in the reign of George the Fourth; and for attempting which, Lord Howick and his associates, were by George the Third, dismissed from his councils.

The parliament being dissolved, Lord Henry Petty again offered himself to represent the University of Cambridge, but he was no longer clothed with the robe of chancellor of the exchequer, and of four candidates he was the lowest upon the poll. The cry of "No Popery" rang through the halls and colleges, and was re-echoed from every corner of the senate-house, like the famous cry of old, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" His lordship, therefore, found himself obliged to retreat from the classic banks of the Cam, to the snug little borough of Camelford, there to solicit the suffrages of the sons of tin, lead, and copper, which were obtained, *more majorum*, without much difficulty, and probably without any expense.

On the assembling of the new parliament, Lord Petty once more occupied his old station on the opposition side of the house; but to this mortification, he was exposed only for a very short period. On the death of his elder brother without issue, in 1809, he succeeded to the family titles and estates, taking his place among the peers, in which distinguished position we shall now endeavour to trace him.

The discussions consequent on the Regency bill, and the committal of that high power to the Prince of Wales, took place soon after his lordship's advancement to the peerage; and, in reference to these matters, we find Lord Henry Petty, now the Marquis of Lansdown, displaying considerable talent, and the virtue of a patriot. He strenuously opposed the project of parliament assuming a power over the great seal. "That seal," he said, "has ever been



the symbol of the royal authority—the exclusive appendage to the personal exercise of the sovereign functions. It would not have been a greater absurdity in the convention of 1688, to use the great seal of James the Second, for the purpose of filling the throne before it had been declared vacant, than it would now be, for the parliament to employ the great seal of George the Third, to supply the existing deficiency of the royal functions, after having voted the actual incapacity of the sovereign.” On the restrictions which ministers sought to impose upon the Regent, the noble Marquis moved an amendment, and it was carried by a majority of three. His speech, upon that occasion, was of the first order. He remarked, that “the different branches of the legislature, by their reciprocal control and balance of each other, produce that energy which constitutes the firmness, and that symmetry which constitutes the beauty, of the stupendous fabric called the constitution of England, and upon the preservation of which depends the safety of this country. Much of that safety, in its turn, again, depends on the power of the crown. The question then is, whether the present be a period fit for curtailing that power. I think it is not. It is true, the Regent is to be allowed the power of dissolving the other house; but over this house he has no power; and I would venture to ask whether you think it decent for you to emancipate yourselves from the constitutional control of the crown, which you do by assenting to the restriction against creating peers, whereby you fetter the crown against any power to counterpoise yours, while you allow the crown power over the other house by dissolving it.”

On the assassination of Mr. Spencer Perceval, who had succeeded Lord Henry Petty as chancellor of the exchequer, the noble Marquis of Lansdown was invited to return to office, in connexion with Lords Grey and Grenville; but the attempt proved abortive, from causes already adverted to in our sketch of the life of Earl Grey, and which it is needless



to repeat in this place. The cabinet of Lord Liverpool succeeded, to which the Marquis of Lansdown was certainly opposed, but his opposition was neither active nor violent. A careful examination of his lordship's speeches about this period, would probably lead to the conclusion, that he was becoming better reconciled to the existing administration ; and the manner in which this was met by ministers, has been thought to indicate, that if Lord Liverpool had retained his health and continued in office, some effort would have been made to obtain the noble marquis's efficient aid. The successful termination of a war, rashly and imprudently begun, and, as many thought, madly persevered in, could not fail to produce a considerable change in the minds of such persons as Lord Lansdown, and soften their opposition to the ministry which was happily fated to reap the laurels of victory and peace.

One of the most important measures of the Whig cabinet, to which the marquis, when Lord Petty, belonged, was the abolition of the slave trade ; and the excellent law, which while in office he had essentially contributed to pass, he strove as a private member of parliament to render as efficient as possible. He was, however, in common with other ardent friends to that measure, doomed to frequent disappointment. Accordingly, in 1814, seven years after the bill had passed for abolishing the odious traffic in human flesh, we find his lordship moving an address to the Prince Regent, "expressing the deep regret of the house that his exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade had not been attended with more complete success, and praying that means might be taken more completely to secure the merciful intentions of the legislature." In support of this motion, the noble marquis addressed the house at some length, discussing with superior ability all the topics which had entered into the reasoning on this subject on former occasions ; and the motion passed without opposition. If we are not mistaken, it was about the same time that Mr. Brougham brought forward his important



measure in the other house, and obtained a law, making it felony for any British subject to be engaged in the traffic.

At this time, an end was put to the sanguinary contest which had for more than twenty years raged upon the continent of Europe, and the flames of which had unhappily been nourished and fed by the influence of British gold. One result of this change in the posture of affairs was, that of divesting the proceedings in parliament of almost all their usual interest for two or three succeeding years. The session of 1815 was unusually short and dull; but the miserable effects of a protracted state of hostilities soon began to manifest themselves in the domestic occurrences of our own country. The year 1816, which was the first after the year of general peace, was signalized by a more widely extended distress than the annals of the country had for a long period exhibited, and must doubtless have occasioned as much surprise as disappointment, in the greater part of the nation. But Great Britain was not singular in this respect; every European state participated of it. Distress operated somewhat differently in different countries; but all were plunged in the same misfortunes of ruinous expenses, wasted finances, heavy public debts, and immoderate imposts. The condition of England was so far peculiar, that, by means of her insular situation, she enjoyed a happy exemption from war upon her own territories; whilst, by her triumphant fleets, she was enabled to carry on an intercourse with every part of the world, whence she was not excluded by force of arms. By means of this commercial monopoly, and a much increased demand for many articles required by the wants of war itself, she for a long time felt little other pressure than that of augmented taxation, and even this seemed counterbalanced by the increase of the public revenue. But when these advantages were cut off by the peace, and Great Britain hoped to retrieve herself by resorting to her usual customers on the continent, she found them immersed in general poverty, and all eager to



supply their wants by the exertions of their own industry. British manufactures, therefore, which, by the improvements of mechanical ingenuity, had been accumulated to a vast amount in the merchants' warehouses, found no regular demand, but were forced by speculation into foreign markets, where they could obtain a sale only at prices much below the prime cost. The consequence of all this was, the manufacturers found it necessary, either wholly to suspend or greatly to reduce the fabrication of their goods, whereby a number of workmen in almost every branch became destitute of employment, and were plunged into severe distress.

The years 1816, 17, and 18, present us with a melancholy picture of the state of our own country. In the first of these years, a general failure in the harvests of Europe, arising from an unusual inclemency of the weather, drew in its train a rapid rise in the price of bread; in consequence of which, the most serious distress burst forth among the manufacturing poor, who began to murmur that their wages would no longer procure for their families the necessaries of life. By the sudden failure of the war-demand for a vast variety of articles, thousands of artisans were thrown out of employment, and reduced to a state of extreme indigence. A detestable spirit of insubordination and conspiracy began to manifest itself throughout several of the midland counties, accompanied by the destruction of property, joined to the love of plunder. Meetings were called, for the purpose of discussing the causes and remedies of these evils; and petitions for redress of grievances, for economy, and for parliamentary reform, poured in on all sides. In the year 1817, the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, was twice renewed during the session of parliament—a thing unprecedented in English history. In 1818, the Duke of Montrose presented to the House of Peers a bill founded upon the report of the secret committee, entitled “A bill for indemnifying persons, who, since the 26th of January, 1817, have acted in apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody, persons suspected of high treason, or



treasonable practices, and in the suppression of tumultuous and unlawful assemblies." With this indemnity bill, we find the Marquis of Lansdown vigorously grappling. The principle of the bill, he said, was to indemnify for acts dangerous in themselves, but justifiable for *reasons of state which could not be disclosed in evidence!* Against such a system of legislation, his lordship protested, and by his spirited exertions prevented the enactments of the bill from extending to Ireland.

On the 29th of March, 1819, the House of Lords entered upon the third reading of the bill for rendering the growing produce of the consolidated fund available for the public service; to which measure the Marquis of Lansdown gave his warmest support, declaring that nothing could be more just than its provisions, so far as they went. He must, however, call their lordships' attention, he said, to the principle on which it was founded, and the very limited extent to which that principle was carried. Referring, then, to the spirited efforts which had been made by Mr. Grenfell, in the House of Commons, to obtain for the public a share in the balances left in the possession of the Bank, the marquis observed, that the bill confined the application of its principle to one description of balances, namely, that on the growing produce of the consolidated fund, and asked, why was not this principle carried to a greater extent? Why was it not applied to the balances of the customs and excise, of which, at least, three millions might be made available each quarter in the same manner? It had been boasted that the arrangement contemplated by this bill would produce a saving of interest on balances to the amount of six millions, whereas the fact was, that the average of these balances did not exceed four millions. Lord Liverpool acquiesced in the correctness of the noble marquis's observations, but said it had not been thought proper to extend the principle further at present, while an inquiry was going on which had for its object the affairs of the Bank.



During the year 1820, May 26th, Lord Lansdown, in moving for the appointment of a committee, to take into consideration, the measures of extending and securing the foreign trade of the country, led the house into a comprehensive view of every part of its foreign policy. After proposing the abolition of all absolutely prohibitory duties, he recommended a relaxation of the navigation laws, to the extent of allowing produce, not colonial, to be imported from all parts of Europe, without making it necessary that it should be altogether in English-built ships, or in ships belonging to the nation whence the produce comes. The next point to which he adverted was that of an entire freedom from the transit trade. Such a change, he said, would tend to encourage the warehousing system, and thus promote the desirable object of rendering our ports the depots of foreign nations. Whatever brought the foreign merchant to this country, and made it a general mart for the merchandise of the world, was valuable to our trade, and enriched the industrious population of our ports. Such freedom of transit, his lordship went on to remark, allowed of assortment of cargoes for foreign markets, and thus extended our trade in general.

He then proceeded to recommend the removal of the burdens imposed on the importation of timber from the north of Europe. The timber imported from Canada, he said, cost us five hundred thousand pounds a year more than if we had brought it from the Baltic. And what was the article that was thus raised in price? It was the raw material of our houses, bridges, canals, nay, of our very shipping; and yet the ship-owners had been inconsiderate enough to petition in favour of duties which increased the expenses of their own trade. The reasoning on which they grounded their resistance to the abolition of these duties, the noble marquis thus stated and refuted. "In their own petition, they represent that, from the length and difficulty of the voyage to North America, the larger part of the value of the timber thence imported, consists of freight,



and that the mere circumstance of the proximity of the northern ports of Europe, by enabling ships to repeat their voyages frequently in the course of a year, would reduce the number of British vessels employed in the timber trade to one third. They, therefore, say, that, whereas it is expedient that they should be employed—and whereas they cannot be so employed if they procure timber where it is cheapest and best—they should import it of the worst quality and from the greatest distance. Such was the proposition propounded, when the question was, whether we should import our timber from our own colonies, or from the Baltic. But let the house observe to what consequences the principle would go, if applied to other branches of trade. Suppose it were proposed, on some plea, to bring our cotton from the East Indies, instead of importing it from America; he did not see on what grounds those could resist such a proposition, who argued that we ought to import our timber from Canada rather than from Norway. The voyage would have the advantage of being thrice as long, and the articles might be tripled in price. A petition from Newcastle had stated, that, by resorting to the Baltic for timber, not one half of the number of vessels would be employed that now sailed to America, which was just as good a reason for going to the latter country, as we should have for employing double the number of horses to convey the mails, when the number now engaged in the service of the mail coaches was amply sufficient for the purpose.”

Lord Lansdown went on to state, that facilities ought to be afforded to our commercial intercourse with France. At present, a duty of £143, 18s. was imposed upon the tun of French wine, while only £95 was imposed on Spanish and Portuguese wines. Now, although the government of France was not disposed to enter into any commercial treaty, or to make any liberal arrangement for receiving our manufactures in exchange for their wine, he contended that some change might be beneficially made in our present



trade with that country. Even though the government were not disposed, at first, to enter into any specific treaty, the people would find their advantage in the intercourse; and although we might be obliged, in the first place, to pay in bullion, our manufactures would go abroad to purchase that bullion. For a long course of time, we had been exporting bullion to the East Indies, and we were obliged to export manufactures to America for the purpose of procuring it. The consent of Portugal to any beneficial arrangement with France would not be required; as, if we did not enforce our claim to send Portugal our woollens, she had no right to demand of us to take her wines.

But the topic on which his lordship expatiated at greatest length, was that of the trade with the East Indies. It was impossible to forget, said the noble marquis, that from one of the largest, most fertile, and most populous portions of the globe—that immense space which lay between Africa and America, the general British merchant was excluded. From the time that he doubled Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope, he found his commercial operations cramped, and his enterprise restrained—not by the nature of the country, for it was rich, and adapted to commerce; not by the indisposition of the people to trade, for they were numerous, industrious, and disposed to exchange their productions for ours; not by the difficulties of the seas, for, by the trade winds and the monsoons, navigation was easy and secure: but he was pursued, and all his schemes defeated, by the statute-book. It was this, that restrained him from trading from one part to another without license. It was this which prevented him from dealing in one of the most valuable and lucrative articles, namely, tea. When the trade to the East Indies was not open, there was no independent British tonnage on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope. At present, there were, in the eastern seas, twenty thousand tons of shipping in the service of the East India Company, but sixty-one thousand in the service of the free-traders. Was there any one, seeing as they all had



seen, the rapid strides with which British commerce had advanced in that quarter of the globe, bold enough to say, that the advantages of a free-trade might not be carried still farther, even there, and rendered productive of even still more important results.

After shewing the superior advantages of a free trade in India, over the East India Company's monopoly in regard to the number of seamen employed in each branch of commerce, Lord Lansdown concluded his luminous and very able speech, by expatiating on the absurdity of excluding our own countrymen from the tea-trade, while it was left open to the Americans and other foreigners; and by enforcing the necessity of cultivating friendly relations with the provinces of South America, which, he said, presented a boundless field for the future extension of our commerce. His lordship's motion for a committee was agreed to; and, on the 3d of July, as chairman, he brought up their report. He abstained, however, from founding any specific proposition upon it, thinking that, on a subject so intimately connected with the finances of the country, it was better that the measure should originate in the other house of parliament.

A committee having been appointed by the Commons to inquire into this subject, a report was drawn up, and, on the 8th of June, 1821, Lord Lansdown presented it to the House of Peers; and on moving that it be printed, his lordship took the opportunity of making a few observations to the following effect. He said, the principal part of the report, to which he was desirous of very briefly drawing their lordships' attention, related to a very important manufacture of the country, that of silk. It was with great satisfaction he stated, that from the inquiry which had been gone into, it appeared that the extent of the silk manufacture of this country was such as to create a demand for labour, and yield a profit far beyond any thing he could have expected, from a trade created by favour, and maintained by prohibitions. It happened fortunately, that a part of the



world which had been placed under the dominion of Great Britain, was that which afforded the best raw material, and from which it had originally been derived by the south of Europe. The improvement of the trade had been so great, that supplies were now drawn two or three times a year from that country, instead of only once, as formerly. Much as this manufacture had been favoured in France, it having always been the policy of the French government to encourage it, their lordships would be surprised to hear that it had been more successfully prosecuted in this country. It appeared, that the quantity of the raw material consumed in England, was now considerably greater than that used in the manufacture in France. The value of the raw material imported from Italy and India into this country exceeded, by several hundred thousand pounds, that of the silk consumed in France. The silk grown in France, and imported, was estimated at two millions sterling: whereas the raw silk imported into England, in 1820, amounted to £2,500,000. The value of this raw material, when manufactured, was ten millions. From the moment that a free-trade was allowed to India, and private adventurers were permitted to act on their own speculations, there had been a progressive improvement in the quality and the quantity of the raw material imported. One of the embarrassments under which the silk trade laboured, was that which existed at Spitalfields: the place where the manufacture was carried on, was subject to a particular act of parliament, deviating from the true principles of political economy, and rendering it impossible for any manufacturer to introduce any new machinery, however advantageous, into the trade.

It was in the same month of the same year, June 25th, 1821, that the Marquis of Lansdown, pursuant to a notice previously given, called the attention of their lordships to the existing state of the slave-trade. He began by remarking, that after the period which had elapsed since its abolition by this country, and since the Continental powers had solemnly pledged themselves to put an end to that detestable



traffic, it would have become the duty of that house to take a view of the state of things since the abolition, in order to ascertain what had been the result of that measure : but how much more was this their duty, if unhappily the state of the trade was not such as was likely to give satisfaction to the public, and if the circumstances connected with it continued to demand the attention of government, and also of parliament, for the purpose of stimulating the government to the execution of its duty. Under such circumstances, their lordships would agree with him, that their time could not be better employed than in the consideration of the state of this trade. He was happy, that on this occasion he could divest the motion he intended to make, of all censure on any individual connected with the government of this country ; and that he could state that very vigorous endeavours had been made, both by the administration at home and our ministers abroad, to repress the evils arising from this traffic.

It was to be expected, his lordship said, that when this country had relinquished the share she had too long held in this guilty traffic—that, after the peace, into the vacuum which was left, would run a strong current of unprincipled adventure, in which every maxim, human and divine, would be forgotten in the pursuit of gain. Accordingly, it happened that from every quarter of the world, persons instigated by avarice, engaged in the African slave trade ; and it appeared that no remedy was to be found but in treaties framed between foreign states and Great Britain, who, having renounced the great advantages she possessed, became entitled to appeal to those countries which still carried on the slave trade, in the name of humanity, in the name of justice, and in the name of the interest of all the inhabitants of the globe, to concur with her in the abolition. This appeal was made, and what was the answer ? Engagements and promises were obtained from all countries that carried on that traffic, to promote its abolition.

At this part of his speech, Lord Lansdown recapitulated



the various treaties entered into with the foreign powers, and the base means resorted to in order to evade them, inso-much that Sir George Collier stated, that in one year sixty thousand slaves were taken from Africa; and, moreover, that in one year eighteen thousand slaves had been imported into the Portuguese settlements alone. The French government was represented as peculiarly culpable. Spain had relinquished the trade, but it was continued by her colonies, as was the case with Portugal and Holland. In America, also, individuals had engaged in this trade under false colours, though the American government appeared sincerely and zealously engaged in its suppression. Having thus laid before the house an exhibition of the then actual state of this detestable traffic, the noble marquis concluded by a motion, which embodied his various statements: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, representing to his majesty, that in the various documents relative to the slave trade, which, by his majesty's command, have been laid before the house, we find a renewed and most gratifying proof of the persevering solicitude with which his majesty's government have laboured to meet the wishes of this house, and of the nation at large, by effecting the entire and universal abolition of that guilty traffic: that we learn from them, however, with the deepest regret, that his majesty's unwearied efforts to induce various powers to carry into complete effect their own solemn engagements, have not been more successful.

"That, notwithstanding the deliberate denunciation by which the slave trade was condemned at the congress of Vienna, as a crime of the deepest dye; and notwithstanding the deliberate determination there expressed by all the great powers of Europe, to put an end to so enormous an evil: nevertheless, this traffic is still carried on to an extent scarcely ever before surpassed, by the subjects, and even under the flags, of the very powers which were parties to these deliberations."

After noticing the conduct of the various European



powers, and of the American States, the motion concluded as follows :—

“That we, therefore, earnestly entreat his majesty seriously to represent to the court of France, how deeply their credit is involved in these transactions, and that his majesty will be graciously pleased to renew his efforts to induce that government to make good its various engagements on this subject; in particular, to fulfil its specified promise to employ new and more efficient restraints, and call into action fresh penal sanctions, in order effectually to prevent the carrying on, by French subjects, of this odious and disgraceful traffic, to the extinction of which they are bound alike by the most solemn obligations of religion, by the integrity of their government, and even by the personal honour of their sovereign.”

Early in the session of 1822, the Earl of Liverpool, then prime minister, brought forward for discussion the very distressed state of the agricultural interest, with a view to the adoption of such measures as were necessary to remedy the evils complained of. His lordship stated the distress of the country to be the result of a long and arduous war, and a superabundance of grain brought on by forcing waste lands into cultivation. He stated what government had done to reduce the national expenditure during the preceding years, which was nearly eight millions. The first measure had been to reduce the expenditure; and the second, to secure the sinking fund. The next measure they resorted to was a saving in the interest of the funded debt. They had made a considerable reduction in the taxation of the country, and looked forward to more. The noble lord then adverted to the measure for reducing the rate of interest on the national debt, and considered the plan beneficial to the country, not only as a saving, but as the means of compelling the Bank to lower the rate of discount, and give more circulation to the currency. His lordship concluded a luminous statement of his views on this subject, by moving “That there be laid before this house, the evidence required



by the Marquis of Lansdown on a former day, namely, the estimates for the year 1822."

The Marquis of Lansdown considered this exposé of the measures and views of the government, as calculated to be beneficial to the country; but he totally differed from the noble lord in thinking that the distress of the country was not occasioned by excessive taxation. He expressed his satisfaction on hearing that it was in contemplation to make a further reduction in the taxes, because he was convinced the public burdens pressed heavily at this time on all classes. His lordship added, that he could not support the noble earl in certain fashionable opinions entertained by certain modern professors of the science of political economy, who came from their books and studies, declaring that taxation was not the cause of distress, but rather a benefit to the country. Taxation, his lordship maintained, did fall heavy on the country, and formed an obstacle to recovery from that distress under which the nation groaned.

On the 14th of June following, the Marquis of Lansdown called the attention of the House of Peers to the suffering state of Ireland, which he described as wretched in the extreme, and tracing the evils to the depreciation which had taken place in the currency, and the depressed value of agricultural produce, which had necessarily affected that country in a far greater degree than our own. The reason which his lordship assigned for this difference was, that in England there was a powerful manufacturing interest, which had, by its resistance, broken the weight of the agricultural distress; but Ireland, which was almost wholly agricultural, must unavoidably suffer from the depressed state of that interest in a much greater proportion than the other parts of the united kingdom.

Omitting those circumstances of distress which were common to both countries, the noble marquis proceeded to point out such as were of a peculiar nature, and by which Ireland was exclusively affected. In doing this, he said, he only needed to refer to the statutes by which it had for



a period back been governed ; to the laws also, which had been passed with the view of preserving tranquillity within these few years ; to the laws, even, which had been enacted during the present session ; to the language which had inevitably been used by the proposers and supporters of those measures ; to the admissions made by the opponents of all severe laws. When, indeed, it had been proposed that in a part of the united kingdom, trial by jury should be suspended—when it had been proposed, that arbitrary power should be given to magistrates—when it had been proposed, that the public money should be voted to find food and employment for the poor ; surely he need not occupy the time of their lordships, by any argument, to prove that the situation of that part of the British empire in which such measures had been thought necessary, was peculiar. It was admitted on all hands, that trial by jury was one of the most valuable principles of the constitution : yet it was said, that for the enjoyment of this excellent institution, Ireland was not fit. That it was most dangerous to the liberty of the subject to invest magistrates with arbitrary power, was generally acknowledged ; and yet it was maintained that there was something in the state of Ireland which rendered its exercise of arbitrary and unconstitutional power indispensable. That it was wrong, nay, mischievous, to interfere with the regular course of supply and demand in the market, was a principle no less generally recognized ; but so singular was the situation of Ireland, that this great principle of political economy must be violated. The general admission made in their lordships' house and elsewhere, not only by the language in which their sentiments had been expressed, but by the resolutions they had adopted, was, that measures which were most beneficial to this country, became pregnant with evil the moment they passed to Ireland. Convinced of the fact, they would naturally endeavour to account for the circumstances which produced so extraordinary a state of things.



To what, then, was the state of Ireland to be attributed? Was it owing to her possessing a most fertile soil? Was it because her insular situation was most favourable to commerce? Was it because she was blessed with a most temperate and genial climate? Was it because Providence had bestowed on her every thing calculated to ensure riches and prosperity? Unfortunately, in spite of all her national advantages, all the kindness of Providence, Ireland continued poor in the midst of wealth—barbarous in the midst of civilization. That constitution which conferred happiness on this country was to Ireland only a source of evil. Their lordships must then look farther for the origin of the mischiefs: they must look for them in the institutions and systems by which that country had long been governed. The object of their inquiry ought to be, to ascertain what connection subsisted between the system of government and the state of society. In undertaking such an inquiry it would be wrong were they to describe the conduct of individuals as the cause of the evil, or to throw a stigma on any particular class of persons. It would be unjust in a legislature to impute to classes of individuals those evils to which its acts or omissions might have given birth. The state of Ireland was not to be attributed to the misconduct of landlords, or to the misconduct of the clergy. Those classes in Ireland consisted of men who had received the same kind of education as the like classes in England. Their conduct was therefore to be ascribed to the state of society, and the institutions under which they were called upon to act. In this view of the subject, their lordships must necessarily look to the general state of the population, and to the nature and effect of the burdens which that population had been made to bear. These were circumstances which must form a very material consideration in any inquiry, whether retrospective or prospective, with regard to Ireland.

Lord Lansdown insisted that the peculiar condition of Ireland exhibited proof, that there might be a state of



society in which the population rapidly increased, while the true sign of wealth and prosperity, the facility with which each individual found for himself a comfortable subsistence, was considerably diminished. This was a consequence of that system of gradual degradation by which the great mass of the population had been reduced to subsist entirely on the lowest kind of human food, and that which the slightest labour could supply—he meant potatoes. The effect of this habit was to produce an indifference to comfort, and to incline individuals of the labouring class to look forward only to a bare existence. In such a situation, the peasant considered himself justified in marrying, though he had no other means of maintaining a family but the potatoes he might raise in a small garden. To this state of things were the disturbances of Ireland, in a great measure, owing. This lamentable degradation was the cause of those painful scenes so often witnessed—

“When, scourg’d by famine from the smiling land,  
The mournful peasant leads his humble band;  
And while he sinks, without one arm to save,  
The country blooms—a garden, and a grave.”

The increase of population, said the noble marquis, is no certain index of happiness. When degraded in the manner he had described, that increase was accompanied with the most serious evils. The unfortunate state of society had given an artificial spring to the population, and, along with its increase, the more salutary principles of the constitution were perverted. The advantages which the constitution conferred on that country were converted to evil. The views of a base and corrupt ambition had converted the privileges of freemen into a means of increasing slaves. He would here state one of the political evils which had afflicted that country, by which the right of election, instead of being an advantage, was made an engine of degradation to the people. The circumstance to which he alluded, was the practice of letting land in



common. To enable a great number of persons to vote at an election, it was usual to let a farm in common. He knew an instance of one farm, for which no less than ninety persons were registered as freeholders! This was perhaps an uncommon case, but instances of farms let to twenty, thirty, or forty persons, for election purposes, were very common. Many of their lordships would doubtless hear, with astonishment, of such an abuse of the law. He owned that, with whatever respect he looked on the existing law of election, he thought there could be no objection to limit the right of voting for one farm to one individual. This narrowing of the right would not be inconsistent with the principles of the constitution, and it would be of great service to the general good of the country.

Lord Lansdown now proceeded to what he considered to be a highly important part of his subject—which was, to direct their lordships' attention to certain burdens which the population of Ireland had been made to bear. And here he had to point out one of the most extraordinary principles of taxation that ever had been made in any country—a misapplication, he said, which, while it robbed the people of their comforts, diminished the public resources. No such instance of pernicious absurdity, he believed, could be found in the whole history of fiscal mal-administration. The revenue of Ireland in the year 1787, was about £4,387,400. Between 1807 and 1821, taxes to the amount of £3,776,009, had been imposed. Yet the revenue, in 1821, amounted to only £3,844,000: so that the effect of this imposition of taxes, with an increased population, had been, to reduce the revenue of 1821 some hundred thousand pounds below that of 1807. Thus, while the poor were deprived of their comforts, less was extracted from them, and the revenue of the country was diminished. The noble marquis dwelt upon the increased duties on sugar and tea—from which he proceeded to those on distillation in Ireland, and shewed their demoralizing tendency, in tempting persons to violate the laws, so that every illicit still became a school for resistance



to the government—a nucleus around which the spirit of disaffection gathered. Thus was a bounty held out to the peasant for violating the law—an inducement constantly operating on his mind—and the prisons of the country were filled with persons to be educated for more iniquitous offences. In the course of the last six years, five thousand three hundred and fifty persons had been committed for offences connected with illicit distillation; and out of that number, nearly four thousand had been convicted. When their lordships considered the imperfect condition and discipline of the Irish prisons, they might be prepared to form some estimate of the addition which these commitments, on account of illicit distillation, were likely to make to the general mass of crime in the country. The man who was driven into prison for a comparatively slight offence, would probably come out a hardened depredator.

Lord Lansdown next adverted to the existing state of the magistracy in Ireland, which he thought very defective on various accounts which his lordship pointed out, and which furnished a source of much discontent to the Catholic population of the country. And on this part of the subject, he quoted the opinion of Lord Bacon, who, in an address of advice to Sir John Osborne, when setting out on an important mission, used the following remarkable words:—“My last advice is, that you attend to impartiality in religious matters, and refrain from meddling in religious disputes, lest Ireland civil, become more dangerous than Ireland savage.” Lord Bacon, with his usual sagacity, saw the necessity of keeping down religious feuds and animosities by an equal administration of the laws.

His lordship adverted to the immense taxation on law proceedings in Ireland, which, he said, shut out from the protection of law two-thirds of the population of the country. Since the union, the stamp duties on legal proceedings had increased threefold. And here the noble marquis gave a most felicitous specimen of the manner of settling disputed claims in that unhappy country. In the west part of



Ireland, when two parties, as was often the case, disputed upon a piece of ground, their singular and whimsical mode of settling the claim was, to create a riot, to appear on the field, and fight it out—this was their contrivance for obtaining a legal decision on disputed claims, without giving the revenue the benefit of their litigation ! When the fight was over, each indicted the other before the magistrate, and the person to whom the assistant barrister awarded damages, rested in possession of the land, with a broken head into the bargain. The decrease of the amount of law proceedings, taken in connection with the increase of the stamp duties, sufficiently evinced, his lordship thought, that taxation among the lower classes in Ireland had become a bar to justice—had shut them out from law, and forced them upon the singular expedient which he had mentioned.

Having briefly touched upon the subject of absenteeism, as one of the grievances of which the people of Ireland complained, Lord Lansdown came now to one of the main causes of the misery under which that country laboured, namely, the tithe system ; and as this is a subject of present consideration, and of fearful magnitude in the destinies of the empire, it may be desirable to give the noble lord's view of the disease and remedy at some length—thus his lordship proceeded : “ That population which he had mentioned as so numerous, so little employed, and so ill-supported, which was burdened with such a weight of taxation, which possessed, in the body of its magistracy, sometimes persons so unworthy of their office ; among whom, justice was so much obstructed by imposts on legal proceedings, and who were deprived by absenteeism of the protection and example of their natural guardians—this population, he said, was still further exposed to an impost the least congenial to its feelings, which it viewed with the greatest hostility ; which in its amount was often complained of as being oppressive, and the collection of which was enforced by laws still more tyrannical and offensive. This tax had another peculiarly odious feature—it bore hardest on the people in the time of



the greatest distress. Cases had even occurred, in which this impost was levied, when the parties on whom it was levied, could make it appear that they had no profits at all. It therefore aggravated, in the highest degree, the evils of a depreciation of the price of produce arising from other causes.

In the course of the last six years, there had been in the ecclesiastical courts, no less than 2,178 trials arising out of the tithe system in Ireland. The list was incomplete for the civil courts, because a distinction was not drawn between tithe cases and other cases, in all the counties; but during the same period, there had taken place in only six counties of the south, 7,149 trials. In the county of Kilkenny alone, 2,195 tithe causes had been tried. He had made a calculation of what was likely to be the number in the other counties, taking the six counties to which he alluded as data; and it appeared that the number of causes for six years respecting tithes, over the whole of Ireland, would amount to seventeen thousand three hundred and twenty-seven! Many of these causes involved only the sum of five pounds. One magistrate mentioned that a hundred cases came before him in a week, in which the sums were from fourpence to five shillings, and the expenses incurred on each process was three shillings. His lordship then proceeded to describe the mode of proceeding in the recovery of tithes, which for brevity sake we pass over. He observed, that another great evil arising from the tithe system, was, the uncertainty of levying that kind of tax upon the potato-garden—a tax, in the collection of which, the clergy were often exposed to danger; a tax, which the most meritorious of the clergy often refrained from enacting, and which rewarded the selfish and the oppressive. For the evils attending this, he thought a commutation would be the best cure, and he could see no objection to it. In making this proposition, he did not anticipate any objection, either from their lordships, or from any of the right reverend prelates, on the



score that tithes were founded on divine right, because against such an opinion, he had the declaration of the church which pronounced, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that to say, "tithes were of divine right, was the greatest and grossest of errors into which the Church of Rome had fallen."

But while he maintained this opinion, his lordship would allow that tithes were entitled to the same protection as all other property; and, if dealt with, should be as guardedly and cautiously touched as any other property, not only for the church itself, but for the advantage of the country. Before he could recommend a commutation, therefore, he should be obliged to shew, that by it the property would not suffer, and that the interests of the church would not be deteriorated. To regulate this measure, three points ought to be kept in view. First, he would not recommend a commutation of the tithe of the church, which, as a lay impropriator, he would not himself accept. Secondly, he would not do any thing which would not leave the church in the same state in regard to wealth as it previously was. Thirdly, he would adopt no plan by which the church would be rendered more dependent on the state; and he would assure the right reverend prelates opposite, that if he could discover any scheme by which he could render them more independent, that scheme he would be most willing to adopt.

Having thus guarded himself from any suspicion of intending to injure the interests of the church, he would suggest, whether means might not be devised, similar to those employed in Scotland, by a jury fixing the price of grain, not for one year, but for five or six years, and thus levying the tithe upon the landlord, and not upon the tenant. With regard to Ireland, he should think it an improvement, if the money which was the price of the tithe, and not the corn, was given to the clergy by the proprietor, instead of the occupier of land. The clergy would then come in contact, not with the Catholic popu-



lation, but with the Protestant landlords, who might be enabled, by raising money equivalent to the value of the tithe, to buy land, and settle it on the church, relieving themselves from all future burdens. This plan was in principle not unknown to the law of England; and in the parish of Clifden, where, in the division of a common, there was not only set aside a portion of it, as had been usual in other cases, for the clergyman, in lieu of tithes, but where the sum of £9,000 had been raised by the landed proprietors, to buy land, in lieu of the existing tithe, and thus for ever exonerate their own estates from that burden.

The noble marquis said, he should only touch upon one other subject before he sat down; and that was, the usual assessment for the building and rebuilding of Protestant churches. This expense was particularly obnoxious, because it fell on the Catholic population, to whom the levying of such a tax must be particularly offensive. This was a subject which must unavoidably engage the attention of parliament; it was, if possible, of all subjects the most important, and must press itself in every form on the consideration of the legislature. Measures should be adopted for relieving the Irish clergy from the odium which the present system excited against them—to provide for the minister's maintenance in a manner beneficial to himself, and salutary to the interest of the country; to lay the foundation of a friendly and wholesome intercourse between the clergyman and his flock; and to make the basis of property, the tranquillity of the country, permanent and secure.

Lord Lansdown had now to propose for the consideration of their lordships, the motion with which he should conclude his address; and if they should, or could feel any doubt with respect to the causes which had reduced Ireland to the situation in which she now stood, he must entreat them to transport themselves in imagination from the metropolis of this wealthy country, to some remote



and desolated parish of that unfortunate land to which he had directed their attention—there to mark the situation to which the measures applied to that country had brought it. They would find that gentlemen who were anxious to reside there, were driven away, by the distraction of the times, to seek an asylum in another country; while others were deprived, their ordinary means being removed, of those sources of legitimate influence, the exercise of which would be the most valuable to those around them. He wished their lordships to see, in that parish, the population bereaved of their natural protectors, deriving a precarious subsistence, and paying rent, not by the exertion of human industry, but by a persevering and systematic violation of the laws of the country. He would shew them that remote population, cut off from the fair administration of justice, and deprived of that right which belonged to the meanest individual—the right, when accused, of going before a jury of the country. He would shew them, that population deprived, or (what amounted to the same thing) believing they were deprived, of the protecting and fostering superintendence of an honest, upright, and impartial magistracy. He would call on them to look on that miserable population, suffering under the oppression of the tithe system; and then he would ask their lordships whether, in a state of society so degraded, so abandoned by the protection of the law, so remote from all those guards that preserved and improved society in this country—whether, when they saw a population advancing, as he knew it had done, in point of numbers, but advancing also in hostility to the laws of the country, advancing in hostility to moral feeling, and a disregard of all the moral obligations of life—becoming the decided enemies of this country, and almost realizing the words of Bacon, “that Ireland civilized would be more dreadful than Ireland savage”—he would ask them whether they could, in such a state of things, oppose the proposition he meant to make for the removal of those manifest evils? He hoped the expectation so justly raised



last year by the royal visit to that country would be realized; and that all those auspicious anticipations, in which the people had indulged, would not be lost for ever. He trusted that the bright splendour of that happy day, when his Majesty's foot first touched the soil of Ireland, might not pass away in a succeeding period of gloom, but that, by the exertions of their lordships, it might become a glorious epoch in the history of that country. All minor interests, would, he hoped, be sacrificed to the public good, and such wise and persevering efforts made, as would effectually remedy the evils of that part of the empire. His lordship concluded by moving—"That it is the opinion of this house, that the affairs of Ireland should be immediately taken into consideration by parliament, with a view to improve the condition of the people, and more especially to ensure its tranquillity."

The Earl of Liverpool said, he felt the full force of all that had fallen from the noble marquis. The interest he felt in that subject was augmented by the fair, candid, and temperate manner in which it had been introduced by the noble marquis. He then went over the various topics *seriatim*; commenting upon them, and expatiating upon the difficulties which ministers had to encounter, in applying remedies to the evils complained of—spoke of a bill which Mr. Goulburn had introduced into the commons with a view to the improvement of the present system of tithes, and hinting at other measures then in contemplation—and "without intending the slightest disrespect to the noble Marquis of Lansdown, he should meet his resolution by moving the previous question," which on a division was carried by a majority of forty-eight.

We must not, however, conclude that, because ministers refused to grant the noble marquis's motion, and to take up the subject immediately, no point was gained by his lordship's very able exposé of the wretched state of unhappy and degraded Ireland—on the contrary, it is by such masterly statements of facts, that the public mind is enlightened,



attention fixed on the object, and the way paved for redressing the alleged grievances. Much has been done since Lord Lansdown delivered his sentiments on the subject, that possibly might not have been done, had he not stimulated inquiry, and provoked discussion ; besides which, we have in his lordship's speech a precognition of what is intended for Ireland under the administration of which the noble marquis forms a part.

During the session of parliament in 1824, Lord Lansdown took an active part in the debates ; and indeed he appears from this time to have exerted himself increasingly in the affairs of the nation. Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Robinson began to adopt a more liberal line of conduct in relation to our foreign politics, and more in unison with the views of Lord Lansdown and his friends than heretofore. Accordingly, when on the delivery of the king's speech, February 3d, the usual address was moved and seconded in the upper house—the former by Earl Somers, and the latter by Lord Lorton—the Marquis of Lansdown immediately rose to express his entire concurrence in the congratulations contained in the address from the throne on the prosperous state of the country. It was, he observed, a source of great satisfaction to him, to find, that an improvement had taken place in our trade and commerce ; but it was still a greater one to perceive that this improvement had been the result of the very excellent regulations which had been recently adopted with respect to both. He looked with the greater pleasure upon these results, which had been dictated by the voice of reason, because he was one of those who never desponded of the power of the country to rescue herself from her difficulties, if her resources were properly directed, and her commerce relieved from many of the absurd restraints under which it had long laboured. He now, therefore, saw, with unmixed satisfaction, the adoption of a more liberal commercial policy, producing its natural results—the improvement of our trade, and of course the increase of our financial resources.



In this view of our situation, he agreed with the noble mover in the twofold cause of congratulation : the first, that the increase in our resources proceeded from a remission of taxation ; and the second, that it arose from a material improvement in our trade. On both these points he had frequently had occasion to deliver his opinion before their lordships, and he now rejoiced that the frequent discussion of such topics had produced that renovation in circumstances which must always be proportionate to the increased freedom of trade. Long had the shackles under which a great portion of our trade laboured, been opposed in that house ; and now that many of them had been removed, and that the others were likely to follow, it was but justice to those who contended for their inutility to the state, that many of those who had been foremost in supporting their continuance, acknowledged their error, and were not less conspicuous for their zeal in endeavouring to procure a removal of the whole.

His lordship proceeded to remark, that some of those ill-founded regulations had long existed in many branches of trade between this country and Ireland, and, being upheld by the prejudices of those who did not sufficiently understand their own interest, were countenanced by his majesty's ministers. They had long been adopted by the noble lord (Bexley) opposite, while chancellor of the exchequer : but when, last year, they had been partially removed by his successor in office, petitions came from many of those whose previous prejudices had contributed to maintain them, praying for their removal altogether. So sensible were the parties made, of the disadvantages attending the former system, so much did they become alive to the benefits resulting from the operation of the new regulations, that they were now ready with petitions to the legislature, praying for the total abolition of those which remained. Upon this important subject, he agreed with the noble mover of the address, that there was ample ground for congratulation ; and he trusted that at an early period of the session,



they might again become the subject of their lordships' deliberations. As to the other point which had been touched upon—the remission of oppressive taxation—there could be but one opinion. As far as the experiment has hitherto been tried, the result was in all cases the same—an increased consumption. Every attempt of the kind went further to remove the error into which some statesmen had fallen—that taxation afforded a support to government by the increase of consumption caused by it in different branches of our commerce. In the allusions which had been made to these gratifying topics, he fully concurred, because he thought the matters connected with them not uninteresting in themselves, and because a strict attention to the principles from which they arose would be productive of the most important benefits to the country. He agreed that there was a material improvement in the condition of the agriculturists, and he thought it a fair subject of congratulation, as it shewed an increased consumption and demand.

Having thus touched upon the subject of our home policy, where he found some gratifying topics, Lord Lansdown now directed his attention to our situation as connected with foreign powers, and particularly with the powers on the continent of Europe. He expressed both surprise and regret at the silence of the King's speech, in reference to the occupation of Spain by a French army—he regretted to find ministers treating so lightly a practice so subversive of the peace of nations, as that of one state interfering, by an armed force, to alter the constitution of another. When he saw, last summer, a nation sending forth a numerous army, to destroy by force a constitution established in a country with which it was till then at peace; when he found that such interference had ended in establishing a complete despotism over the whole country; when he found ministers deprecating the origin of the war—he confessed that he did not expect they would have passed over the result in such courtly silence as they had observed on the present occasion. He did expect, that they would at least have stated, whether



the military occupation of Spain by a French army, gave satisfaction or not. It would not, he thought, have been unbecoming in the advisers of the crown, to have put words into the mouth of their sovereign, expressive of regret at the violent subversion of the hitherto sacred principle, the right of nations to govern themselves by a constitution of their own choice; of regret that the country of an ally should have been plunged into such horror as now reigned throughout Spain. The noble lord who moved the address had expressed himself unfavourable to ultraism of any kind: but he would ask, whether Spain, at the present moment, was not the seat of the greatest ultraism? Was she not in the hands of a great military nation, whose power it was not our interest to see thus increased? Were these matters of such trivial import as not to be deemed worthy of notice in the speech from the throne? He would repeat to their lordships, that, in the present state of Europe, when the opposition to the great principle before mentioned was brought to its climax, it did not become his majesty's ministers to be silent. Let them not think, that when the law of Europe, and of nations, had once been departed from—when that fundamental principle upon which national freedom rested, had been violated with impunity, matters would remain there; for it was the character of such aggressions to produce repeated violations, if one were allowed to be successful. Let not ministers imagine that the balance of power, as they called it, being once broken, the state of things would be such, as not to call for their most vigilant attention. He would advise their lordships to look back for a short period, and review the state of Europe, observe what changes had taken place within a few years, what had happened since the termination of the war which had ended by the overthrow of the power of Napoleon Bonaparte? Immediately after that event, there came forth a declaration from several of the great powers, that the peace and independence of nations were in future to be placed on a more solid footing, by which the natural rights of each would be preserved.



But how had that declaration been observed? Why, since then, he would ask, had not almost the whole of Europe come under the dominion of three or four great powers?—powers acting under the specious pretext of justice and moderation, but, in reality, exercising a complete tyranny over states which they still affected to call free and independent? It was absurd to use the terms, when it was known that those states had not the power to refuse the absolute dictation of those despots, or the means to protect themselves from the consequences of such refusal. Where was the small state to be found on the continent of Europe, which had not, since the period he had mentioned, come under the dominion of some one or other of those great despotic powers, by whom they might be called upon to alter, change, or modify their forms of government according to their capricious dictation? The system had now been carried to such a height, that the most unqualified interference was enforced without even an explanation being given beyond this—that such was the will and pleasure of the despot interfering. It was seen that neither the monarchical character of the government of Wirtemberg, nor the monarchical character of that of Bavaria, nor the independent form of the ancient republic of Switzerland, could preserve them from an interference in their internal government, which, if offered to this country, would be resented as a wanton insult! But why an insult to us, his lordship asked, more than to other countries? What difference was there between the application of this principle of interference to one or the other? The only difference was this, that we possessed the power of resistance to such interference, while they unhappily did not. Were we, then, to admit the despotic principle sought to be established by such interference? Were we to be told that there was to be no law between the states of Europe but that of force—that one nation might be destroyed, or its independence outraged, at the will of another; and that there was to be no rule by which the weaker state was to be



supported against the aggressions of the powerful? Let it not be imagined that such despotic principles should not affect us, unless they were applied to ourselves. We were deeply interested in preserving the peace of Europe; but it was utterly impossible that that peace, or the independence of nations, should be rested on solid grounds, while such principles were allowed to be acted upon with impunity. When he saw, that upon the changes which had taken place in the political state of Europe, in consequence of the assertion of this monstrous principle, ministers were silent, he could not but express his regret at their apathy, and his fears for the consequences.

The noble marquis, in the conclusion of his speech, adverted to the affairs of South America, and expressed his regret that, teeming as they did with importance to the commercial interests of this country, they should be so slightly touched upon in his Majesty's speech. The civil, political, and commercial improvements which were becoming daily manifest in that part of the world, were, he knew, an object of fear and jealousy to some of the despots of Europe; as if no improvement were to be allowed to creep forth, or not to be considered as such, unless at the will of one of the corporation of kings, who arrogated to themselves the power of dictating what they thought proper for the rest of mankind. It was, however, a satisfaction to find, that there was a part of the globe where very different feelings and principles prevailed, and were likely to prevail still more extensively—where the principles of free government and free trade were beginning to be understood and practised. He was glad to find that his Majesty's ministers had made a recommendation which would tend to improve those principles. If we had been tardy on this occasion, it was a proud satisfaction to think that America had already taken that decisive step, well becoming its power, its greatness, and its freedom. As that important decision was of the utmost consequence to every portion of the world where freedom was valued, he



could not grudge to the United States the glory of having thus early thrown her shield over those attempts at freedom, which were important, not merely to America herself, but to the whole world. This great question should be viewed by us, not merely with reference to its advantages to North America, but to the British empire; and particularly as there might exist a disposition to exclude as much as possible our manufactures from the European markets. He wished their lordships to look to what had happened in the United States. There, a population of three millions had, in the course of forty years, been increased to ten millions [1824.] In the United Provinces of Spanish America, there was at present a population of sixteen millions, exclusive of four millions in the Brazils; and, assuming the same ratio of improvement, in the course of forty years to come, we might have an intercourse with a population of fifty or sixty millions—and that too, a population of a consuming character, for, from recent calculations, it was estimated that each person consumed to the value of £2. 10s. of British manufactures annually. As it was now ascertained that the South American provinces were in that state which precluded all hope of the mother country regaining any power or influence over them, he trusted that ministers would neglect no occasion of improving every circumstance calculated to afford so great an extension to our commerce; and thus, by serving the interest of their own country, they would let in that of those, upon whose freedom and prosperity so much depended. His lordship merely glanced at the state of our West India colonies, and Ireland, as demanding the wisdom of the legislature at that critical conjuncture, but declined going into them at that time.

On the 15th of March following, the noble marquis, pursuant to a notice which he had given, resumed the question of the South American states, with the view of urging ministers to acknowledge their independence. On this occasion, his lordship went into an extended statistical



view of the whole country, and pointed out the advantages which might be expected to result from an unrestricted intercourse with the inhabitants of those immense regions ; and though his lordship took nothing by his motion for an address to his Majesty, begging him to take such steps as may seem meet for acknowledging their independence, &c., yet, it cannot be reasonably doubted that the discussion which was produced by it, tended materially to hasten the consummation.

From what has been produced of Lord Lansdown's parliamentary orations, a tolerable estimate may be formed of his talents and character as a statesman—the enlarged and comprehensive grasp which his lordship took of the interests of the country in a commercial point of view—and of his liberal system of policy, both foreign and domestic. When Mr. Canning, in his famous speech respecting the protection of Portugal, took credit to himself for having called a new world into existence by his recognition of the South American states, he did little more than carry into effect the measures which had been suggested and recommended by Lords Grey, Lansdown, and others, for some years previously. And when, on the demise of Lord Liverpool, that statesman was honoured by his sovereign with the premiership, he found himself ably supported by those who now form the Whig ministry, particularly Lords Holland and Lansdown among the peers, and Messrs. Brougham, Tierney, Lord Althorp, and their associates, in the Commons.

On the death of Mr. Canning, his place as first lord of the treasury was filled by Lord Goderich, and the Marquis of Lansdown consented to act as foreign secretary. At this critical conjuncture, when the vessel of the state might be said to resemble a ship at sea, exposed to a raging tempest, but without a pilot at the helm to guide her movements—when the premiership changed hands not fewer than four times in the short space of two years—the Marquis of Lansdown stood prominently forward in the minds of



most men, as eminently qualified for that high and important station. His elevated rank, his long experience in parliament, his hereditary connexion with the politics of the country, his personal character, his undisputed talent and integrity—all these estimable qualities combined to point him out as one that was well entitled to the first place in the cabinet of his sovereign. Add to which, that the most able members of both denominations, whether liberal Whigs or liberal Tories, would have been well satisfied with the noble marquis as their leader; and there certainly was some disappointment experienced, when, on the death of Mr. Canning, the formation of a new administration was committed to the hands of Lord Goderich. Why such an arrangement did not then take place, has never been fully explained; and it is not at all improbable that Lord Lansdown himself, who delights in the *otium cum dignitate*, might shrink from the arduous and responsible situation, especially under existing circumstances. One thing is certain, that, a few hours after Mr. Canning had breathed his last, the Marquis of Lansdown hastened to Windsor to communicate the sorrowful tidings to his Majesty; and the result was, that Viscount Goderich received the King's commands to wait upon him, which he instantly obeyed, and on the following day the new ministry was formed, of which his lordship was the head.

Lord Goderich's administration was of short duration: but this is not the place for discussing the cause—it has been already adverted to in the life of that noble viscount. He was supplanted by the Duke of Wellington and his Tory allies, who, on taking office, put it into the mouth of their sovereign to designate the battle of Navarino an “untoward event.” As that event had taken place during the period that the Marquis of Lansdown acted as foreign secretary, his lordship necessarily became implicated in the policy or impolicy of the transaction, and found himself called upon to defend it. On Monday, February 11th, 1828, the Earl of Carnarvon moved the House of Peers for



the production of documents relative to this affair ; but that being resisted by Earl Dudley, who had then succeeded to the office of foreign secretary, the Marquis of Lansdown rose in his place, and said :—

“ With respect to the motion of my noble friend, I do fairly confess, that not only those papers for which he has moved, but other papers, going further back into the transaction, may, in my opinion, be produced without danger or inconvenience, and, indeed, will be found actually necessary to the fair and full understanding of the matter. The contents of those papers which have been moved for, will, to the conviction of all mankind, fully justify the admiral's conduct, by the circumstances under which he led the British fleet into the port of Navarino. We all know (and I may appeal to the noble duke himself) that interferences in the affairs of other nations are exceptions to those general rules which ought to regulate the conduct of all governments. But there are occasions on which mediations—even armed mediations—are absolutely necessary for the security and peace of the world. If, then, there did exist a legitimate case for armed interference, I say that we had a right, nay, that we were bound, to adopt such an interference, when it was directed to such beneficial purposes.

“ My lords, I am as much bound to set myself right with the public, as was a right honourable statesman, who, in another place, has made statements which I believe are correctly attributed to him. In the speech delivered to his constituents, a few days since, my right honourable friend (Mr. Huskisson,) has stated the substance of a conversation between himself and me, on the 11th of January last, connected with the dissolution of the late cabinet. He commenced that conversation, by stating the circumstances which had led him to determine on seceding from the then cabinet ; and that he knew, on authority, that a proposition would be made to me. I stated, that I would only join a ministry on the express ground that steps should be adopted for tranquillizing Ireland. For myself, I am little disposed



to enter into any course of opposition to the present government, as I am so positively assured that they will pursue measures which I am certain have for their end the good of the country. With respect to what is called the Catholic question, I hope that it will be treated as a neutral question, but I, nevertheless, wait with peculiar anxiety for the result. I can assure the noble duke, that he will find, in the present condition of the country, as much room for the exercise of his services as he can possibly expect; but before I sit down, I beg leave also to assure him, that he may conciliate, but that he can never reconquer Ireland."

One of the first important measures of the Wellington cabinet, was the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts—a measure forced upon them by a vote of the House of Commons, and to which they found themselves compelled to submit, or resign their places; and, as wise men, of two evils they chose the least. But having yielded that point, the repeal of the Catholic disabilities followed almost as a matter of course; even as the latter paved the way for bringing on the question of parliamentary reform. On all these important measures, the Marquis of Lansdown gave efficient aid; and a condensed report of his speeches on each of these great national points of legislation, must be now introduced. The debate on the Corporation and Test acts came before the lords in April 1828; on which occasion, the noble marquis thus delivered his sentiments.

"In approaching this subject, I feel relieved, my lords, in reflecting that I am not, in the present stage of the proceeding, called upon to argue whether it is fitting to retain upon the statute-book acts which you annually recognize, but which you recognize only to avert the mischief, which, if not corrected, they would of necessity produce—acts which you have never noticed for a hundred years, except to arrest and nullify, not to further and promote, the operation of their enactments. I feel relieved, I say, in reflecting that I am not called upon to contend that the holiest rite of our religion is not the most fitting key that can be selected to



open the door to civil employment. I am happy to find that it appears to be the general opinion of your lordships to do away with securities so unnecessary, and so useless, as those provided in the acts which this bill intends to repeal; and I will, therefore, take this opportunity of stating, that so far from its being a sudden thought to bring on a discussion on these acts, to answer the purposes of a certain party in church and state, it has for years past been an object for which the dissenters have been preparing, and for which their preparations have produced a just and beneficial effect. Considering the French revolution, and the apprehensions which it created, to have passed by, it has been a matter of serious deliberation with them for several years, to bring this question under the consideration of parliament, in full reliance on the character which they have so nobly earned for loyalty and for subordination; and also in full reliance on that which I do not hesitate to describe as the improved feeling of the times and of the country. I will add, as it comes within my own personal knowledge, that if the influence of those who are considered leaders in this and the other house of parliament, has been used at all upon this subject, it has been used to keep back, and not to force on, the discussion of it; and that it was not at last brought on until after the dissenters had united under their natural leaders, and had given two years' notice of their intention to revive their claims to the favourable consideration of parliament.

“ Having adverted, my lords, to the subject of the effect produced by the French revolution on the success of this question, I will proceed to observe, that the noble and learned lord (Eldon) is correct in stating that a considerable effect was produced on the last division on the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, by the apprehension which then existed in the public mind; and without inquiring whether that apprehension was just or not, I admit it to be true, that many of those who supported the repeal on principle, did, at that time, suspend their support of it, under



the apprehension that all alterations of existing institutions would at that period be attended with danger. But let us look, my lords, at what happened in the sister kingdom of Ireland, when the Test and Corporation acts were repealed, previously to the bursting out of the French revolution. Prior to their repeal, it was supposed that great mischiefs would ensue from it; and if they were likely to ensue in any place, it was in Ireland, which was particularly open to the fatal and mischievous influence of foreign politics; but in that country those acts were unconditionally repealed; and I would ask the noble and learned earl, or indeed any of your lordships, whether Ireland has not been that country in which not merely no mischief, but not even an atom of inconvenience, has arisen from it. In all the multiplied debates which we have had, both in and out of parliament, on the condition of Ireland, and on the evils which desolate it, has any one been found, either catholic or protestant, republican or monarchical, to allege that either that condition or those evils arose from the total or unqualified repeal of those statutes, of which the repeal is now said to be pregnant with so much danger to the church and state of England? I have been led out of my course by the discussion into which I have wandered on this subject, but I will now return from my digression to the question which is immediately before your lordships.

“In considering the security which is afforded by this clause—which I admit we are bound to give to the church, as a part of the state—I am bound to consider both what we are parting with, and what we are getting in its place. And here, my lords, I must protest against what I can never hear without pain and surprise—that these acts of exclusion are parts of the constitution itself? They may, or they may not be necessary—they may, or they may not be rejected—they vary according to times or circumstances, according to the feelings, the prejudices, and, I will even add, the principles of men. But there is one principle of the constitution which never varies; there is one principle in it which I may



call its fundamental and pervading principle, and that is, that every subject of the realm is admissible to every office within it. The noble and learned lord, and those with whom he has acted, have in the course of their public career been guilty of several innovations upon the constitution, because they deemed them expedient to its safety. They introduced the convention bill, they supported the suspension of the habeas corpus; and perhaps, they did both not without reason. Now, I will venture to say, that if, unfortunately, it had been necessary to continue those measures to the present time, the noble and learned lord would be the last man in the country to say, that because they were necessary to secure the constitution, they therefore formed part of the constitution. I must also inform your lordships, that I cannot go the length of a reverend prelate, that in adopting this bill we are admitting a new principle in the constitution. The principle of the constitution, as I before stated, is, that every subject is admissible to office. That principle may, I allow, be legally and legitimately suspended; but when we remove the suspension, we resort to the ancient, the fundamental, and the immutable principle of the constitution—that all who tender allegiance to the state are admissible to every office of trust and authority in the state. The noble earl likewise tells you, that you are compelled to substitute for this test of the sacrament, an oath, or something that shall be equivalent to it, because you have a right to demand that from the subject, which, by a solemn compact, you demand from the king. Now, I tell you, that it is exactly because you impose upon the king an oath to maintain the church, its rights and privileges, that you are left at liberty to dispense with it, as far as regards others. The king is the head of the church, and must therefore be in strict communion with it. In that very circumstance, my lords, you find a security for the church only inferior to that which you derive from the security of its doctrines, and from the opinion in which it is held; a security far superior to any which it may derive



from oaths, or declarations, or tests, or any thing which any legislature can devise for its defence. Oaths, when they are most efficacious, are but frail and artificial props to ecclesiastical establishments. The respect and reverence of the great mass of the people form the soil into which a church ought to strike its roots deeply, if it intends to flourish with life, and vigour, and animation."

The noble marquis then adverted to the declaration which it was proposed to substitute in place of the sacramental test, and added, that it appeared to him as strong as any rational churchman could desire; "and when I hear that some noble lords are anxious to have the words "in the name of Jesus Christ" added to it, I think that they must have forgotten that, by other acts of parliament, many oaths must be taken on the faith of a Christian, by any person who aspires to high and efficient office. In my opinion, those words weaken the declaration by converting it into the form of a creed; and I therefore consider them as unnecessary, especially as the object of them is to defend the religion of the state against the civil acrimony of certain individuals. You should not, my lords, give to this bill a religious character, but should leave it of a civil character, if you wish it to prove of a beneficial tendency. I therefore conceive the simplicity of this declaration to be much in its favour; and for my own part, I cannot conceive of what stuff his conscience can be made, who can make a distinction between taking an oath to support the church, and a solemn declaration in the face of God not to assail it. If there be any such men in existence, against them acts of parliament are of no force. They can only be put down by the indignation which would burst upon them whenever their acts exposed the laxity of their principles. It is in vain to expect to catch such miscreants within the nets of ordinary legislation; they will break through them without difficulty, and will only laugh at our efforts to embarrass and annoy them."

The very efficient aid which Lord Lansdown rendered to



the dissenters in procuring the repeal of those penal statutes was duly acknowledged by that body, who repeatedly voted him thanks, through their committees. His lordship's conduct in reference to the subject of Catholic emancipation next demands our notice.

When the question of Catholic emancipation was brought forwards by the Earl of Donoughmore, in the year 1821, on the second reading of the bill, April 17th, the Marquis of Lansdown rose, in reply to the Earl of Liverpool and the Lord-chancellor Eldon, and spoke to the following effect :

His lordship desired it might be distinctly understood, that how gratifying soever it might be to his feelings to give his vote for the admission of any description of his Majesty's subjects to those constitutional privileges and blessings which they had a right to enjoy, the ground on which he rested his support of the present bill was not the advantage of the Roman Catholics, or of any description of men whatever ; but the advantage of the state and the church, the strength and stability of which must depend on the unanimity of all the subjects of the realm. He was glad to hear it conceded by the noble earl who spoke last, that the period was gone by when attempts were to be made to exterminate the religion professed by a great portion of the subjects of this kingdom, and that their lordships were now arrived at that state of feeling, in which it only remained for them to consider whether they ought to admit the professors of that faith to the privileges enjoyed by other subjects. The noble earl stated that this measure of favour, even if extended, as proposed, to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, might prove a boon which after all would not be acceptable. He (Lord Lansdown) was not prepared to say positively, what might be the result of some of the provisions of this bill : but this he would confidently state, that the main part of it would be received with gratitude by the great body of the Catholics. The noble earl next stated, that the effects of the measure would



not be so great nor so beneficial as was expected. He knew not by what advocates the noble earl had heard it stated that Catholic emancipation in Ireland would have the immediate effect of quieting and dissipating all the discontent and dissatisfaction which a long continued system of misgovernment had created in that country. But he was still more at a loss to conceive where the noble earl had found that the privileges granted by this bill would not give satisfaction to the great body of the population, because the immediate benefits of it would be experienced by only a small number of individuals. Did the noble earl mean to say—and did the sentiment come with a good grace from him—that the privileges of the superior orders were not held for the public good? Were the privileges of their lordships held for their own sakes solely? Could it be reasonably supposed that the eligibility of the superior orders to offices of honour and distinction would not be gratifying to persons of inferior station? Such a supposition was contrary to human nature, and particularly contrary to the feelings of the Irish nation; and he was therefore well assured that the present measure could not fail to be productive, in time, of the most beneficial effects on the minds of the population of Ireland.

They had been told by the learned lord on the woolsack, and after him by the noble earl, that the fundamental laws of the constitution would be affected by this bill; but let their lordships look at the bill of rights and the act of settlement, and they would see that neither of these was in the slightest manner affected by the present measure. None of the laws affected by this bill were fundamental; on that assertion he was willing to stake any credit that he might have with their lordships. The laws which it was proposed to alter, were not a part of the constitution as established at the Revolution. They were laws enacted to protect the Protestant establishment from particular dangers, such as the plot of Titus Oates. And here he might observe, that he had heard with astonish-



ment this night, for the first time in his life, and that too from the speaker of their lordships' house, that their lordships were daily in the habit of praying for deliverance from the plot of Titus Oates. Were it not for the high authority from which this information had proceeded, he should have been led to believe that the plot from which their lordships prayed for deliverance was the gunpowder plot. King William, in an admirable paper prepared by Lord Somers, who took so active a part in the Revolution, had stated expressly, that the religion of the Roman Catholics might be safely tolerated, though there was no popish king on the throne; and that, if their future conduct shewed they were deserving of the concession, they might be hereafter admitted to the same privileges as Protestant subjects: and yet the learned lord said these laws were fundamental, though it appeared that those who made them stated the reverse.

The noble marquis then referred to the journals of the House of Peers, and shewed that riders had been proposed to the 31st of Charles the Second, and also to the act of William and Mary, to prevent the lords-justices from giving the royal assent to any bill for the repeal of those acts; which riders had been negatived. A similar attempt was made at the union of Scotland, by proposing that the act for the security of the church might never be repealed; and it was also negatived. This shewed, in the most satisfactory manner, that these laws had not been considered fundamental, as was contended by the learned lord. He had heard with regret from a right reverend prelate, that the Roman Catholics enjoyed already complete toleration. That right reverend prelate might have been expected, on the subject of toleration, to have referred to the authority of Dr. Paley. Had he done so, he would have found it stated by Dr. Paley, that the toleration of dissenters was only partial; that admission to offices was necessary, to make it complete; and that, while that privilege was denied, there could not be said to be complete toleration. The



noble earl had stated his apprehensions that great danger would arise to property in Ireland, if the disabilities were removed from the Catholics, since a great part of the property in that country was held under forfeited titles. It should be recollected, however, that a very great proportion of the property possessed by the Catholics in Ireland was under these forfeited titles; and therefore it was chimerical to expect that they should labour to set aside their own titles. He challenged the learned lord, or the noble earl, to adduce a single instance in which the Catholics had not shewn themselves the promoters of the good fortunes of the country, and participators in its bad fortunes. To the tried fidelity of the Catholics, the learned lord owed his seat at present on the woolsack, and the learned prelates their mitred dignity. But for the Catholic population of the kingdom, whose faith their lordships had laboured to exterminate, they would never have come with safety out of that struggle through which they had passed, and in the course of which, during a period of twenty years, there had been no instance of Catholic treason, Catholic cowardice, or Catholic infidelity.

It had been said by an eminent divine, that the Catholics had a leaning to arbitrary power, and the Presbyterians to republicanism. Both assertions were perhaps equally unfounded; and for a contradiction of one of them, he might appeal to the conduct of the peers of Scotland, who had sat in that house since the union, of whom it could be said that the breath of calumny durst not accuse them of advocating republican principles. The other charge was sufficiently refuted by the constitution recently adopted in various Catholic countries. The truth was, that when the services of the Catholics were required, no suspicions were entertained of their loyalty, no danger was apprehended from their religion. When the mutiny took place at the Nore, Catholic priests had been gladly sent down, to bring the seamen back to their duty. When the government had an object to gain, they were glad to rely on the fidelity of the



Catholics, and to avail themselves of their services; but when that object was attained, they were treated as enemies, and told that their oaths were distrusted. Of all the provisions of this bill, he attached the greatest importance to what some noble lords viewed with the greatest suspicion—the admission of Catholics to seats in parliament. Those took a narrow view of the functions of parliament, who measured them by the votes it passed, and the ordinances it enacted. He conceived that from the manner in which opinions were brought into conflict, and examined in a legislative assembly, unanimity of sentiment was promoted, erroneous impressions corrected, and much public good resulted. Seeing that this was the effect produced on others, were they to suppose that Catholics were so constituted by nature as to be incapable of deriving the same advantage from the same cause, and of approximating in sentiment to those whose opinions they were in the habit of hearing? Here he should have concluded, if allusion had not been made to the persons who composed the establishment at Stoneyhurst, in Lancashire. The existence of the order of Jesuits was unquestionably contrary to the law of this country, and into the propriety of that law it was not for him to inquire. This he was able to state—that the Jesuits could not be established by the pope in any country, without the sanction of the government of that country; and the individuals of that order, who were at present in England, had received an intimation to this effect. The present bill, therefore, would not affect their situation in any respect. This measure would not give the Catholics power to disturb any sacred institution of the country: it was not the admission of one or two Catholics, whom a Protestant king might be pleased to call into the privy council, that could endanger the Protestant establishment. It was rather from a great population, discontented and irritated at being deprived of their constitutional rights, that danger was to be apprehended; and from that danger, he wished their lordships to guard



themselves and the country, by reading this bill a second time.

It was not until the Duke of Wellington was called to the high station of premier, that this long-agitated question was brought to a termination. But when it came before their lordships, February 5th, 1829, it was ably supported by all the Whig lords; and on that occasion the Marquis of Lansdown spoke at considerable length. After adverting to the proceedings of our government in reference to Portugal and the Greeks, his lordship came to notice the intimation contained in his Majesty's speech relative to the Catholic question, and proceeded to say, that he rose with a feeling which must prevail with every man who was a well-wisher to his country, and especially with him, and with those who, like him, had for years thought that an amicable and satisfactory settlement of the question respecting Ireland was indispensable to the welfare of the empire—a feeling of heartfelt satisfaction at the prospect now held out of having that question brought to a happy issue. No man was less disposed than he to pry with a curious eye into the time chosen for the recommendation of this important measure, or the motives in which it originated, or the circumstances under which it was advised: it was sufficient for him to know that there was a *bonâ fide* intention on the part of government to settle that question; and when that was so, and after what he had heard, it would be greatly ungenerous in him to pry into the motives. He was willing to assume that they were the best. He rejoiced to find that the time was at last arrived, after the lapse of so many years, when that which parliament had so constantly, so pertinaciously, and so lately refused, was about to be conceded. He was certain that there could be only one opinion amongst all, that the question could terminate but in one way, when the minds of men should be brought to consider it in its true colours, and weigh well the influence which its delay had upon the welfare of the country. He had no doubt that the manner



in which the subject had now been introduced to the notice of parliament, would facilitate its decision ; for he had ever been of opinion, that, to ensure its success, it must be introduced by ministers.

On this subject, his lordship said, he could not entirely concur in what had fallen from the noble lord (Bathurst) opposite, that an act of grace and favour always came best from the crown ; for in the case of the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, there had been no such recommendation in the first instance ; and he thought the majority of forty in the House of Commons had as much influence on the success of the measure, as if it had been purely an act of grace and favour. However, he freely admitted that this ought to be considered as an act of the grace and favour of the crown ; and its being so, would, no doubt, much contribute to its final success. It had been contended, that if the Roman Catholics were admitted into the legislature, the king would have no security for his crown. Now, it was because that by the constitution of the country the king must be a Protestant, that he (Lord Lansdown) considered that the concession of emancipation would not be attended with any danger to the church or state ; and he owned that if the king was not necessarily to be a Protestant, there might, perhaps, be some danger ; but a Protestant king having by the constitution, as one branch of the legislature, a certain control over the other two, would be found a sufficient guarantee that no measure should receive legislative sanction, which had a tendency to injure the church and state. It had also been said, that, as a preliminary measure, it would be necessary to put down the Catholic Association. This was not the first time that point had been urged, and he fully concurred in what had been said by his noble friend, (the Marquis of Anglesey) as to the most effectual manner of putting that body down. On some points to which the noble marquis had alluded, he would not touch, as he would not refer to matters with which he was not acquainted ; but of one



thing he could have no doubt, that the more the conduct of his noble friend in the administration of Ireland became known, the more it would be found to redound to his honour. Without saying any thing of the policy of the intended bill for the suppression of the Association, he concurred with his noble friend in thinking that the noble duke would owe much more in that way to the effect of his second measure, than to his first.

He would ask their lordships whether they thought that it was want of sincerity in Lord Liverpool, or was it want of capacity—was it want of legal ingenuity in the noble and learned lord who lately occupied the woolsack, or in the present learned lord who sat there, and who was, at the time alluded to, the king's attorney-general—was it want of zeal in the noble marquis (Wellesley) who at that time was at the head of the Irish government—was it to all or to any of these causes that they were to attribute the failure in the attempt to put down the Catholic Association? He would answer, "No." The cause of the inefficacy of the attempt was to be found in the fact, that it did not go to the root of the evil. It left untouched the circumstances out of which that assembly had sprung. What other way, then, would they proceed, to prevent the people of Ireland from explaining their grievances? Whether the one intended by the noble duke should be by a suspension of the liberty of the subject, or whether it should be by sending all the members of that body to the Tower, or the Castle of Dublin—as long as the grievances remained untouched, these remedies would be ineffectual. As well might they attempt to remove the danger of a volcano by sweeping into it the cinders which it sometimes cast up: the inflammatory mass would still remain, and the attempt to check its vent would probably only cause it to explode in a quarter where it would be least expected and most injurious. Let him, however, not be misunderstood, as defending the existence of such a body. He fully admitted the danger to any state of having an irresponsible body



exercising such powers as those possessed by the Catholic Association—acting so immediately on popular opinion, and agitated by every gust of popular feeling. But would it not be better to give that expression of feeling a proper direction, by bringing it there, where the collision of public discussion, though it was sometimes productive of effects unpleasant for the moment, was always found the safest manner in which the public feeling could explode?

He entirely concurred with the noble lord who had so ably seconded the address, and given expression to sentiments which did him honour—that what their lordships were then doing would be the most effectual, and the only effectual, means of putting down the Association. Let their lordships consider that that body had sprung from their repeated refusals to do the people of Ireland justice. Let them bear in mind, that when they refused to listen to the earnest prayer of the Catholics in 1812, there was then no Association; let them recollect that when they refused to listen to the same prayer in 1819, there was no Association; and that it was only after repeated refusals, and a belief that those refusals would be continued, that this violent—and, if some of their lordships would so have it, unconstitutional, but, after what had passed, he could not say wholly useless—Association, was called into existence. If their lordships took these matters into consideration, they would admit that if the bill now intended had passed years ago, there would never have been an Association in existence. It had been called into operation solely by repeated denials of justice; those denials had brought on a state of things in Ireland, the effects of which even now could not be contemplated without serious apprehension; they had caused those portentous contests between religion and property in Ireland, which all must deplore as so dangerous to the peace and prosperity of the country.

The time at last was come, and he hailed its arrival with sincere satisfaction, when this system was to be abolished. The measure now recommended was one of such paramount



importance to the peace and security of Ireland, and to the best interests of the empire at large, that, let it be introduced by any party, be they who they may, it should receive his most cordial support. The announcement coming from the throne, and supported by the whole cabinet, made him look on the intended measure as on the eve of final accomplishment, for he felt confident that ministers would not advise it, unless it was their *bonâ fide* intention to give it their best support. It would be not merely folly, but madness, and worse than madness, to hold out hopes in such a manner to seven millions of people, which could not be realized. If, after this gracious recommendation from the throne, and this implied advice and support of the cabinet, any obstacles should be allowed to frustrate the hopes so excited, the consequences of the disappointment could scarcely be foreseen or thought of without the most alarming apprehensions. But he could not bring himself to believe that any serious obstacles could be allowed to stand in the way of this most salutary measure, and he had a confident hope that the end of the session would not arrive before the subject was finally and happily decided. Whenever it should come forward, he would be ready to give it, and the measures with which it might be accompanied, his most serious consideration.

On the subject of parliamentary reform, Lord Lansdown seems never to have explicitly declared his sentiments till the subject came before the House of Peers, in 1831, when he rose in reply, chiefly to the Earl of Dudley and his Grace the Duke of Wellington; and as his speech was among the best that were delivered on that memorable occasion, there appears a propriety in placing upon record in this place an abridged account of it. The address was cheered throughout as a successful vindication of ministers and their measures. The Earl of Dudley had complained that as soon as the Whig government got into power, they began by evincing a disposition to change every thing.



Now, said Lord Lansdown, it did so happen that many of the measures introduced had passed through that house, and his noble friend had not given to any of them the benefit of his great talents. He had not felt it necessary to oppose them, though they formed part of that system to which his noble friend had now stated his objection. His noble friend had stated, that all the financial measures of the present government had failed, and been withdrawn. Was his noble friend in the house when the bill for doing away with the coal duties—was he in the house when the wine duties—were discussed? Was he present when the bill relating to the cotton trade had passed? Did he know that the alterations which he described as failures had been sanctioned by parliament, and had already been productive of the greatest benefit to the cotton-trade in the north of Ireland? These measures had all passed that house, and yet his noble friend had not felt it necessary to offer any objection to any of them, until now he came forward with a charge that they—for they were included in those which he described as failures—had been introduced and abandoned. His noble friend had told them, that good measures were like good wine, the better for being long kept. The same could not always be said of good speeches, for these might be kept too long, as that of his noble friend had proved. While his noble friend was industriously employed in his closet, these things to which he now objected were passed with unanimity by their lordships. His noble friend, with that wit which no one admired more than he did, had spoken with a sneer at the philosophers of Birmingham who might be returned under this bill, but who were not so well qualified to attend to the interests of the public as the members for Gatton and Old Sarum; but if his memory did not misgive him, his noble friend had himself attempted to generate one of those philosophers, and had failed, for he had voted for the transfer of the franchise from East Retford to Birmingham, in order to give the people of that place the opportunity of electing one of those philosophers, who, there was



good reason for believing, would be found as capable of attending to their interests as men whom they did not know, and with whom they had no connexion whatever.

His noble friend had told them, that if this bill passed, public men would find great difficulty in getting into parliament, if they were opposed in any thing to popular feeling ; and he illustrated it by stating, that in the coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North, which he said was more unpopular than the anti-reformers at present, that difficulty was felt, and that Mr. Fox was nearly excluded ; but his noble friend, who was a very accurate historian in other matters, did not seem to have read history down to the coalition in 1782. Mr. Fox was elected in that year for the populous city of Westminster ; thus shewing, that the people were not disposed to forget the gratitude they owed to public men. He would not, as he had stated, then follow the arguments of his noble friend, but would rather refer to those arguments which had been used in the earlier part of the debate by the noble lords opposed to it. Of that part of the arguments of those noble lords which did apply to the principle of the bill, the far greater portion was in support of them against it. He had listened with great attention to the able speech of the noble earl (Harrowby)—certainly one of the ablest which he had ever heard him deliver in that house ; and he could assure him, that if the noble earl had not told them that he was exerting all his ingenuity to find some good ground to vote against the bill, he should have expected, from part of his arguments, that he intended to vote in favour of it. The noble earl had said, that if he were to collect all the speeches and pamphlets that had been delivered and written against reform, by those who now supported this bill, he could make one of the most eloquent speeches ever delivered on the subject. Now he (the noble marquis) would say, that if he were to select and contrast the omissions, concessions, and inconsistencies, of those noble lords who had opposed the bill on the opposite side since the commencement of this debate, they would furnish



no slight argument in favour of the principle of reform, and of much of the great principle of this bill. It certainly did happen, that there was not one of those noble lords, in contending that their lordships should not change because public opinion had changed, who had not shewn, though in different degrees, that they themselves had undergone no slight degree of change in their opinions on this subject. He felt, undoubtedly, that in discussing this question he laboured under the difficulty of agreeing himself in all the premises which had been laid down by the noble lords who had hitherto risen in opposition to the bill. He stated frankly and without disguise, that there was no opinion which he held more strongly, than that all change was an evil in itself, and, being an evil in itself, it was more especially so in a form of society so complicated and so far advanced in civilization, as ours. He felt with the noble lords opposite, that the condition of no society could be safe, in which property did not exercise, if not a commanding, at least a great influence upon the government. He admitted with them, that the existing relations between man and man, between the governors and the governed, which have descended to any country from remote antiquity, are more easily retained than the relations which rise up under new institutions, more perfect perhaps than the old ones, but not so interwoven with the habits of those who live under them. Admitting these principles, closing with these premises, there was still one inference drawn from them by the noble lords opposite, with which he could not close, and which he must deny,—namely, that it had been at all times the character of the institutions, and of the constitution of this country, to oppose a rigid and stubborn resistance to all propositions of improvement in our usages and laws. He had read with the greatest care and attention the history of our institutions. If he looked to the statute-book, he was obliged to ask himself what were the laws attendant on that first great change of public opinion so strikingly developed in this country by the Reformation,—what were the



laws which defined, and limited, and restricted the royal prerogative, under the princes of the house of Stuart,—what were the laws which altered the succession to the throne, after the Revolution, and secured the descent of the crown to the house of Hanover,—what were the laws which sanctioned and ratified the Union between England and Scotland,—and still more, what were the laws which sanctioned and ratified the Union between England and Ireland,—what were the laws, inferior to none in force and violence, but equal to all that he had already mentioned in policy, by which three-fifths of the voters of Ireland were recently disfranchised,—if he looked at the statute-book, he was obliged, he repeated, to ask himself what were all these laws, but so many cases in which the old institutions of the country were made to bend to a great, he would even say, an immense political expediency, and in which the changes introduced rested upon nothing else save that expediency, for their defence and justification. He said, that so far from that rigid and stubborn adherence to existing institutions, which never varied under a combination of circumstances very different from those which prevailed in former times, being a leading feature and a distinguishing characteristic in our constitution, the real feature of the constitution, its most genuine characteristic, had been, at all times and in all seasons, to absorb into itself all the political strength of the country, consisting—as that strength always did and always must consist—of wealth and of knowledge; of wealth diffused, and of knowledge diffused, among the different classes of the community.

He was glad to learn from the speech with which the noble duke had closed the debate of last night, that the noble duke fully concurred in the principles which he (the Marquis of Lansdown) had taken the liberty of laying down to their lordships on a former occasion. The noble duke and himself evidently agreed in their principles, though they differed somewhat in their application of them. The noble duke had represented him to have said, that



the strength of the country consisted of its wealth and its learning. He believed that he had not used the word "learning;" he believed that he had said "knowledge." If he had said "learning," he did not mean by it academical erudition, or that pedantic acquisition of petty information which sometimes was obtained by students in their closets. He had been speaking of that knowledge which in its diffusion was power, and of that wealth which, not in accumulated masses, but in separate masses, led men to judge of what was most expedient to their own interests. The real characteristic of the constitution was such as he had described; and if it had not possessed that characteristic of absorbing in itself the combined strength of the community, and of bending to the changes of opinion which took place in the country from time to time, he verily believed that their lordships would have found, in looking to the various laws to which he had just referred, that if they had not been passed, those institutions on which they now placed so much value, would, instead of descending magnificently down the stream of time, as they had descended to us, have been left long before this a mere wreck upon the shore.

Lord Lansdown now came to the consideration of those observations upon this bill which had been offered to their lordships last night by the noble duke (Wellington) who then terminated the debate. He had heard certainly with great astonishment the opinion which the noble duke had expressed regarding the declaration—and with all deference to the noble duke, he must style it the unfortunate declaration—which he had made against all reform, on the first or second night of the last session of parliament. He had heard the explanation which the noble duke gave of that declaration last night, when he said that he made it as a minister of the crown, not as a peer of parliament. The noble duke had told them, that as a minister of the king, whatever his opinions might be as an individual—and the noble duke had not informed the house what his



opinions were, neither had he (the Marquis of Lansdown) any right to complain of the noble duke for not giving it that information—the noble duke, he repeated, had told them, that, as a minister of the king, he felt himself debarred from proposing any project of parliamentary reform ; or, indeed, from any other course, save that of preserving the constitution of the country. He must say, that from the noble duke he should have expected a policy quite the reverse of this ; and until he heard the speech of the noble duke, he thought that, in the peculiar situation in which he was placed, he (the Marquis of Lansdown) should have had his (the Duke of Wellington's) high authority, to support him in the line of conduct which he was prepared to follow.

Here Lord Lansdown confessed that never, before this occasion, had he given his support to any proposition for a reform in parliament. He confessed fairly, and he trusted that their lordships would believe him when he stated, that no popular clamour, no intimidation, as it was styled, from without, would have induced him to come to this opinion, if he had not been conscientiously convinced of its correctness—he confessed fairly, that, though he had not been blind to the abuses which had appeared from time to time in our representative system, he had thought it a safer course to wait until he saw a recommendation coming from the ministers of the crown, to make some change in that system—a recommendation which would give facilities to the alterations proposed to be made, and would enable the country to know where those alterations were leading it. This was the ground upon which he had formerly abstained from supporting, and upon which he now came forward to support, the cause of parliamentary reform. He thought that he had the high authority of the noble duke to justify the course which he was then pursuing. For what was it that the noble duke said, when he came forward to propose his immortal measure for the emancipation of his Catholic fellow-subjects ? The noble duke had



said, that he felt himself debarred as a private individual from supporting that measure, because it was not brought forward as a measure which had the approbation of the king's government. He mentioned this, not from any invidious feeling to the noble duke, but because he thought that the language which the noble duke then used, was marked by his usual wisdom and discretion. He recollected that the noble duke had told them, that, on one occasion, when he was asked by the late Lord Castlereagh to support the question of emancipation, he had replied by asking that noble lord whether the measure which he was about to introduce into parliament had the sanction of the king's government; and that when he was told that it had not, he had refused to support it until it was introduced with that sanction. The tables, however, were to be turned, in the case of reform. In the case of Catholic emancipation, as soon as the royal sanction was obtained to the introduction of that measure into parliament, the only thing which ministers had to do, according to the statement of the noble duke, was to introduce it into parliament, and to pass it with all speed. In the case of reform, however, that course which the noble duke had recommended so strongly during the discussions on the Catholic question, was the only course which ministers ought not to follow!

The noble marquis hoped that their lordships would allow him to state, that this intimation on the part of the noble duke, of a possible change of opinion in favour of parliamentary reform, placed the noble duke in the list of those noble peers who had already avowed themselves the converts to a certain degree of reform; and that list—strange to say—included the name of every peer who had yet spoken against this bill, with the exception of a noble friend of his (the Earl of Mansfield;) for every one of those noble lords, with great caution—indeed, with considerable hesitation—with a disposition sometimes to go backward, and sometimes to go forwards, not defining very clearly what they meant, but blundering in the dark about a meaning—



had given the house, in the progress of their speeches, the satisfaction of seeing that they were labouring under the melancholy impression that there were grounds for moving, and that they could not stand where they now were. They were, therefore, with one solitary exception, all favourable to some plan of reform. Now, if this plan of reform, which existed in their eyes, whatever shape it might assume,—

“ If shape that might be called, that shape had none  
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;  
Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,  
For each seemed either—”

if this plan of reform which existed in the recesses of their minds, and in the secrets of their counsels, had indeed either shape or substance, the people of England had a right to complain that six months had elapsed since the present bill had been submitted to their notice, and that still no information was communicated to them of that nostrum which was to act as the antidote to the bane which ministers had recommended to their acceptance.

Lord Lansdown said he was glad that the noble marquis (Londonderry) cried out “hear” so lustily, for perhaps the noble marquis would come forward that evening as a parliamentary reformer, and tell them what his nostrum was. With all deference to the noble marquis, he would venture to tell him once more, that the people of England had a right to complain, that although the necessity for an efficient reform had been stated at an early period of the last session—although the dissolution of parliament had taken place for the express purpose of ascertaining the opinions of the people as to the existence of that necessity—although the present bill, after long and mature discussion, had passed through the House of Commons—and although it had now arrived at its second stage in the House of Peers—they were still left without the means of knowing what remedy he had in store for them, and what that safety was which existed in his plan, or in the plan of his noble associates, and yet could not be found in that of the ministry. All that we can



learn at present is, that the noble lords opposite have made some progress in their plan, and that there are certain things in it which, under certain circumstances and at certain times, might be for the benefit of the people of England, though they will not vouchsafe to tell us what those things are. "So that, when we have embarked on this voyage," continued the noble marquis, "not unconscious of the dangers and perils to which we are exposed, and still less unconscious of the formidable degree to which those dangers and those perils will increase by delay, it turns out, that all the noble lords opposite, save one, have been dropping down with us to St. Helen's, and are lying at single anchor to join with us in such voyage, if it shall appear expedient. I must say, that when it is imputed to us that my noble friend near me is acting the part of an impostor and an empiric, and is dealing out to the public noxious wares instead of wholesome commodities, it is rather hard that those who think themselves by prescription the only real state physicians—admitting, as they do, that they see the disorder, and are acquainted with the remedy—should keep their medical science to themselves, and that the public should still be obliged, in want of a regular remedy, to recur to the quackery of my noble friend, because nothing else is offered them. There have been a great many differences, and of no trifling nature, among all the noble lords who have yet spoken of a remedy. There has been a great desire amongst them all to find something to propose for your lordships' consideration, and every one of them, without exception, has stated some concession he was willing to grant. Nay, even his noble friend (Earl Mansfield,) who had spoken so vigorously against every species of reform, was at last so moved by the palpable necessity for it, as to give some small contribution to the new reform stock, to which the noble lords at the other side of the house were now subscribing. His noble friend would do something to diminish bribery at elections!—that is the only concession of my noble friend.



The Earl of Mansfield said, he offered no opinion at all on the subject of bribery.

The Marquis of Lansdown—I beg my noble friend's pardon. I am sorry that I committed him hastily into the opinion, that bribery is inexpedient. My noble friend then will do nothing; but that is not the case with the other noble lords near him. They have all a remedy for the abuses of our representative system, but their remedies differ widely from each other. My noble friend who commenced this debate, in a speech replete with good sense and ability, fairly stated to your lordships that he was ready to concede the whole principle of the Scotch reform bill. Scarcely had the debate made any progress, when the noble duke travelled out of his course, to discuss the representation of Scotland, and told us that the state of Scotland was a perfect state of society.

The Duke of Wellington declared that he had not said a word of the kind. What he had said was this, that no country was better governed than Scotland, or had advanced more in commerce, intelligence, and prosperity, than that country, within the last sixty or seventy years.

The Marquis of Lansdown replied—Exactly so; but when the noble duke said that Scotland was the best governed country in the world, he used it as an argument that the representation of Scotland was the best in the world, and that it was the cause of that good government, and of that prosperity which had followed in the train of that good government. All that I can state on this subject is, that in all the observations which the noble duke has made regarding the prosperity of Scotland and its rapid advances in wealth and intelligence, I fully concur. No one can witness that improving country without agreeing, that it presents a striking picture of civilization and refinement. There is its capital, which by the industry, and talents, and acute investigation of its inhabitants, has become the centre of northern civilization, and has justly acquired the title of Modern Athens. There is Glasgow, which has covered



the banks of the Clyde with its steam-engines, and the waves of the Atlantic with its ships.—(Lord Ellenborough here smiled, and taunted the noble marquis with being a member of that government which had endeavoured to impose a tax on steam-engines and on steam-ships.) The Marquis of Lansdown proceeded—The noble baron is offering us a supplement to the joke which his noble friend near him endeavoured to cut, though with most miserable success, on our measures of finance. I could say something on the measures of finance of the noble baron and his friends, but, in mercy to them, and to your lordships, who have already been fatigued sufficiently by the introduction of topics foreign to this debate, I abstain. I was observing, before I met with the interruption of the noble baron, that there was Glasgow, which covered the Clyde with its steam-engines, and the Atlantic with its ships, and I was proceeding to notice what I considered to be the other signs of the prosperity of Scotland. But who is there who will tell me that all that prosperity is in consequence of the superiorities of Scotland? The only superiority which I can discover there, is the superiority of education, and the superiority, too, of unrepresented education. That superiority which we wish to introduce into the legislature, and which the noble duke would exclude for ever, by adhering rigidly and stubbornly to the wisdom of our ancestors. One great feature of the present bill is, that it will include in the constituency of the country its knowledge as well as its power—that it will bring within the pale of the constitution those who ought never to have been excluded from it, and that it will connect them with the representation of the country by the closest and most indissoluble ties. The noble duke has also expressed his alarm at the amount of representation that is to be extended to other places which have hitherto been unrepresented; and, in order to deter us from such a measure, has stated instances of the abuses attendant on the representation of large populous towns, as they exist at present.



He has selected his instances—and very curious instances they are too—from the towns of Dublin and Liverpool.

It was here intimated to the Marquis of Lansdown, that the allusion to Liverpool had been made by Lord Harrowby.

The Marquis of Lansdown was sorry that he had attributed to the noble duke sentiments which had fallen from the noble earl near him; but he was quite sure that the noble duke would not feel himself injured by having any sentiments of that noble lord put into his mouth. Reverting to the elections for Dublin and Liverpool, he observed, that there could be no doubt that great abuses had occurred in both places. They had been informed of those abuses on the best authority, for they had been made the subject of inquiry upon oath before two committees of the House of Commons—and what had been the result? That these instances of corruption, which were intended to deter their lordships from extending the right of representation to other large towns, were proved to have been committed only by the freemen of Liverpool, whom this bill did away with, and not by the householders of Liverpool, whom this bill introduced into the representation. His noble friend near him observed, that some of these freemen were also householders. On that, he would say a word or two directly. But he begged to impress this on their lordships once more—that, at Liverpool, all the bribery attached to the freemen only. In the representation of Liverpool, which was selected to deter their lordships from incurring the hazards of this bill, there was something peculiarly curious. All the householders were excluded from voting. Out of 2400 persons, who as householders of that town were qualified to act as jurors, there were only eighty that had votes for its representatives. All the other householders were excluded. The late Mr. Roscoe, who by his talents and his virtues had given to the town of Liverpool a celebrity which it did not previously enjoy—that great and good man, who, with all his sons, was established in business in that town, had not a vote for its representatives; but their gardener had.



And yet their lordships were to be told that it was an argument against this bill, that it would disfranchise freemen, who, from being in the situation of Mr. Roscoe's menial servant, were exposed to bribery, and that it would enfranchise men like Mr. Roscoe, who were far above bribery.

The noble earl, who had taken a conspicuous part in the debate of last night, (Harrowby,) had stated his apprehensions and his objections to what he would call the conjectural consequences of the bill, and had blamed the noble earl, (Earl Grey,) for having omitted all mention of them in his speech. The noble earl had stated, one of his apprehensions was, that when the new constituencies framed under this bill should get to work, they would overawe the House of Commons, and would thus put an end at once to the taxation, and to the national debt, of the country. He could have wished that the noble earl, before he had ventured upon that rash assertion, had considered who the £10 householders were. He held at that moment in his hand a paper—and it was a curious paper, as serving to illustrate that which he was always glad to illustrate, namely, the great and general diffusion of wealth in England—he held in his hand, he repeated, a paper, which gave a return of the number of accounts kept at the Bank for dividends. He found from that paper, that out of 274,823 persons, keeping accounts there, 264,668 were persons having less than £200 a year. He asked the noble earl whether it was not a degree of probability amounting almost to certainty that these individuals would compose a great portion of the new £10 constituency? And if they did compose a great portion of that constituency, what became of his apprehensions? Did the noble earl suppose that these individuals, who, he said, would issue such peremptory mandates to their representatives, and whose voices he described as already thundering in the ears of their lordships—did the noble earl, he repeated, suppose that those individuals would tell their representatives to do what they liked on other matters, but to take care above all things that they touched the dividends? He would put it to the



noble earl whether such conduct would not be as devoid of common sense and of common prudence as that man's conduct would be, who should say to his steward—"Do what you will to my estate, but take care that no rents are paid to me?"

There was another objection to the bill, which had been brought forward by the noble duke who terminated the debate last night. The noble duke had insinuated, that as all the members of this new constituency were of one class, they would therefore, on that account, be more accessible to bribery. Now, in making that assertion, the noble duke seemed to have forgotten that this new constituency included all householders above £10, as well as all householders to that amount; that this uniformity of suffrage included every thing from £10 to £10,000; so that, in point of fact, there was no uniformity, but the greatest inequality, in voting.

The Duke of Wellington here rose to say, that he had not stated that these voters would be more accessible to bribery. What he had said was, that there would be a greater spirit of combination among them, than was known under the present system.

The Marquis of Lansdown said, that it came to much the same thing. There would be no more chance of combination than of corruption, among these new voters: for he was happy to state, that there would be in the towns more voters occupying houses above than under £10. The noble duke, in stating his apprehensions on this subject, and in referring to the history of this demand, or, he should rather say, of this wish for reform, had stated that the whole, or, if not the whole, the greater part of it, had proceeded from the events which took place at Paris in last July. He was inclined to dispute that position. In referring to the history of England, he found that this demand for reform was an opinion which had been growing up long, very long, in this country.

A noble lord said, Only since the American war.

The Marquis of Lansdown.—Only since the American war! oh, no, it had its existence long before the American



war. But even if it had received its existence at that time, an opinion of misgovernment which had been growing up for the last fifty years, was the one which deserved and ought to meet the serious attention of every administration. The noble duke had said, that this opinion had advanced either rapidly or uniformly. It was in the nature of things that such an opinion should not progress either with rapidity or with uniformity. Those changes which acted on the opinions of large masses of men, took place by slow and irregular degrees. What Lord Bacon had said of things, was equally true of men, namely, that "when they were moving to their places, they moved irregularly; and that when they had got into them, they moved regularly enough." His noble friend was making a joke upon his words again. His noble friend was at liberty to do so as long as he pleased, for laughter was a very bad substitute for a want of argument. The point to which he wished to call the attention of their lordships, was that which formed the main source of our present discontent. When the noble duke said that the discontent with our present system of representation, which now pervaded the country so generally, originated from the events of last July, he used language which was tantamount to saying, that danger did not arise out of the gunpowder, but out of the match which created its explosion. Whilst this discontent was capable of being stimulated into exertion by the excitement attendant upon events occurring in foreign countries, there could be no safety for the state, except by removing the cause of its danger; a danger, which was the more formidable, because it was not always visible, and which oftentimes only became visible at the moment when it was almost impossible to avert it.

Lord Lansdown said, he would not detain the house any longer with his observations. The real principles of this bill were those to which every noble lord, who had yet taken a share in the debate, had given his assent, either in a greater or a smaller degree. The principles of this bill—and he abstained from entering into its details, though it



was the policy of the noble lords on the other side of the house to direct their attention to its details rather than to its principles—the principles of this bill, assented to by implication by every noble lord who had yet risen, were these—the extinction of the nomination boroughs, the extension of political influence to the middling classes of society, and the extension of the right of election in counties to every description of landholder, which had hitherto been confined to one class of landholders alone. These were the principles of the bill: all the rest of it consisted of details, which would be submitted to their consideration when the bill went into committee, and on which it was as much the wish of his noble friend near him, as it was of himself, that their lordships should exercise their undoubted privileges of alteration and amendment. If for an instant he could have supposed that his noble friend (Earl Grey) had been animated by a desire to debar their lordships from the exercise of these privileges—an exercise, by the way, from which it would be impossible for his noble friend to debar them—he should not have hesitated, first in private, and afterwards in public, to have expressed how widely and how materially he differed from his noble friend. He was as ready and determined as any man in the house could be, to contend for those legal and constitutional privileges, whenever and however they might be attacked, which they had derived from their ancestors, and one of the most undoubted of which was the right of calmly deliberating and determining on any important measure which might be sent up to them from the other branch of the legislature.

This conducted him to the last point upon which he should have occasion to trouble their lordships. Though last, it was not least in importance. Amongst, or rather in addition to the other objections stated to this measure, it had been said that it would affect the future existence of the House of Peers. As he saw that this proposition was assented to on the other side, he would, on that account,



beg for a few minutes to call the attention of the house to it. When their lordships should have passed this bill into a law, (supposing that they intended to do so,) notwithstanding the assumption of his noble friend who commenced that night's debate, and of many other persons, that their lordships' privileges would thereby be placed in jeopardy, there would not be one constitutional privilege belonging to the house, described by any author, claimed in any parliament, which would not remain as much in force as at the present moment. That of which their lordships would be deprived, if they were deprived of any thing, was a corrupt share in the abuses of the other house of parliament. He knew that it had been said, and often repeated, "What will this house do, when it shall come into direct collision with public opinion?" His answer was, that they must stand upon the constitutional ground which public opinion assigned to them, on that ground which public opinion claimed for them, and on which they would be stronger than they could hope to be by any illegal influence which they could possibly obtain. Suppose (and it was necessary for the hypothesis of danger to suppose so) that a case should arise, in which public opinion would be opposed to that which the wisdom of their lordships should deem to be good policy. And if their lordships were unable to support themselves in the exercise of their honest and constitutional duties, sitting in that house, which might be called the citadel of the constitution, did they suppose that they could find defence in the corrupt outworks of Gatton and Old Sarum? Let not their lordships suppose that the public did not see through so flimsy a disguise. In the exercise of their lordships' undoubted rights, privileges, and influence, which were revered by the people of this country, if their lordships should have the misfortune to act in opposition to public opinion, they would meet with support from the people; but they could not expect to obtain that support by persevering in claiming a participation in a system which involved in its rami-



fications an evasion of the law, and all sorts of inquiry—which was attended in its working with the most pernicious effects.

“ ——— fraudesque, dolusque,  
Insidiæque, et vis amor sceleratus habendi.”

That was not the character of the system on which he wished their lordships' power to rest. He entertained the hope, from no selfish feeling, of being able to transmit to posterity those honours which, for the benefit of the public, no less than for his own, he had derived from his ancestors. He believed those honours, not in his own person alone, but in the persons of all their lordships, to be essential to the well-being of the country, particularly as connected with the state of society and of property existing in this empire. He feared that he had almost exhausted their lordships' patience, and would not further occupy their attention. After what he had before stated, he hoped that it was unnecessary for him to add, that he did not wish their lordships to be influenced by public clamour. He hoped that no threats or intimidation would be used; but if they should be used, he hoped that their lordships would disdain to notice them. At the same time he thought it would be unwise to disregard the deliberate expression of public opinion; and he trusted that their lordships would not act an unworthy part, and, with the view of shewing that firmness which no man had a right to doubt their possession of, overlook all the considerations of policy which pointed to the adoption of this measure, because it was connected with changes in society which no noble lord could deny. By a course of useful legislation, their lordships had encouraged the spread of population, increased the productions of science, and raised up large towns. Would their lordships deny their offspring the rights and privileges of manhood? By the progress and development of the policy which their lordships had pursued, the surface of the country had been covered with new streams. Was it possible to turn these streams to flow in the old narrow chan-



nel, with all its imperfections unreformed? Was it not better to prepare a new channel, by which the wealth, knowledge, and industry which their lordships' policy had created, should be incorporated with the legislative institutions of the country?

When the second reform bill came before the house, April 11th, 1832, his lordship thus defended it, chiefly against the Bishop of Exeter and the Duke of Buckingham:

The Marquis of Lansdown commenced with observing on what had been advanced in the course of the debate, in opposition to the bill, which had been sent up a second time by the Commons for the consideration of their lordships. He paid very proper compliments to the Bishop of Lincoln, who had so calmly, and so candidly, and so clearly, and so satisfactorily stated his intention of supporting the second reading of the bill, on the ground of the great change which had been effected in the country. He expressed his surprise that the Bishop of Exeter had turned "recruiting sergeant," to enlist supporters to the measure proposed by the Duke of Buckingham; he fully admitted the responsibility which the prelate and the noble duke and a baron had attached to the government, with whom the important measure of reform originated, and he was fully willing to share the responsibility with his noble friend and their colleagues. He should have had a contempt for himself, and he should have had a contempt for his noble friend, if he had shrunk from the difficult and necessary task of healing the wounds that threatened the country with dissolution, of endeavouring to cement those connexions which every day were more and more dividing and separating. "They cared not for the transitory dignity of office, they were ready to risk it all; they were ready to sacrifice personal comfort and happiness. All they wished was, to restore the constitution, and, by restoring it, to give additional stability and prosperity to every part of the empire."—These sentiments are becoming a nobleman of high station, and of large fortune, who holds office, not for its emoluments, but from a



sense of duty ; and who, if he could have aroused his energies, and have forgone his domestic enjoyments, might have aspired himself to the premiership. He denied the assertion of the Bishop of Exeter, that the measure was one of revolution, and shewed that his notions of revolution would apply to the most important and beneficial changes that had ever been made in the institutions of this country—that change and alteration were incidental to the world—that changes were continually taking place in every portion of society—that alterations could not be prevented—and it was by the careful, by the deliberate, and by the effectual application of such alterations, that it was possible for any political system to bear up against the perpetual inroads which time must necessarily make upon it. It had been well stated by a noble lord, (the Earl of Shrewsbury, a Catholic peer,) who had been lately introduced to the house by that great act of justice which had been delayed too long, “that of all the absurdities that ever could be imagined, that of an immutable state of the law, in a mutable state of things, was the most absurd.” He gave a practical lesson to the ambitious prelate, (Dr. Phillpotts,) who cannot certainly accuse the noble marquis of being either a radical or an ascetic nobleman, whose plans were not yet ripe, but whose failing is to be constitutionally an aristocrat, who is fastidiously attached, even to a weakness, to the distinctions of classes, who values himself in his long line of ancestry, and has retaken the name of Fitzmaurice. His lordship said, he was not prepared, more than a brother marquis, to found any change that was proposed, as well on new doctrines as on new circumstances. All that he and his friends asked, was, to go back to the elements of the constitution, to examine how far new circumstances required the application of old doctrines.

The noble marquis demonstrated, to minds not hermetically sealed against all public good, the security that arose from making all requisite alterations, from time to time, as circumstances required, of extending the elective franchise



to those places which had become the depositories of that knowledge, and the possessors of that influence on society, which the wisdom and policy of this government had always endeavoured to attach to itself, in disfranchising small and insignificant places, and enfranchising others of great and growing extent and importance. In such a project, is there any robbery—any spoliation—any approach to revolution?

Lord Lansdown very happily shewed how America had not only preserved her existence, but added to her strength, by the accession of new states; equally so by adducing the unions of Scotland and Ireland, which were indeed revolutions; for both were effected by corruption, and the latter with the melancholy addition of blood; but these changes were made, not at the instance of the people, but by the constituted authorities, and to answer the purposes of those holding office; and therefore, in the eyes of Dr. Phillpotts, the Dukes of Wellington and Buckingham, and other wise, and good, and enlightened men, were no revolution. The noble marquis was quite correct in stating, that there was no parliament in France, to check the crown nor to protect the people. There were what were called *parlemens*—that of Paris, and those of the provinces; but these were mere beds of justice, and had no powers of legislation, and only registered royal edicts as a matter of form. What little independence these *parlemens* possessed, what little good they produced, had been destroyed by the despotic royalty of Louis XIV., who declared that the law was concentrated in his royal person. Violence only occurred in France on the part of the people, because the court first indulged in it against the *tiers etat*, after having assembled that body; and violence always begets violence, until it destroy itself by exhaustion. Dr. Phillpotts and the Duke of Wellington would infallibly produce violence in this country, were they not fortunately restrained by the patriotism of the monarch, the integrity of the ministers, and the union of the people. The noble marquis equally rebutted the absurd clauses which Lord Ellenborough had made for the colonies, in the asser-



tion that because seats could no longer be purchased by their agents, they would lose all the benefits of representation. Is a purchased seat for a salaried agent desirable? Might not colonial peers be demanded as reasonably as colonial representatives? As to Newfoundland, will not Poole and Bridport, and other ports connected with the fisheries, always return members, to protect its interests? As to India; who have ever been represented in a corrupt house? the poor natives? No, but a plundering Nabob. A reformed parliament will destroy the present monopoly enjoyed by the honourable body of merchants—colonization will be permitted—knowledge will spread in India, and paternal government will be established there—representation will gradually creep in, and justice will be done at home without the necessity of appealing to England. A reformed parliament leads to the amelioration of our colonial system, as well as to every other. The noble marquis so severely handled the ill-begotten, ill-formed bantling of his Grace of Buckingham, as to cause its dissolution before it could possibly be presented in its swaddling-clothes to the house. His lordship did also ample justice to that very important and most intelligent body of the people—the Dissenters. He scouted, and most properly, the antiquated and mistaken notions, that they were likely to be governed in their choice of representatives by undue, factious, or revolutionary motives; and, above all, by any thing like a desire to disturb the tranquillity of the country. “I may be permitted to ask by whom are returned the best, the most able, members of the present House of Commons? Undeniably, by the Dissenters. Are Mr. John Smith, Lord Ebrington, Mr. Warburton, less likely to be returned for the respective places for which they now sit, by a reformed parliament? The church-and-state corporations now return the worst members. These may be better; they cannot be worse.” His lordship neglected no leading topic, connected either with the bill itself, or with what had been advanced against it by its opponents. He so distinguished himself, as



to deserve to be enrolled amongst the positive reformers, and to secure the respect of all.

These able speeches furnish ample materials for forming a judgment of Lord Lansdown's principles as a statesman, and his qualifications as a senator. No man better understands the British constitution, or more strongly appreciates its excellencies. Nurtured in the school of Fox, under whose auspices he made his debüt into the House of Commons, and whose enlightened views and liberal principles his lordship adopted as the basis of his parliamentary career, he has constantly adhered to them with unwavering steadiness and inflexible tenacity. His public conduct exhibits a pleasing specimen of integrity and political consistency, such as is calculated to inspire confidence, and lead the country to look up to him as one of the pillars of the state. That he is a patriot, in the truest sense of the term, no unprejudiced mind will hesitate to acknowledge: he has the welfare of the country at heart, and is, we are confident, actuated by the sincerest desire of promoting it. He has given proof that the latter is more an object with him than the interests of a party. The large property which he possesses in Ireland, has naturally made him sensitive, at all times, as to the state of that unhappy country, and anxious for its amelioration. Hence the lively interest his lordship took in that great measure, by which the Catholics of that island were conciliated.—In private life, the noble marquis displays great moral purity, combined with mild and courteous manners. His temper is placid, his knowledge extensive, and his delivery in parliament pleasing. He patronizes literature and the arts, and is never backward, at his country's call, to lend his prompt and efficient aid to whatever project is adapted to further the advancement of knowledge, and the happiness of mankind.



THE RT. HON.

CHARLES GRANT,

*President of the Board of Control.*

THIS gentleman, who, for his eloquence in the senate, and ability in the service of his country, has raised himself to considerable distinction in parliament, is the son of an East India director, of whom it will be a pleasure to record, in this place, a few particulars.

The late Mr. Charles Grant, father of the subject of this memoir, was born in Scotland, in 1746, and was the son of a military officer who fell at the battle of Culloden, on the same day that his son was born. The latter, after receiving a good education at Elgin, was sent to India in a military capacity, which, however he soon abandoned for a civil employment at Bengal, where he married a young lady of the name of Frazer. In 1773, he became secretary to the board of trade at that place, and, after having filled various other situations in the company's service, he returned to England, and in 1794, was elected a member of the board of East India Directors, of which he was chosen deputy-chairman in 1804, and president in the following year. He became also a member of parliament, being elected to represent the county of Inverness, which he did in three successive parliaments, and highly distinguished himself as a member of the House of Commons by his extensive acquaintance with East Indian affairs. In political opinions he was opposed to Sir Philip Francis, who nevertheless bore ample testimony to his probity and private worth, declaring, in the House of



Commons, that there could not be a more competent witness on East India affairs, nor any human evidence less to be suspected, than that of Mr. Grant. As a writer, he rendered himself conspicuous by a letter which he addressed to the board of which he was a member, recommending the propagation of Christianity in India, by means of missionaries; and by his valuable tract, entitled, "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain," which the House of Commons caused to be printed, for the use of its members. He contributed greatly, by his munificence and personal exertions, to the diffusion of the gospel among the inhabitants of India; and joined his friend Mr. Wilberforce, with whom he agreed in his religious views and opinions, in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a settlement at Sierra Leone. Mr. Grant was also a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Vice-President of the Bible Society; and one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the building of new churches. He died on the 31st of October, 1823, leaving two sons, Charles and Robert; and his funeral sermon was preached by Daniel Wilson, who has recently been appointed bishop of Calcutta; an honour which he probably owes to the interest of the "President of the India Board," or Board of Control.

The two sons appear to have received the finishing touch to their education, at the University of Cambridge, where we find them about the year 1800, at which time the eloquent Robert Hall was pastor of the Baptist church in that place;—a man whose popularity drew many of the gownsmen to hear him. "I have seen," says the author of a recent publication, who then resided at Cambridge, "forty or fifty graduates, fellow-commoners, and noblemen, in their costume, at meeting—and among others, who were almost constant in their attendance at this time, were the two Mr. Grants, now members of parliament, and ministers of the crown."\*

\* Greene's Reminiscences of Hall, p. 24.



MR. CHARLES GRANT succeeded his father as member of parliament for Inverness-shire ; and first distinguished himself by some eloquent and able speeches, through which there ran a spirit of liberality and benevolence that was not so much in fashion at that time, as it has since become. One of these speeches ably advocated the cause of the oppressed Irish Catholics—while another of them portrayed in vivid colours the real state of that unhappy country, and pointed out the only remedy for the complicated evils under which it was doomed to groan. Of these speeches we shall hereafter take some notice ; in the mean time it may be proper to lay before the reader what we find stated, by one apparently not ill-informed on the subject, respecting Mr. Charles Grant's official labours as secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, an appointment which seems to have been conferred upon him in consequence of the able speeches above mentioned.

It was during the time that Lord Talbot was viceroy, that Mr. Grant was sent to Ireland, where he continued, year after year, exerting himself in every possible way, by a train of liberal proceedings, to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants, but found his benevolent intentions not only thwarted by an illiberal viceroy, but also by a *posse* of underlings, who, having themselves profited by the ascendancy principles, concluded that they must consequently be the most advantageous for the country. At the end of his five years of office, Mr. Grant discovered, that the best intentions alone, without the power of carrying them into effect, are comparatively of little use ; and that a statesman, in order to effect a great measure of reformation, requires the co-operation of all his colleagues. Divested of this aid, Mr. Grant's efforts were unavailing ; but in his place in parliament, he took every opportunity of exposing, in eloquent terms, the hideousness of the Irish system, and pleading for a different line of policy towards that degraded country.

It has been remarked as a curious circumstance, that it was the fate of Ireland to possess at one period an illiberal



viceroys, (Lord Talbot,) and in Mr. Charles Grant, a liberal secretary—and at their recall it was determined, on the system of “checks and balances,” to reverse that order of things, and to send the Hibernians a liberal viceroy in the Marquis of Wellesley, and an illiberal secretary in Mr. Goulburn. Whatever, therefore, Mr. Grant had done, Mr. Goulburn sought to undo. Mr. Grant first occupied himself in efforts to relieve the citizens of Dublin from the exactions of the most griping corporation, with which any country had been afflicted; while Mr. Goulburn, immediately on his arrival, flung himself into the arms of that body, and took them for his “guide, philosopher, and friend.” Mr. Grant sought, by enforcing the laws, to suppress Orange Societies, and to protect the Catholics from the wanton infliction of massacre and insult: while Mr. Goulburn became the apologist, if not the active supporter, of those illegal confederations, which accordingly waxed stronger and more daring under his sway. Mr. Grant was anxious to devise a system of national education, by which the Catholics would be under the superintendence and control of their own clergy; but Mr. Goulburn was opposed to this, as clashing with the privileges of the patrons and supporters of the Kildare School Society. In short, there was no measure to which Mr. Grant was favourable, that Mr. Goulburn did not oppose. The one was cheered by the Tories—the other respected by the Whigs; and each differently estimated by the conflicting parties in Ireland. While the liberal Protestants, and the great body of the Catholics, marshalled themselves on the side of Mr. Grant, the Orangemen strenuously adhered to Mr. Goulburn; and in this state things continued until Mr. Canning got firmly seated, when Mr. Lamb was sent to succeed Mr. Goulburn, and a better order of things was introduced.

During the time that Mr. Huskisson was President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Grant filled the office of Vice-President; and in that situation he acquired an intimate knowledge, not only of the great interests of the country, but of



those minor details to which gentlemen of Mr. Grant's very superior order of mind do not always descend. His views, too, are altogether liberal and enlarged; and he is fully impressed with those theories of commercial policy for which Mr. Huskisson's memory is revered. On Mr. Huskisson's retirement from office in 1827, Mr. Grant succeeded him as President of the Board of Trade, and it would not have been easy to select a more competent person for the station. Independently of his official knowledge, his pretensions as a speaker rank very high—he is, in truth, inferior to very few in the House of Commons, in point of eloquence. To great enthusiasm of mind, he joins much fervency and impressiveness of manner; and his language is strong, nervous, sustained, and in a high degree oratorical. It is much to be regretted that ill health, combined with constitutional indolence or timidity, prevents him from taking that active part in debate for which he is so eminently qualified by his talents, his station, his knowledge, and his experience. This is deservedly lamented by his friends, as well as by the country at large, who are the chief losers by his silence.

In justification of what we have now said of Mr. Grant's liberal views and enlightened policy, we shall lay before the reader the substance of a few of his speeches on some of the great national questions which have engaged the attention of the legislature.

On the 28th of February, 1821, Mr. (now Lord) Plunkett, brought forward in the House of Commons the subject of Catholic disabilities, and moved the repeal of those statutes which excluded them from the enjoyment of their civil rights. After an able and eloquent speech of great length, the reasonings of which were ably seconded and supported by Sir James Macintosh, Mr. George Dawson opposed the motion, and declared that the Catholics of Ireland enjoyed as much liberty as it was necessary for any set of men to enjoy. The Catholic, he said, was looked upon with jealousy in all Protestant countries. He might adduce as



examples Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. The house ought not to turn a deaf ear to the voice of experience; it ought to consider, whether the granting of privileges to Catholics would not excite the alarms of their Protestant fellow-subjects—he should vote against the motion.

Mr. Charles Grant followed Mr. Dawson in the debate, and said he would now trouble the house with the few observations which he had to make; because, from the advanced stage of the night, he might otherwise be precluded from offering his sentiments on this important question; the delivering of which, in the situation in which he stood, he esteemed a solemn and imperative duty. He said, he had listened, with the utmost attention, and with the greatest delight, to the eloquence with which the motion had been introduced—an eloquence which, while it called to the support of the policy which it recommended, the names of the illustrious statesmen and great geniuses of former times, evinced the possession of a high portion of kindred talent. He had, indeed, heard the speech of the right honourable and learned gentleman with wonder and admiration, esteeming it worthy of the cause which it defended, worthy of the principles which it advocated, and worthy of the petitioners whose claims it stated and enforced. Mr. Grant presumed to think that the cause had made progress, not only from the powerful eloquence and convincing reasoning of Mr. Plunkett, but from the observations of his right honourable friend Mr. Peel, who had spoken on the question as became the frankness and candour of his just and manly mind. His right honourable friend had, however, argued upon a view of the question which was not before the house, and answered propositions which had not been advanced. He had argued as if it had been proposed to repeal all the disabilities under which the Catholics laboured, at once, without examination or deliberation; whereas it merely pledged the house to inquire into them by a committee.

Mr. Grant expressed his surprise at hearing his right honourable friend, Mr. Peel, draw a parallel between the



repeal of the Catholic disabilities and the abolition of the Test and Corporation acts ; and to argue, that, because the latter could change the former, it ought not to be taken into consideration. The prayer of the petitioners contained nothing offensive or revolting. They asked for inquiry—they besought the house to examine their case—and if their claims could be shewn to be founded in policy and justice, to remove the disabilities under which they laboured. Mr. Peel answered to this—"True it is, we feel for your situation ; true it is, your case is a hard one ; but we cannot grant your request ; for if we did so, we must repeal the Test and Corporation acts !" The Catholics came boldly forward, and said, that past causes of animosity ought to be forgotten ; and that, in their present disposition toward our establishments, there existed no ground for alarm. To this his right honourable friend answered—"True, they are forgotten ; but in the revolutions of states, at some future distant period, we may become afraid of you ; and we will, therefore, persevere in the same treatment of you as before, when you were really dangerous." It was thus that we treated the Catholics of Ireland. He had been called upon by his friend, Mr. Dawson, to follow him to Denmark, to Sweden, and to Holland, and see how the Catholics were there treated. He would not obey the call—he would not follow him to foreign countries—he would appeal to the British constitution, and call upon the house rather to set than to follow an example. Motives of policy and justice, which affected the whole empire, pressed upon parliament the consideration of the Catholic claims ; but, more particularly, the interests of Ireland required that so important a part of the population should not be excluded from the benefit of the British constitution. Mr. Grant here drew a striking contrast between the state of the inhabitants of Great Britain and of Ireland, and attributed some share of the difference of circumstances in the two countries to the anomalous disabilities under which most classes of the sister kingdom laboured. He represented Ireland as subject to inconsist-



encies and anomalies of all kinds—suffering much local oppression and great general distress, having its higher classes excluded from privileges to which the lower were admitted—wanting that sympathy between the different orders of society, and that interchange and communication of sentiment and feeling between the different ranks of life, which constituted at once the glory and the security of England. In this country, freedom “lived along the line” which joined all the classes of the community, and our institutions were conductors of the general feeling. Why was not Ireland in this state? why was property there stripped of its influence? why was it divested of the force of authority? What was the result of all this? Local outrages—distrust of the laws in a people disposed to obedience, extending to all classes of the community—operating in the higher classes to a contempt of the law, and in the lower to a transgression of it.

Mr. Grant said, he did not attribute all this state of things to the Catholic disabilities; but as little was he inclined to allow that these disabilities had no part in it. The system formerly pursued with regard to Ireland, had been to legislate contrary to the opinion of the country. The calamities of the people followed, step by step; the system of degradation to which they were subjected, and the relaxation of the oppressive laws, had been as invariably followed by improvement and increasing order. It should not be forgotten, that while Wales and Chester owed their liberties to Charles the Second, Ireland had been deprived of her's by William the Third.—When he heard of the inconsistencies that would be involved in granting the Catholic claims, he could not but contrast them with the inconsistencies of the present system, where Ireland might have Catholic electors, but could not return a Catholic representative—where Catholics might be magistrates, but not sheriffs—barristers, but not king's counsel. There was nothing more inconsistent in a Protestant king having persons of the Catholic religion in his council, than a king of



the episcopal system having presbyterian counsellors; and a parliament that might be filled with Dissenters, could admit a Catholic without inconsistency.

But did the exclusion of the Catholics from the privileges they claimed produce peace, or any corresponding advantages? No: if there was danger to our establishments, as alleged, from the admission of the Catholics, there was greater danger from their exclusion. There were two lines of demarcation on which the house might take its stand. First, it might have repealed the penal laws, and, after repealing them, might have stood on the existing disabilities, or might repeal both. But parliament had not stood on either. It had repealed all the penal statutes, and some of the disabilities, retaining others. It was contended that, if the Catholics obtained the abolition of the existing disabilities, they would become formidable to our establishments, by becoming more powerful. This, he contended, would not be the case. As individuals, those who attained office or distinction would become more powerful; but the body would be less so, because less united. Besides, a government ought not to found its security on the weakness of its subjects, but on their confidence. There was no part of the constitution which ought to depend on the powerlessness of any portion of the subjects. It was impossible to tell the countless and nameless ties by which the constitution attracted to itself the affections of subjects; and therefore it was madness to persist in any measure, the inevitable tendency of which was to alienate those affections. He implored the house to consider, that the fate of Ireland was at stake—to look at the state of the population of that country—to reflect on its present misery—and on what the parliament of Great Britain had already done for that country, under the auspices of George III. Let it no longer be said of Ireland, that, having performed the duties which the constitution exacted, she was still excluded from the privileges to which she had a constitutional right. He called on the house to ratify this night the solemn contract of the



Union, and to make that great measure in reality what it was in name. What did Mr. Pitt, who had projected that measure, conceive to be its nature? He asked the house what meaning that great statesman attached to the following lines, which he had applied to the union of the two countries :—

Non ego, nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,  
Nec mihi regna peto : paribus se legibus ambæ  
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.

What, he asked, did Mr. Pitt understand by the eternal laws of confederacy, which were in future to bind those nations, not in the relations of conqueror and conquered, but in equity of laws? We profess, said Mr. Grant, to follow the policy of that enlightened statesman in our intercourse and relations with foreign countries; but on his system of domestic policy we have not yet acted, nor will the maxims on which that system was founded be reduced to practice till the inscription on his tomb records the liberation of Ireland. Look at the state of education in that country, and view its natives pursuing every means of acquiring knowledge. These are securities springing up where they were least expected, as if sent by Providence to remove a base and illiberal pretext. Let us not take advantage of them to continue the present system of injustice, but let us rather avail ourselves of them, as raised up by that Providence which I believe to be the peculiar protection of national faith and national justice.

When Mr. Grant sat down, the cry of “question, question,” was vociferated from every part of the house. It was felt, by the friends of Ireland, that his admirable speech had made a deep impression on the members, and a division was desirable before its effects should be effaced. The result was, that Mr. Plunkett’s motion for going into a committee of the whole house on the Catholic claims, was gained by a majority of six : the number of members who voted was 448. But though the motion was carried successfully through the Commons, the third reading having a ma-



jority of nineteen, it was negatived on a second reading in the House of Lords, April 17th, by a majority of thirty-nine.

In the following year, Sir John Newport called the attention of parliament to the existing state of Ireland, on which occasion he found himself ably supported by Mr. Grant. The right honourable gentleman went into an historical review of the various disturbances of the peasantry, by which Ireland was agitated. The first of these disturbances took place in 1760, and was occasioned by the enclosure of a common—the rising by the “Hearts of Oak Boys” was caused by abuses in the system of road-making. The “Heart of Steel Boys” originated in the severity of a great proprietor of tithes. In 1785, serious disturbances disgraced the south of Ireland; these were excited by the “Right Boys,” and were provoked by the tithe system. Much about the same time the north of Ireland was agitated by “Defenders.” The rebellion of 1798 followed. It was hoped that the union would have laid the foundation of permanent tranquillity; but in 1806, movements of a very alarming nature took place in Sligo, Mayo, and the adjoining country—the insurgents pursued the same system then that had recently been pursued in the county of Limerick; and the enactment of the Insurrection act followed.

Adverting to some then recent disturbances in Limerick, Mr. Grant said, they were excited in the first instance by the conduct of the agent to the Courtenay estate. These disturbances, marked as they were by so many acts of outrage and atrocity, yet proceeded from local causes. The wretchedly abject state of the peasantry was no small cause; and here he could not help observing, that distress, in its most frightful form, had made its appearance in the southern counties. Symptoms of famine had already commenced in Clare, in Limerick, and in Kerry. He had already said, that the first exciting cause of discontent was the abject state of the peasantry. And in no part of Europe, except Poland, were the peasantry so badly off as they were in Ireland. In point of food, clothes, and



lodging, they were in the lowest state. All the habits of the people were low and uncomfortable; and the least local misfortune exposed them to distress, and rendered them desperate. The absence of great landed proprietors was an evil which nothing could effectually compensate; but where that absence was indispensable, it was the duty and interest of proprietors to leave behind them agents of respectability and character. A great cause of complaint, undoubtedly, was the pressure of taxes: but when the people cried out against taxes, it was not of general taxes they complained; local taxes, county assessments, formed the great source of discontent. Mr. Grant gave one instance, to shew the increase of those taxes. In the county of Cork, previous to the war, the town land-cess amounted to between five and six shillings; it increased during the war to twenty pounds. Since the return of peace, it fell down to, from twelve to fifteen pounds.

With respect to tithes, Mr. Grant was of opinion that the effect of them was over-rated. But when he heard it said, that a moderate commutation of tithes affected the established church, he protested against such a consequence. Surely it was meet that a clergyman commencing his sacred functions, should not be obliged to commence them by quarrelling with the flock! He was far from intending to say any thing of the clergy that was not to their praise. They were a respectable order; and they supplied, in no small degree, the place of the absentee proprietors. The present system of tithes was vexatious, arising mainly from the manner of collecting them. Under this system, the farmers and peasants were kept in a state of continual fever, and trouble of mind. In the month of May, two viewers came on the land; in three or four months after, they return to view the crop. In October, the tithes are demanded, and the farmer passes his note, payable fifteen days before the January sessions. If the note be not paid, it is generally renewed, payable fifteen days before the April sessions; if not then paid, process



is served, and the law takes its course. In April the view-ers again come on the land, and thus, throughout the year, the mind of the farmer, or wretched peasant, is harassed with apprehensions. But the cause of discontent did not stop there; a distrust of British legislation had sunk deep in the hearts of the people. They sought not the overthrow of the government; they entertained no revolutionary notions; but they had a great distrust of the law, because they conceived it was not intended for their benefit or protection.

As to the want of moral instruction in Ireland, it was not attributable merely to the want of schools, for there were no less than eight thousand schools in that country, and, giving each of them fifty scholars, there must be four hundred thousand children in the course of education in Ireland. Some of the schoolmasters, however, were of the worst species, and employed themselves in all the agitations of the country; and the books which they put into the hands of the people, were calculated to create a fondness for adventure and secret combination, which were but too congenial with their disposition to court danger, and their romantic idea of faith and personal attachment. In looking to the causes of the want of instruction, Mr. Grant said, he could not acquit the clergy, whether Protestant or Catholic. The former, in spite of the obligations imposed upon them by their large endowments, and their interest in the peace of the country, had till lately thought themselves bound only to instruct the Protestants, and condemn the Catholics. Some of the Protestant clergy were now, however, among the most anxious to diffuse the blessings of education. As for the Catholic clergy, their neglect was not to be condemned, while the persecuting code existed. They had then but few stolen visits with their flock, and those visits were chiefly confined to the offices of religion; but since that code was relaxed, their inattention was culpable. Of the magistracy, he spoke with much deference, because there were many of



them who possessed much influence, and exerted it most beneficially ; nevertheless, there were many among them who were totally unfit for the station, and ought not to be there. The want of activity was the mildest account that could be given of their conduct. The great misfortune was, that the government was never reduced to the necessity of sympathizing with the people ; it had been supported by foreign force or foreign fraud. It was clear, that with several of the causes of the evils of Ireland, the government had now nothing to do.

Mr. Grant proceeded to observe, that “ there were three great purposes on which the power of the legislature and government could be employed. The first of these was the improvement of the constitutional means of defence for the people—the police, and the magistracy. The present system of police was not effectual, because it had not been fairly tried. In those parts where it had been fairly worked, it had fully succeeded ; for instance, in the county of Longford, where his noble friend, Lord Forbes, one of the members of the county, had paid great attention to the appointment of the constables. The power of the ordinary police was there so increased, that any ordinary constable could go into a crowded fair to execute an arrest, without danger. As to the magistracy, the lord-chancellor of Ireland had been for two years collecting information respecting the gentlemen most proper to form that body. Mr. Grant said, that when he left Ireland, that noble lord was prepared with information for the general revision of the magistracy, with the exception of two or three counties. The second object of legislation was, the establishment of schools. The best plan appeared to him to be, to supply the funds liberally, at the discretion of the government, to all the religious sects, taking care that the purpose on which it was expended, always was the moral improvement of the people. There was now a small fund of three or four thousand pounds per annum, supplied to three gentlemen, Messrs. Latouche, Woodward, and Dunn, who



deserved the highest praise for the liberality and impartiality with which they exercised the discretion entrusted to them.

The third measure, of still larger importance, was the removal of religious disabilities. That great question was now in a peculiar position. The visit of the King to Ireland, and the appointment of the present Lord Lieutenant, had created such a feeling, that if the claims of the Catholics were still rejected, the result must be the utmost distrust and disappointment. All efforts would be vain, unless there was a spirit of conciliation and harmony among the various classes. It should not be supposed that the creation of this spirit was a hopeless task. Wherever the attempt had been fairly made, it had succeeded, and with mentioning one instance of the kind, he should conclude his address. In the county of Limerick there was a populous parish, which had entirely escaped the present agitations. It was nine miles from the city of Limerick. Though in the midst of the disturbances, the clergyman could sleep without any additional fastening on his doors, relying on the protection of his parishioners, who were almost entirely Roman Catholics. At Christmas, the priest, when his chapel was full, introduced the Protestant clergyman to his Roman Catholic flock, and there, at the altar, he addressed his parishioners, in a discourse which lasted half an hour, the object of which was to press upon them the propriety of continuing in their loyalty; and at the close, the whole of them came forward, and took the oath of allegiance. This was not a sudden burst of enthusiasm—it was the habit of confidence and good will: and this was the result of conciliation and kindness.

This faithful exposé of the miserable and degraded state of Ireland, no doubt, contributed much towards drawing attention to the subject, and helped to pave the way to that partial redress of grievances which has subsequently taken place. We may even perceive in Mr. Grant's speeches the germ of those improvements which the present administra-



tion have instituted, and which are now in progress; and it is reasonable to conclude, that Mr. Grant's personal acquaintance with that country, and the information acquired during his five years' residence there, must qualify him for giving much useful advice, and assisting his colleagues with many valuable suggestions respecting the amelioration of that unhappy country.

When Mr. Canning was raised to the premiership, Mr. Grant succeeded Mr. Robinson as treasurer of the navy, and president of the board of trade, which offices he held under the short administrations of Mr. Canning and Lord Goderich. When the Tories returned to power under the great captain, Mr. Grant retired with Lords Goderich and Lansdown. But, though not in office, he lent his aid to the service of his country. One of the great difficulties which parliament had to encounter, at that time, was the settlement of the corn question. Accordingly, when the Duke of Wellington assumed the ministerial reins, he came forward with a plan for the regulation of the trade in corn, the proposing of which to the House of Commons was committed to the hands of Mr. Charles Grant, who, on Monday, March 31st, 1828, moved, that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the state of the corn laws.

In introducing his resolutions on this perplexing subject, Mr. Grant availed himself of the opportunity to pay a just tribute to the memory of Mr. Canning, by reminding the house of "that memorable speech in which this subject was explained in all its bearings, with all that placid, temperate, and chastened eloquence, of which the speaker was as great a master, as of every thing that is delightful in fancy or in genius, in all their most exquisite forms;" and then Mr. Grant added, that "he was sure, that in the tribute which he attempted to pay to the memory of Mr. Canning, he was joined, not only by every member of that house, but by every *feeling and intelligent mind* throughout the country." To those who remember what treatment Mr. Canning had



received at the hands of certain dukes, marquises, earls, and barons, of anti-Canning notoriety, Mr. Grant's qualification must appear very discriminating and emphatical! Nor was it to be expected that he should escape the notice of the friends and advocates of those great personages, on this occasion. His compliment to Mr. Canning's memory raised him up a host of enemies. "The offence was rank," and drew down upon him the ire of the Tory journalists, who were pleased to reward Mr. Grant's officiousness by complimenting him as "a snivelling saint and servile Scotchman!"

Soon after this, Sir Francis Burdett, in a long and able speech, moved, "that the House of Commons do resolve itself into a committee, to consider the state of the laws affecting our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and safety of the united kingdom, the stability of the Protestant establishment, and the general satisfaction and accordance of all classes of his Majesty's subjects."

The debate being adjourned from Thursday, May the 8th, to Monday, May the 12th, Mr. Grant rose to move the order of the day for its resumption, and delivered his sentiments in an address which commanded great attention, and was loudly cheered by the house in every part of it. "We cannot enter upon the discussion of this question," said Mr. Grant, "without looking at the internal state of Ireland; and the more we do so, the more necessary it becomes for us to enter into some inquiry with a view to our arriving at some satisfactory results. It appears on all hands, that there does exist in Ireland a vast and compact body, exercising a power not recognized by the government; exercising, I may say, a fiscal authority, and collecting sums of money from the public, in furtherance of their object: and no matter whether the statements we have heard on this subject be overcharged, or the deductions made from them,—I say, that, if only a slight portion of those statements be true, it



is right and fitting that this house should, without delay, inquire into them, and to the causes by which they are produced. The present state of Ireland affords memorable lessons of the impolicy of retaining a prohibitory and persecuting system of laws, after the necessity which caused their enactment has passed away.

“The honourable baronet who introduced the motion has at once pointed out the evil and suggested the remedy. And what, let me ask, are the objections made to that remedy? We are told that the Roman Catholics will not rest satisfied with what we propose to give them, consequently, the tranquillity of Ireland will not be secured. Other honourable members object to any concession, on the ground of the violent language and extravagant tones in which the Roman Catholics express themselves in demanding what they call their rights. This, sir, is a specimen of the kind of argument always used when every improvement is resisted, and when oppressive laws, being no longer necessary, are sought to be removed. If the law be so severe and oppressive as to excite strong feelings, and to urge men on to acts of violence and atrocity, are these to be the grounds upon which honourable members contend that there ought to be no change? Who is it that produced the present state of things in Ireland? You destroyed the influence of rank and property—you threw the body of the people at the feet of the incendiary—you have changed the whole system; and why? because you give to numbers, what you refuse to property. I wish to know, sir, what benefit can be contemplated by giving to Ireland small portions of the British constitution, and that by shreds and patches? The very essence of the British constitution is equipoise; but when you give only a part of that constitution, you destroy this balance, and, instead of conferring a benefit, you very probably inflict an injury.

“Again, the Catholic Association was pointed at as a reason why the Irish people would never be satisfied; and, in support of this argument, the violent language, intolerant



speeches, and extravagant demands of that body, have been cited. But is it not in the very nature of things, that such should be the case? When you refuse every thing, is it not natural that the aggrieved persons should ask every thing to which they conceive themselves entitled? In such a state of things, the most violent passions naturally become the most forward, whilst the more moderate are placed in the back ground. But, let this house take a different course—let us shew the Irish Catholics that we are willing to hear their claims and examine their complaints—and you will reverse the case. The moderate party will then come forward, while the violent will be restrained, and kept within bounds. But we are told that the Catholics will not be satisfied, inasmuch as they have followed each concession, step by step, and will never rest till they have obtained all.

“Sir, I am ready to admit, not only that they did, but that they were entitled to seek more. Sir, it is a delusion to say that, after having so far relaxed our laws, we could now stop where we are; it is contrary to history, it is contrary to nature; and the arguments respecting the danger to be apprehended, are totally groundless. As well might a person who saw the tide encroaching on the beach, endeavour to stop it half way, from a fear that, when it reached its height, it would deluge the country.

“The honourable member for Ripon (Sir R. Inglis,) has expressed his apprehension for the safety of the established church, in the event of any further concessions to the Roman Catholics. Sir, I am as anxious as the honourable member can be on that point. But I should like to ask the honourable member, whether he is satisfied about the safety of that church, if we continue in the state in which we now are? Does the honourable member suppose that the preservation of that church consists in securing its temporalities, in protecting its influence, and in preserving the walls of its cathedrals? No, sir! I would preserve the established church by watching over its fame and character, by supporting the purity of its doctrines, and by the exem-



plary lives of the teachers of those doctrines. I would guard that purity by removing every law which I consider degrading and disgraceful to it. And, sir, what, let me ask, can be more injurious to our church establishment than the imputation that it is a bar to the rights and privileges of a great portion of our fellow-subjects? This is an odium which I am most anxious to remove. Let us remove every thing which is calculated to cast an unfavourable stigma on that church. Let us do this, and we shall deepen its foundations, and cause it to be looked up to as acting upon the pure spirit of its divine Founder.

“Having alluded to the security of the church, I must observe, that there are many honourable and conscientious men who are willing to concede the Catholic claims, but who are deterred, from an apprehension of some undefined danger, and are anxious for securities. Sir, I too am anxious for securities; I think that the Roman Catholics are bound to give every security which they have it in their power conscientiously to give. The house should bear in mind, that, at the close of the war, this country was placed in a peculiar situation. All the nations of Europe were collecting in their resources, and repairing the injuries they had sustained. They were also providing for the future by removing all disabilities, and thus rooting out animosities, and uniting their representative states in one body. We, too, began to look to our finances, and curtail our expenditure—we began to trim the vessel, in order to provide for whatever might happen: but we did not follow the example of our neighbours—we did not endeavour to remove disabilities, and thereby consolidate and harmonize our domestic resources. We omitted to conciliate Ireland, and to do away with the intestine disturbances of that country. It is not for me to say, that a war will speedily arrive; but I do say, that in such an event, we are bound to consider what prospect have we of success, while Ireland remains in her present state? During the last war, Ireland had, by a miraculous interposition, contributed to the safety of this



country. During that war, we obtained the empire of the seas, and commanded the commerce of the nations. When peace came, other nations began to compete with us, and property was turned into new channels. We have strength, wealth, and wisdom to guide us ; but let no man undervalue our united population. Let no man neglect the fact, that internal discord retards the efforts, paralyses the exertions, and cripples the industry, while it adds, at the same time, to the expense and weakness of the nation. The matters of which I speak are no secrets to foreigners—they have heard them before now ; and there is not a foreign power in Europe, who, in the contemplation of a war, has not fixed an eye upon Ireland, as our weakest and most vulnerable part. Have any remedies been proposed for these evils on the other side ? I have heard of none, except the motion to dismiss the question, and wait for another session.

“ I am aware, sir, that we have been asked whether this measure will help to cultivate the waste lands of Ireland—whether it will explore her mines, increase her capital, and add to her trade. Sir, I am anxious that all these things should be done ; and when they are undertaken, I sincerely hope it may be with success ; but I do say, that neither one nor the other can succeed, without first adopting this preliminary measure, which must be the groundwork of all the rest. You must root out every fibre of the present system, before you can cure that rankling and jealousy to which it has given rise, and which tends to keep alive those feelings which are a bane to social order and internal happiness. I place the case of the Catholics of Ireland, and of the Catholics of England, not on the temporary grounds of expediency, not on the limited arguments of policy, not on engagements of warriors and sovereigns by stipulation and treaty, but I place it on the eternal principles of truth and justice. Their claims are founded on obligations of paramount authority, such as no sovereign or warrior can either establish or shake—they are founded on that eternal compact which it is beyond all human power to dissolve—the



compact between the governors and the governed—between the ruler and his people. It is on these principles that I make my appeal to the House of Commons, and through them to the people of England—and I know that appeal will be answered. I know it will be answered—whether now or to-morrow, I cannot say; but answered it must be, and will be, ere long. I see the prognostications of its ultimate success—I see them in every thing around us—I see them in this house—I see them out of this house. I may mention as one instance, the conduct of the two Universities with respect to this question. Oxford has presented but one partial petition; and Cambridge, for the first time, has presented none at all! I say, therefore, that I see in every thing around me, the anticipations of the ultimate success of this question. And if the question must be carried, why should it not be carried now? Why will you not give to an act of justice, the grace of an act of generosity? Let the house enter on the consideration of this subject with the generous feelings of Englishmen—let us fill up the measure of a former legislature—let us complete what they left undone, and make the Union which they created, a union in reality, as it is in name. I have great anticipation of those who in this country wish to see such a union effected—of those who are anxious to see the expression used by Mr. Pitt verified, in describing what he expected to be the effect of the Union—

“——— paribus se legibus ambæ  
Invictæ gentes æterna in foedera mittant.”

Let us, I say, verify this description—let us teach foreign nations that we are really united—let us shew them that we are most strong where we have been most vulnerable. Let us exhibit the glorious spectacle of a nation, formerly weakened by dissensions, but now, by our union, improved in resources and stability. Having conquered other nations, let us shew them that we know how to conquer ourselves; and let us, on the ruins of our prejudices, erect a monument of imperishable greatness.”



It will not be questioned by any candid and unprejudiced mind, that this speech, delivered, as all Mr. Grant's speeches are, in a tone of impassioned eloquence, must have produced a sensible impression on the members in general, and tended much to dissipate their prejudices, and influence their votes. But the cabinet was yet in a divided state, and it was not until the commencement of the following year, that this great act of concession could be obtained. On Thursday, March 5th, 1829, Mr. Peel rose, as the minister of the crown, to vindicate the advice which had been given to the King "by an united cabinet," and to move parliament to take into consideration those passages in his Majesty's speech which related to the state of Ireland. An adjournment of the debate having taken place, Mr. Grant rose first on the succeeding day, to deliver his sentiments on the subject.

He commenced by observing, that the necessity of yielding to the claims of the Catholics, had been wholly denied by some, while by others it had been considered as remote. But the period was now arrived, when, as the necessity was very generally acknowledged, it could no longer be viewed as remote. He would ask, whether, when the session of parliament had commenced, there were not six millions of people arrived at such a height of disaffection, that a single word from one man would have involved the empire in civil war? Up to this year, it had been said that the question of Catholic emancipation was interesting to only a few individuals, and was totally uninteresting to the people of Ireland. The people had now refuted that assertion, and had come forward voluntarily to identify themselves with the Catholic Association. What, he would ask, were the grounds of resisting the claims of the Catholics to political power? That their religion was incompatible with their allegiance to their sovereign. Yet in every bill which had been passed to relieve the Roman Catholics, this principle was abandoned, and the act proceeded with the declaration that they were loyal subjects. The member



for Oxford had last night said, that the government was not yet reduced to the necessity of concession. He had said that a united ministry might be formed, and that the Protestants might be rallied, and supported by the army of England, to keep down the efforts of the Catholics of Ireland.

This was what his honourable friend called moral force! The honourable member seemed to think that civil war was impossible; but he need only to look back to a period of thirty years, when what he considered to be impossible, actually took place. The Duke of Wellington, who had been accustomed to military command, when a crisis arrived, declined having recourse to power, and preferred conciliation; whereas his honourable friend, who, he believed, had not been much used to military command—when that crisis arrived, would have recourse to his system of moral force—an appeal to the bayonets of the Protestants of Ireland, supported by the bayonets of the army of England!! Mr. Grant went on to remark that the principle of exclusion could not be found in the bill of rights; and all the great authors, from Bacon to Burke, declare that the British constitution is not an exclusive one. He regarded the bill about to be introduced, as an act of liberality—an act of justice done in a spirit which gave to it all the grace of favour. A noble lord (Chandos) had declared that he thought the securities to be introduced in the proposed measure were good for nothing. In Mr. Grant's opinion, the measure did not rely on those securities so much as on its own essential principles. The feelings of the nobility, the gentry, and the yeomanry of England, were decidedly in favour of the established church; and all those classes were united heart and hand against the errors of the Roman Catholic faith. This was the real security. For his own part, he looked for securities in the affections, not only of the people of this country, but more particularly of the people of Ireland. There would now be a united kingdom. He was sure that the day the bill



received the royal assent, would be for ever remembered in Ireland at their solemn meetings, and in their hours of conviviality; and that it would be remembered, not as the signal of disunion and discord, but as the pledge of tranquillity on the one hand, and of protection on the other.

These references to Mr. Grant's speeches will be sufficient to justify what has been said of his liberal sentiments and enlightened views of policy, particularly in regard to Ireland. But that was not the only subject on which he has distinguished himself. He is an able pleader for the system of free-trade, so powerfully advocated by Mr. Huskisson. On the 17th of June, 1828, General Gascoyne, member for Liverpool, moved the House of Commons for an inquiry into the causes of the apparent diminution of ships, tonnage, and men, which had recently taken place in the commercial navy of the country. After a speech from Mr. Courtney, then in office, Mr. Grant spoke to the following effect.

He commenced by remarking, that he was glad the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Courtney, and those other gentlemen, whose innocent minds were like blank sheets of paper—he was, indeed, happy that these simple-hearted persons intended to examine the subject, in order that they might have a great field of consideration through the summer—he could not but feel sure that the examination would end, as it ought to do, in a confirmation of the principles of his right honourable friend, Mr. Huskisson. It appeared to him, from the shape of the present motion, that it was a renewal of those efforts, which had so often been made to persuade the house that his right honourable friend had failed in his project; and he must confess, that,—notwithstanding this was the evening of wonders, he had never heard a more extraordinary proposition. It certainly appeared, from the accounts on the table, that the number of the registered vessels was diminished; but if the gallant general would only take the trouble to look at the foot of the account, he would find the explanation he wished to have! He thought they were very far from having any just



ground of alarm for the state of British navigation, or the maritime interest. The real criterion of the question was, what was the actual employment of the ships? So that, even if they had an accurate account of the number of ships, it would still be fallacious; for they would not be able to tell how far they would be employed, or whether one half or two-thirds of them were lying idle in dock. The gallant general appears to have been struck with the diminution of the human race! A complaint had been made, that the number of men employed in our shipping had diminished, while that of the persons employed in foreign shipping had increased. But the truth was, that there had been an increase in both; and it was greater in favour of this country than of other nations. He admitted that the shipping interest was in a state of depression; but that depression did not arise from want of employment, but from the want of a power to derive a profit from it. The profits of the trade at present were very low; and he was not surprised that men who, in 1825, were making such large profits, should now complain when those profits were so much reduced. The house should not legislate for particular classes; but it ought to look at the whole of the vast machine; and if, on the whole, they saw there was a favourable increase of its activity, its power, and its productiveness, they should be satisfied. He could not regard foreign commerce to this country, but as an accession to our general trade. Mr. Grant here entered into numerical statements, all tending to shew that the commerce of this country, internal and external, was in a state which did not justify the complaints which were made. He asked whether, under these circumstances, England was to fear the competition of other nations—whether her commerce was in jeopardy from their efforts, when they saw that, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which this country laboured, the tonnage in her trading increased beyond that of any other nation, even when theirs increased, but also increased when at the same time theirs had diminished.



It is incompatible with our restricted limits, to trace the labours of Mr. Grant, in discussing the various measures of trade and finance which have, from time to time, engaged the attention of parliament, such as the silk-trade, the duties on sugar imported, &c. &c.; on all which his judgment has always been deferred to by the house, and allowed to have great weight.

We are not aware that Mr. Grant has ever employed his great and commanding talents on the all-engrossing subject of parliamentary reform; and this circumstance has induced a suspicion in the minds of some, that he is no friend to the measure. We do not, however, yield to that suspicion: he has invariably given his vote in favour of it, which is surely no slight test of evidence that he approves of it. We do not recollect that he took any part in the debates respecting the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts; and yet the manner in which he exerted his eloquence, to procure emancipation for the Irish Catholics, forbids us to entertain the opinion that he was indifferent about the former measure, the securing of which almost unavoidably drew the latter in its train. Mr. Grant is evidently a modest, unassuming man, less aware than others are of his superior acquirements, and less solicitous about displaying them; add to which, that he is often disqualified, by indisposition, for taking an active part in the debates. The office which he holds in the present cabinet, president of the India board, is a very important one, and such as demands superior talents, and no ordinary exertions to manage:—with any deficiency of the former, Mr. Grant has never been accused; it is for him to supply the latter.



THE RT. HON.

L O R D D U R H A M,

*Lord Privy Seal.*

**JOHN-GEORGE LAMBTON**, Baron Durham, takes his surname from the manor of Lambton, in the county of Durham, of which his lordship's ancestors have been possessed from time immemorial. Surtees, in his history of that county, tells us, that "no earlier owners of Lambton are on record, than the ancient and honourable family which still bears the local name. The regular pedigree can only be traced from the twelfth century, many of the family records having been destroyed in the civil wars: but the previous residence of the family is well proved by attestations of charters and incidental evidence, from a period very nearly approaching to the Norman wars. "Thus, John de Lambton was witness to a charter of Uchtred de Wodeshend, about the year 1180; John de Lambton was also witness to a charter of Alexander, one of the Scottish kings, of lands granted to William de Swynburne in 1260; and Richard de Lambton, to charters of Finchale Abbey, about 1270. Robert de Lambton was lord of the manor of Lambton in 1314, and died in 1350. From him, the present Lord Durham is the sixteenth in lineal descent. Intermarriages with nearly all the great northern families have long insured to his ancestors a leading influence in the county and city of Durham, one or other of which they have generally represented in parliament, from the earliest period at which the elective franchise was extended to those places.





Painted by the artist, T. R.

Engraved by J. G. G.

THE REV. JOHN GEORGE LAMONT, BISHOP OF NEW YORK

*Lamont*



LORD DURHAM.

THE RT. HON.

LORD DURHAM,

*Lord Priory Seal.*

John de Lambton, Baron Durham, takes his surname from the manor of Lambton, in the county of Durham, of which his lordship's ancestors have been possessed from time immemorial. Surtees, in his history of that county, tells us, that "no earlier owners of Lambton are on record, than the ancient and honourable family which still bears the local name. The regular pedigree can only be traced from the twelfth century, many of the family records having been destroyed in the civil wars: but the position and influence of the family is well proved by attestations of charters and incidental evidence, from a period very nearly approaching to the Norman wars. "Thus, John de Lambton was witness to a charter of Uchtred de Wodeshend, about the year 1180; John de Lambton was also witness to a charter of Alexander, one of the Scottish kings, of lands granted to William de Buryngton in 1260; and Richard de Lambton, to charters of Fountains Abbey, about 1270. Robert de Lambton was lord of the manor of Lambton in 1314, and died in 1359. From him, the present Lord Durham is the sixteenth in lineal descent. Intermarriages with nearly all the great northern families have long insured to his ancestors a leading influence in the county and city of Durham, one or other of which they have generally represented in parliament, from the earliest period at which the elective franchise was extended to those places.





Painted by Sir Tho<sup>s</sup> Lawrence, P.R.A.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

THE RT HONBLE JOHN-GEORGE LAMBTON, BARON DURHAM.

*Durham*

FISHER, SON & CO LONDON, 1832.







William-Henry Lambton, the father of the present Lord Durham, was born 16th November, 1764, and represented the city of Durham in three parliaments. He married Lady Anne Barbara-Frances Villiers, daughter of the Earl of Jersey, and by her had five children, the eldest of whom is the subject of this memoir. William-Henry Lambton, Esq. died Nov. 30th, 1797; and his widow, who afterwards married the Hon. Charles-William Wyndham, brother to the Earl of Egremont, fell a martyr to the cholera morbus, on the 21st of April, 1832, at the age of 61, after a few hours illness.

Lord Durham was born on the 12th of April, 1792, and on the 1st of January, 1812, married Miss Henrietta Cholmondeley, by whom he had three daughters; but, losing their mother, who died on the 11th of July, 1815, his lordship, on the 9th of December, 1816, was united to his present lady, the daughter of Earl Grey, by whom he has had issue, two sons and two daughters. Of those, the eldest son, the Hon. Charles-William Lambton, was snatched away, during the year 1831, to the great grief of his parents and the family, at the age of fourteen.

An opinion has been propagated for some time past, and it seems to have gained credibility by time, and the gradual development of circumstances, that, whether the present very extensive plan of reform be such as the exigence of the case required or not, it owes its origination to the powerful mind of Lord Durham. One thing is certain, that though the subject of parliamentary reform had not infrequently been introduced before his lordship entered the House of Commons, yet no measure so comprehensive had been hinted at by Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, or even Earl Grey, until Lord Durham, then Mr. Lambton, brought forward the subject of parliamentary reform, ten years ago, when a member of the House of Commons, in a speech which comprised much constitutional information; and as it may afford matter of curious speculation to the reader to compare the plan then submitted to the honourable house,



with that which has recently occupied the public mind, we shall here produce it.

On the 17th of April, 1821, pursuant to notice previously given, Mr. Lambton, then member for Durham, rose to bring under review the present state of our representative system. Averse as he was at all times to trespass on the attention of the house, at none was he ever more reluctant than at present, to introduce a subject of the highest moment, and demanding from them the most calm and dispassionate consideration. Nothing but an imperious sense of duty, and an anxious desire to see an end put to that spirit of discontent which was now pervading all classes of society, would have induced him to take up a question of such mighty importance. He knew that he had to contend against the disinclination of the house to listen to discussions of this nature—a disinclination or dislike, which it was natural for all men to feel, to the hearing of charges made against itself, and of arguments founded on those charges. If any evidence were wanting, to prove the existence of this aversion, it might surely be found in the state of the benches opposite!\* He must confess that he was almost tempted to take advantage of the circumstance, to submit his proposition, and at once take the sense of the house upon it. An immediate division would, he believed, shew that the honourable friends by whom he was surrounded, did for once outnumber the supporters of his Majesty's ministers. Under all the circumstances, however, he was not disposed to adopt this course; and should only remark, that if it was meant as an insult to himself, he treated it with contempt—if as an insult to the question and to the people, he felt only indignation; and trusted, that it would not be lost on, or forgotten by, the people. He trusted they would hereafter bear in mind in what way the subject on which they had rested all their hopes, was treated by the other side, where, of all his Majesty's ministers, he now perceived only the right honour-

\* The ministerial side of the house was, at the moment, very sparingly occupied by honourable members.



able twins, (Messrs. Vansittart and Bathurst,) united in principle, as well as in representing the oyster-dredgers of Harwick!

Mr. Lambton said, the house might be assured, that he was fully sensible of the disadvantage under which he laboured in following the eminent men who had distinguished themselves as advocates of this cause—men who shed as bright a lustre on it, as the cause, however honourable, could reflect upon them. He was aware, too, that he should have to encounter the splendid eloquence of a right honourable gentleman, Mr. Canning, who was always foremost in his hostility to this question, and who resisted, with more than ordinary zeal, that extended system of amelioration, which it was his (Mr. Lambton's) intention to propose. In this situation he threw himself upon the indulgence of the house, and would assure the honourable member for Boston, that he was impelled to this undertaking by the voice of the people, loudly and steadily uttering their complaints, and tracing the distresses which they endured to a course of mismanagement and misrule that could not have taken place, but for the corruptions which prevailed in the organization of that house. They were often told that we lived in dangerous times; and he readily admitted, that they were indeed awful and portentous—sad from a recollection of the past, and gloomy from a too obvious anticipation of the future. A spirit of discontent was abroad, and it would be satisfied with nothing vain or unsubstantial. The public mind had expanded; a prodigious increase of knowledge had been obtained by the population at large; it was no longer possible to blind or deceive them. He was enabled since he came into the house to justify this part of his argument, by an authority on which he had not calculated—he meant the authority of Mr. Justice Best, who, in a late address to a grand jury, had remarked, that knowledge had been greatly extended, and that a state of knowledge was so different from a state of ignorance, that it would be as absurd to apply the same regulations to both, as to treat in



the same way things that had, and things that had not, animation.

Mr. Lambton proceeded to say, that he had enjoyed an ample opportunity of examining the habits, opinions, and feelings of the people in the northern counties, and he must state, that he had been astonished at their improvement. When engaged on his canvass, there was not a village, however remote or secluded, in which he was not questioned upon every important branch of our national interests, and reminded of those abuses which required correction. This was not the case twenty years ago; but as knowledge had succeeded to ignorance, independence had taken the place of apathy, and would display itself whenever a fit opportunity should arrive. Had it not then become necessary to make some concessions, to give some satisfaction to the people? Our national debt amounted to eight hundred and fifty millions—our annual taxation to fifty-three millions. We had a sinking fund which was a mere deception; a system of collecting the revenue most burdensome and inconvenient; commerce was every where depressed; agriculture was represented as standing in need of a relief which must be destructive of our manufactures, and the class of agricultural labourers were undoubtedly in a state not far removed from starvation. We had a large standing army—a subject of so much jealousy to our ancestors, though of none to us, and the maintenance of it was one of the reasons assigned for depriving James II. of his throne. A system of corruption was actively at work, and was so firmly established, that seats in parliament were openly advertised to be sold. At the same time we were subject to perpetual alarms of treason and rebellion, and were informed but the other night by a noble lord, (Palmerston,) that we were only now in the first year of domestic peace. Our jails were overflowing, and our feelings shocked by barbarous executions resulting from the defective state of our criminal jurisprudence. If we turned our eyes abroad for consolation, the view was not less gloomy. We beheld repeated sacrifices of national



honour, and of faith solemnly pledged. Norway, Genoa, basely surrendered, and all free intercourse prevented with other countries by measures such as the alien act, repugnant to every principle of freedom and civilization.

We were now conniving at the endeavours of that unholy league, which had designated itself as "The Holy Alliance," to crush the awakening spirit of other states, and whose sacrilegious object it was to rivet for ever the chains which those states had already worn too long. Our foreign policy had in fact degraded the character which we formerly maintained; and, instead of being regarded with esteem and respect, we had been the object of distrust, jealousy, and hatred. It was natural, then, that every mind should be intent to discover causes of such consummate misery and disgrace; and, unfortunately, it was not necessary to look far. That clause which ought to be a rock of security and defence to the people, was itself the source of the wrongs and grievances complained of.

*"Hoc fonte derivata clades*

*In patriam, populumque fluxit."*

The people of this country had nobly struggled against the violent efforts once made to enslave them, and it was afterwards discovered that the arms of corruption were more prevailing than military force. So powerful indeed had they been found, that if we had any liberty remaining, it ought in fairness to be attributed to the forbearance of the government itself. Could any man say, who contemplated the legions of civil troops at the command of ministers; the vast multitude of commissioners, tax-gatherers, and clerks; the establishments of excise and customs, and of those connected with the army and navy—that the people had any chance of resisting such an influence? The system of checks, which was the boasted perfection of our constitution, was completely overthrown; the people were entirely taken out of the balance. The great and only effectual check upon the crown, the power of refusing supplies, had become null and void. Many of the members



of that house were returned directly by the crown, and some were returned by themselves. The augmentation of the public debt, under these circumstances, was no matter of surprise, any more than the commencement of wars, which uniformly ended in making the condition of the people more miserable.

Every true lover of his country must therefore desire to see the influence of the crown diminished, and a representative system adopted, that should admit the popular feeling as one of the elements of its composition. In the present constitution of parliament, the sense of the people might be said to be altogether omitted. For, although a few members were elected by the present means, it might be shewn that a hundred and eighty individuals returned three hundred and fifty members, or a majority, in that house. In most instances, there was not even the shadow of popular delegation. Gentlemen accepted the Chiltern hundreds when they could not vote according to the wishes of their patrons; but who ever heard of their doing so out of deference to their constituents, if they had any, or to the country at large? Nothing could more distinctly shew the practice of voting for this or that measure, on the mere recommendation of ministers, than the final vote to which the house came, on the famous, or rather infamous, expedition to Walcheren! To prevent the further continuance of such a state of things, and the recurrence of measures such as these, was the object of his present motion.

In order that the people might be more equally represented, and in consequence have the influence over their representatives which might make the latter hesitate before they consented to acts which affected the safety and the existence, of the rights, the properties, and the freedom of their constituents, Mr. Lambton said, that he considered there ought to be an extension of the elective franchise to three other classes besides the freeholders—namely, the leaseholders, copyholders, and house-



holders paying rates and taxes. There ought also to be a disfranchisement of all corrupt and venal boroughs. He would not here weary the attention of honourable gentlemen by entering at any length into the history of the constitution of the house, but he would very shortly recapitulate one or two points which it might be material to state.

In the reign of Edward the Third, parliaments ceased to be held annually, in consequence of a disinclination on the part of sovereigns to summon parliaments, and on the part of representatives to attend them; a reluctance, arising on the one hand from too great a tendency to arbitrary principles; and on the other—from what he had ever conceived to be one of the worst symptoms of national character—a want of spirit and zeal on the part of the people. Nay, to such a height was that vicious reluctance carried, that in this same reign a statute was enacted, by which the wages to be paid by shires and boroughs to their members were ascertained and fixed.

In the 16th year of the reign of Charles the Second, an act was passed of a most important nature; for it directed, that, in future, parliaments should be holden every three years; and then the 6th of William and Mary recited in the preamble, that frequent parliaments tended very much to the welfare and happiness of the people, and went on to ordain that parliaments should be triennial.

The next statute it was necessary for him to notice, was that of the 1st of Geo. I. c. 38. and that virtually repealed the two preceding ones. It set forth, that it had been found by experience, that the act of William and Mary, limiting the duration of parliaments to three years, had been found grievous and vexatious, tending to excite jealousies and contentions, and to incur expense, besides keeping the country in a state of unquietness. This act, commonly called “the Septennial Act,” was not passed without warm and repeated debates; and, in the protests which were entered on the journals of the House of Peers, he found



arguments which were at once so applicable and so cogent, that he could not refrain from stating them in substance to the house. Those protests, after tracing the law of frequent and new parliaments as one agreeable to the constitution of these realms, and to the constitution as it existed at that day, and after denying the right of a parliament elected for a term of three years, to extend the period of its duration to seven, proceeded to observe, as the opinion of the subscribing peers, that "we conceive septennial parliaments, so far from preventing corruption, will rather increase it; for, the longer the existence which a parliament has, the greater will be the danger of corruption, as seats become, on that account, the more valuable."

They held that the establishment of septennial parliaments would place at the disposal of any bad minister who chose to avail himself of them, the certain means of purchasing and bestowing seats in parliament, and offices under the government, by the distribution of which they might be enabled to effect any measure, however injurious in its tendency to the honour of the crown, the purity of parliament, or the interests of the people. This septennial act, indeed, which he could not but characterize as the most daring and most unconstitutional exercise of parliamentary authority that ever was attempted within these walls, was undoubtedly founded upon circumstances of temporary necessity. It was only to be justified upon the fact, that if it had not passed, there would have been a new election; and it might have been doubtful whether (especially after the recent events which had then given cause of perhaps just apprehension to the government) a majority in that case would not be returned to parliament adverse to the Brunswick family, and to all those great principles which had lately placed them on the throne. He was aware that historians differed very greatly on this subject; but his own opinion on the matter was, that however much posterity might rejoice for the events in consequence of which this statute was obtained, yet that it would always consider it as perhaps the most



daring encroachment on rights which had been bequeathed to us by our ancestors, that any parliament had ever ventured to commit. He should not, therefore, under those impressions, have intended, for one moment, to propose any measure to the house of this kind, which did not include the great object of triennial parliaments, thinking, as he did, that it was essentially necessary for the representative and his constituents to meet more frequently than they now met; and that the lengthened duration of parliaments operated to render the representative forgetful of those interests which he was returned to protect.

The next great point to which he begged to call the attention of the house, regarded the electors and the elected. After a great deal of inquiry and research, he remained convinced, that, down to the reign of Henry VI., all persons possessing property, of which they paid a certain proportion towards the support of the state, had a right of voting in the election of members to serve in parliament. And this position he could confirm by various ancient state documents and acts of parliament. King Edward I., in his writ to the sheriffs, required the return of two knights from every shire or county, to represent it in parliament, and of two citizens, or burgesses, from each borough. And he assigned as a reason, that matters which concerned all should be known to all, and by them, through their representatives, be regulated; and that they who possessed the property which was to be protected, should nominate whom they would choose to discharge such an office on their behalf. It was in the same spirit that Edward III., in answer to the petitions of his Commons for annual parliaments, and the return of knights of the shire to represent the counties in them, replied, "As to the parliament, it hath been required that it shall meet every year; and there be statutes and ordinances of the land made and enacted in that behalf: let them be duly kept and observed. As for the return of knights of the shire, the king willeth that they shall be returned by the 'whole' county."



By the seventh of Henry IV., the house would find that this ancient right was formally and solemnly recognized in the statute-book; and, in cap. 15, there was this singular sentence—"Our Lord, the King, hath the grievous complaints of his Commons as to the undue returns made for certain shires." It proceeded to provide as a remedy, that at the next county court, after the delivery of the writ for such return, "all they which shall be then and there present, as well suitors as they that shall be summoned, and others, shall attend the election forthwith of such knight," &c. Now, as if the word "suitors" was not a sufficient description, the word "others" was added: and this proved that all free Englishmen had then an undoubted right of voting in the return of their representatives. The eleventh of Henry IV. recognized the same principle: and the first of Henry V. did so too, but it made a certain qualification necessary in the elector. At a period of 130 years after the first of these statutes, which he had been quoting, came the act of the eighth of Henry VI., under which the right of exercising the elective franchise was now regulated and ascertained: for, down to this statute, it had existed, as he had shewn, under very different circumstances. The preamble was the most extraordinary one imaginable. It recited, that—"Whereas the elections of knights of the shires, which had of late been held, had been made in tumults, and in heats and disorders; and whereas riots, contentions, and batteries"—(the house would suppose, naturally enough, that it went on, "did occur:" no such thing, but) "shall very likely occur:" then it proceeded to enact, that the right of voting should be limited to freeholders, having freeholds of the yearly value of 40s.

From this period was to be derived the first transfer of the elective franchise from all freeholders and freemen of England to freeholders of 40s. a year; a period, he would observe by the way, which was marked by the adoption of another daringly oppressive act, compelling labourers and artificers to work for certain lower wages than they then



obtained. As, therefore, all Englishmen contributing to defray the burdens of the state, thus enjoyed the right of electing their representatives till the 8th of Henry VI., so they now ought to resume those rights which had been treacherously wrested from their ancestors; for the preamble of this very act shewed, that such was in truth the case. The 23d of Henry VI., recognized the enactments of the former statute, and recited an act which was passed in the 1st of Henry V. That act related entirely to residence, which it made a necessary qualification in the elector. It was not until the 14th of George III., that the laws relating to this qualification of residence was repealed; and for that repeal, the act he had last mentioned assigned a very ridiculous reason, viz. that they had become obsolete. The fact was, that they had been disregarded, from this most cogent motive—that they were exceedingly inconvenient to successive administrations. In their stead, a principle had been substituted, that the right of electing remained the same in the free-holder, resident or non-resident. Was this a principle, he would ask, at all applicable to the present system of borough representation? It might be curious to inquire how some of those boroughs were represented, but much more so, how they returned their representatives. Many of them were places which had been formerly opulent and populous, but which were now deserted and decayed; consisting, perhaps, not of the tenements and houses, and inhabitants, but only of a few solitary posts and stones, just serving to denote the site of the dwellings to which they once had been attached; and members were returned to parliament for those places by those substances! These were the constituents who were entitled to return them.

If he were to ask such a question of certain honourable gentlemen whom he saw in that house, and they would answer him (which he very much doubted,) they would declare, most of them, that they had never been blessed with the sight of their constituents; or if any of them had had that felicity, and had travelled down post to the Lands-



End, for the purpose of being returned to parliament, it would appear that they had carried with them the whole of their constituents locked up in their own trunks, after having been suddenly withdrawn from the dusty privacy and retirement of the solicitor's office. It was necessary for him to declare that he should propose to disfranchise these boroughs, and all corrupt and venal boroughs, entirely. Mr. Pitt had once proposed, and a similar proposition had very recently been proposed by Lord John Russell, that compensation should be made to such boroughs as should be disfranchised. He should decidedly say, that it ought not : for, if this venal right, this white slave-trade, which they exercised, had no legal foundation, he knew of no principle upon which it could be proper to give a compensation for it. They would still have all their constitutional property, their chartered and private rights ; but surely they could not expect remuneration for privileges which violated this general integrity of their common rights. The members of parliament, down to the reign of Henry VIII., it appeared, received wages from their constituents ; and the same custom might be said, in some places, to prevail now, with this difference indeed, that the principle had been just inverted—the principle had sustained a total change, because, in certain places, the representatives might rather be said to pay their constituents' wages ! Unfortunately, the people of England did not feel that they had much benefited by the change. Certainly, as Mr. Locke had once well observed, there could be no fair principle assigned why the representatives of boroughs without any actual existence, should have an equal right to vote away the public money, or to vote on questions involving public interests, with those who were returned by real communities, the possessors of the wealth, and the objects affected in fact by such questions.

Mr. Lambton next proceeded to remark, that he did hold, that in extending the franchise he must have some basis to go upon, and that he knew no basis preferable to that of



property. The possession of a certain property gave a man a real interest in the return of a representative, at the same time that it removed from him that temptation which, if he were poor and dependent, he must be almost necessarily exposed to in the giving of his vote. He had no hesitation in avowing, that, owing to the lapse of time, and the operation of other causes, he conceived that the state of our representation had fallen into decay, and that it exhibited defects and faults which called for reformation. He was not so infatuated with his own ideas as to suppose that the plan which he had to recommend to the house, was the best that could be adopted; but he deemed it proper to explain, if the house would indulge him for a short time, how it would work; and he would endeavour to bring its principal features fairly before the view of the house. He might be allowed to premise, that the principle of a change in the system of representation was by no means new, as might be shewn from a great variety of acts of parliament, as early as the reign of Henry VIII. The 27th of Henry VIII., regulated the representation of the principality of Wales. The 35th of the same reign ascertained the parliamentary wages to be paid to knights of the shire, and burgesses returned for Wales; and an act of the 34th, the preceding year, recited, that whereas the county palatine of Chester had hitherto been excluded from sending members to parliament, in consequence whereof it had sustained very great detriment and damage, therefore it was enacted, that thereafter the county should send two knights, and the city two burgesses, to parliament. The next was a statute which he certainly felt a peculiar interest in, or otherwise he should not at that moment have had the honour of addressing the house on this subject.

It was the 35th of Charles II., which enacted, that "the county of Durham, having habitually paid all levies, rates, and taxes, like all other counties, was therefore equally authorized, and should thenceforward be entitled, to send two members to parliament." After directing the attention



of the house to this statute, he thought he might with a better grace proceed to submit one or two propositions in favour of the unrepresented portion of the people of England. Now, these three classes, householders, leaseholders, and copyholders, "as a remedy to restore rest, quietness, and peace," (in the words of the statute of Henry IV.) to this kingdom, he should propose to be admitted into the participation and enjoyment of the elective franchise. He had divided the bill which he had prepared into several parts; the heads of which he would now recapitulate. He did not intend to go through the details of the bill at all; but it might be convenient that he should state compendiously its objects. It had been one of the objections always urged against reformers, that, whatever they proposed, they offered nothing that was practicable. But he thought this bill, in the preparation of which he begged to acknowledge the great and valuable assistance of a legal friend, would be found capable of immediate application.

The first part related to housekeepers, and the division of counties into districts, for the purpose of enabling such housekeepers, paying rates and taxes, to vote. The second part added to those at present qualified to elect in county elections, copy-holders and lease-holders, but it touched the present system of county representation in no other way than this. And here it was proper to state, that the two universities were left entirely as they are at present. The third part was to repeal the septennial act, and to make the duration of parliaments triennial. As to the first part of his plan—the division of counties into districts, in order to enable housekeepers to vote; the effect of it would be to give a representative to every five and twenty thousand inhabitants, out of which number (reckoning one in ten to pay rates and taxes,) there would be two thousand five hundred electors. He assumed the population of England and Wales at ten millions and a half of persons; and these would be represented by four hundred and seventeen members, to be returned, taking away, in this calculation, the



county members, and the members of rotten boroughs. He had originally estimated the number of constituents to each representative, at three thousand, seven hundred, and fifty; but it appeared on further consideration, that this estimate would be possibly rather exaggerated; and, taking one in ten as a payer of rates and taxes, he was disposed to fix their number at two thousand five hundred.

The right of election, according to this bill, was to be in all inhabitant householders being *bona fide* rated, paying rates and taxes, and having paid them for six months before the election, and never having received parochial relief. The next subject on which he had felt most anxious was, as to the returning officer; of course, much would depend on his performance of the duties assigned him, and he (Mr. Lambton) had provided that he was to be annually elected by the overseers and churchwardens of the town-district every fourth Monday after Easter. He also proposed to authorize this officer to appoint a deputy to arrange all minor details, and to reside always on the spot. Then, with a view to provide for the impartiality of the returning officer, he had inserted a clause, rendering him liable to be punished by imprisonment in case of malversation. It was proposed to enable any individual who should be elected to the office to decline it upon paying the sum of £200, for the poor of the parish. The polling was to be opened in the chief towns in every district; to be kept open eight hours each day, and not to last more than six days. Then there was a provision to furnish the sheriff, in all instances, with a sufficient quantity of polling books. The elections he should not like to have removed from the principal towns and places where they were now held. It was a good, that on these occasions there should prevail all that bustle, spirit, and interest, by which elections were characterized, and that the candidates should so be under the necessity, as it were, of meeting large bodies of their constituents openly and fairly. One particular arrangement was, that in districts consisting of more than one parish, the votes of persons residing five



miles and upwards from the principal town, might be polled before the churchwarden or overseer of the parish where they were so resident, and that this subordinate polling might last three days, and the result of it be regularly transmitted to the place of election every evening. He had also provided for giving ample notices of elections. The sheriff was directed to issue his precept within three days after the receipt of the writ, and the returning officer was then bound to proceed to election within thirty-six hours after the receipt of the precept. Thus it was calculated that the election could always be completed (without the intervention of a Sunday) in six days. No alteration was proposed in the oaths, as directed by the 30th Charles II., and the 1st George I., excepting so far as regarded the extension of the franchise to householders, leaseholders, and copyholders. All persons having now a right of voting were to preserve it for the remainder of their lives, and it was then (in cases where a franchisement was proposed by the bill,) to cease and determine. The expenses of clerks, booths, &c., it was proposed to defray by a slight county-rate, or a warrant signed by the returning officer and another magistrate. This was a principle of the ancient law, for it was first vested in these parties by the 27th Elizabeth, commonly called "The Hue-and-cry act." It was also recognized by the 31st George II., and by the 57th George III.

As to enabling lease and copy holders to vote, the justice of this provision could hardly be disputed. Without going into any history of feudal times, it was sufficient to say, that, whatever effect this operation might once have had, copyhold was now as good property as leasehold: the copyholder could no longer be deprived by the will of his lord. Under the 15th George III., county pollings might be kept open for fifteen days—he should propose to reduce this duration to ten days only. One of the subjects of the bill related to disqualifications to sit in parliament. He should propose to disqualify all those who, having duties to perform abroad, it was morally impossible could properly



discharge their duties to their constituents at home. Under this clause would of course come ambassadors to foreign courts, governors of colonies, and military and naval officers. The bill would extend only to England and Wales. A noble friend of his intended to give notice of a motion on the same subject relative to Scotland, and therefore he did not think of including it in the operation of his measure.

It now remained for him to say, that he should not at present propose to introduce the bill which embodied these different objects, but rather follow the example of his right honourable friend, (Mr. Plunkett,) when he moved for a committee, in the first instance, to consider of the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects; and he (Mr. Lambton) should therefore move, "that this house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the present state of the representation." If the house should grant him the committee, he should therein move certain resolutions, which would be founded on the principle of Lord Chatham, "that for men to be taxed without being represented, is contrary to all justice." Mr. Lambton said, his bill contained the form of an oath to be administered to the electors at the time of polling, which endeavoured, as much as possible, to guard against the possibility of all bribery and corruption in elections.

Mr. Lambton concluded by vindicating the measure which he was desirous of introducing, and offered some free strictures on the treatment which similar attempts had been met with on former occasions. In thus advocating an extended franchise, he said, he was aware that he was exposing himself to the misrepresentations of many, the taunts of some, and the fears of others. These fears arose out of a system of alarm, which was first created by Mr. Pitt, at the commencement of the French Revolution, to cover the abandonment of his early principles; and now it was that danger was to be conjured up, and mischiefs were to be denounced, as the consequences of what was



termed innovation. Their minds were still to be alarmed by predictions of ruin, by visions of anarchy and confusion, when a measure was to be proposed, by which the people were to be put in possession of those rights which their own ancestors had enjoyed in prosperous tranquillity. He should have thought, indeed, that to confer on them franchises, was to retain them in submission to the laws and the constitution which those franchises gave them so direct and so apparent an interest in preserving. He should have thought, that to preserve them with the most valuable privilege of citizens, was to ensure that tranquillity in which alone it could be effectually exercised. He should have thought, that to concede those franchises, so far from an innovation, would be merely to do that for the people which their ancestors had done for them in the cases of Wales, of Durham, and of Chester—acts which former parliaments had recorded on their journals in a way the most solemn and authentic.

The system pursued towards the people of this kingdom, by the honourable gentlemen opposite, was, indeed, a widely different one. Their claims, and their representations, on this head, were met by every species of neglect or indifference; or by every kind of ridicule which the art and the ingenuity of the honourable member for Liverpool (Mr. Canning) could suggest to him. The right of petition to parliament, and of meeting to petition for redress of grievances, had been fatally abridged; and the result was, a sullen silence on the part of the people, more alarming than any loud and open expression of their feelings. But surely that house never could forget the insecurity of power founded on the sword, and on the sword alone. And when he alluded to the repressed declaration of public opinion, he would tell these honourable gentlemen, that that public it was in their power to conciliate, but they could never hope to coerce. Yet, when this was the state of the country, and of parliament, himself, and they who acted with him on such occasions as



the present, were to be called innovators. He should really be glad to know who were the real innovators on the British constitution—they who would restore to the people their ancient franchises and rights, or they who had violated the right of petition, suspended the habeas corpus act, and passed bills of indemnity? He contended that he was not an innovator upon the institutions of the country—all he asked of the house was, to restore to the people those rights which had been enjoyed, exercised, and recognized in their forefathers. Against such propositions, two notable arguments had been adduced:—one, that the present system, though it might be theoretically bad, worked well; the other, that rotten boroughs were useful for introducing into parliament, talented young men without property.

Now, as to the first argument, it would be strange if the right honourable and honourable gentlemen, whose families benefited so largely by the money they derived from it, should for a moment think it worked otherwise than admirably for them! And as to the second argument, was that house intended, he would ask, to be a mere theatre for the display of oratorical talent, or was it designed to be an institution for the purpose of checking the encroachments of the crown on the one hand, and of the aristocracy on the other? If he might be allowed to consider the proposition as it respected his own private establishment, he would say, that he would rather be served by the most plain, downright, stupidly honest man, if they pleased to call him so, than the most splendidly gifted rascal that ever wore a livery! In conclusion, he would observe, “that the present was not a time to tamper with public opinion. It was now making rapid strides through all the world. Wherever it was resisted, as in Italy, the effects would be destructive; but where it was not opposed, the prospect was uniformly cheering. When he saw in so many places the powerful operation of a reforming spirit, he was tempted to expect that the time was at



length come, when the power of opinion and of knowledge would be ascertained and established. And might he not indulge a hope, that the star which now rose over countries once the darkest and most unenlightened of our hemisphere, would shed its all-conquering influence, and dissipate for ever the mists of religious and political bigotry? He would now leave this subject in the hands of the house, and, resting his proposition, as he did, upon ancient and acknowledged rights, he felt that he had planted his foot upon a rock, from whence he might defy the fury of the fiercest tide that fear or misrepresentation could pour around him."

The reader, after carefully perusing this very able speech, will be prepared to judge of the probability of the conjecture, that we are indebted to Lord Durham for the very bold and sweeping measure of reform now on the eve of being carried into effect. And he may possibly find additional evidence, from the manner in which the noble baron has defended the bill in its passage through the House of Peers, to the notice of which we now proceed. It may not, however, be impertinent here to remark, that it was in support of Mr. Lambton's motion, on this occasion, that Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the present secretary at war, entered the lists with the late Mr. Canning, in a *memorable* speech, some account of which will be found in our sketch of the life of the honourable baronet, the member for Westminster, and in which he took ample vengeance on that illustrious statesman for a trifling insult! But we proceed—

Soon after Lord John Russell had expounded to the House of Commons the ministerial plan of reform, Lord Wharncliffe, among other noble lords, took alarm, and introduced a discussion upon the subject in the House of Lords, though the bill was not then before them. The noble lord entered his name upon the list of opponents to the bill, and declared hostility to it in all its parts, in a speech of considerable length, and concluded by moving



for "returns of the population of the different counties of England and Wales." Lord Durham rose in his place to reply to his noble friend, Lord Wharncliffe, on Monday, March the 28th, 1831, and after a few preliminary compliments, in which he acquitted that nobleman of all suspicion of being actuated in his opposition by factious or party motives, he offered the following triumphant defence of the bill.

"The noble lord has complained of the language used by the public press, and of the violence and zeal with which the writers of it have advocated the great measure of reform which ministers have brought before the other house. My noble friend complains of the inflammatory nature of that language; but, is he not aware that this is only a warning of the strength of public opinion, and of the consequent folly of an obstinate resistance to it? He must know that the press is but the echo of public opinion, deriving nearly all its strength from it, and by means of it a statesman can judge with tolerable accuracy of the force and current of the public mind. The public press is a most useful guide of the strength and direction of the voice of the people on questions of great interest. When it is general in its advocacy of any great measure, it is so because the feelings of the public are deeply interested in its success; and so it is with the great measure of reform, and the manner in which it has been treated by the press. If a proof be wanting of the sentiments of the nation with respect to this measure, your lordships may discover it in what my noble friend complains of—the general unanimity—for the exceptions are too few, and of too low a character, to be taken into account—the unanimity with which every journal, distinguished for talent, extensive circulation, or character, has advocated, not merely the principle of a reform in parliament, but the particular plan brought forward by his Majesty's ministers. Why does this unanimity exist, I repeat, unless public opinion is directly in favour of it?"



Even my noble friend has admitted, that the irresistible force of public feeling has compelled him—the enemy of every species of parliamentary reform all his life—to admit that some measure of reform is necessary, and can no longer be withheld.

“And here let me refer to the charges brought, by my noble friend, against the advocates of this bill, of having sanctioned an unfair use of the King’s name. This has been made a ground of serious complaint; but I think very little is necessary to shew how extravagant such a charge is. If the name of the sovereign has been so introduced, it has not been by ministers—nor was it even necessary that it should. The fact of the King’s approbation of the measure was evident when we proposed it to parliament, which we could not have done without his consent. If the name of the King was introduced at all by other advocates of the measure, it was only in consequence of the attempts made with such industry, by its opponents, to excite a belief that his Majesty was opposed to reform. The introduction of the King’s name at all, was not our act; and I most distinctly deny, on the part of the government, that we ever sanctioned or used that sacred name with a view to influence the conduct of any individual. The present ministry accepted office on the condition of bringing forward a measure of reform, of which they received his Majesty’s sanction and support; the importance of which sanction my noble friend has fully recognized, by admitting, that, after his Majesty allowed my noble relation to form an administration on the principle of reform, the question could no longer be resisted.

“Now, let me remind your lordships of the peculiar circumstances under which the present administration accepted the seals of office. The late government of the noble duke opposite fell—not from any disinclination to retain the reins of power—not from any factious opposition or party combination on the part of those who had been for years excluded from office—not in consequence of the division



on the civil list—but from a want of confidence in the public in its capability to manage the affairs of the country—a want of confidence loudly expressed at the general election, and increased by the emphatic declaration of the noble duke against all reform whatever. This declaration it was, more than any thing else, that led to the fall of the noble duke's government, by depriving it of the support of the public. I heard the noble duke make that declaration—I heard him say, also, that he not only thought parliamentary reform unnecessary, but that, if he had himself to frame a constitution, he could not organize one more perfect than that now in existence; and never shall I forget the impression it made on my mind, and on the mind of the nation at large. It was on account of this declaration of the noble duke, I repeat, and not in consequence of any party hostility—it was not his defeat on the civil list—it was not in consequence of any particular vote of this or the other house of parliament, but because many, I believe all, the colleagues of the noble duke, were anxious to resign their places, as they saw that the government could not be safely carried on after the declaration of his opinion on the subject of reform, that his administration was dissolved. Never was a ministry less exposed to the attacks of the party out of power, than the late ministry was—never did an administration fall so completely from a want of confidence in itself, arising from the absence of public support.

“I am sure that neither the noble duke, nor your lordships, can forget the conduct of my noble relative, near me, and his colleagues now in office, when the Catholic relief bill was brought forward. The advocacy of that great measure had excluded us from political power, the just object of every Englishman's ambition—their opposition to it had enabled our political adversaries to retain office for a long series of years. And yet, what did we do when the noble duke, avowedly through intimidation and fear, brought forward the very measure, for advocating which,



on the sound principle of political justice, we were excluded from office? We not only suffered him to carry away all the credit of the measure at the very last moment, but we did so when he and they knew, that, unless he succeeded in carrying it, his administration was at an end. Nay, more; had we been actuated by any motives of party or factious hostility to the government, we might have taken a stand on the proposition to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders; for it is well known that many of us entertained strong feelings against the propriety of that measure—but, consulting only the public interest and the welfare of the country, which we knew would be promoted by the success of that great question, of which we had been the early and zealous advocates—we did not oppose the disfranchisement bill, knowing that, if we did, the great relief bill would be defeated. This conduct shews how little the fall of the noble duke's government was influenced by party hostility, and how wholly it was owing to the effect of the withdrawal of public confidence, consequent on his declaration against parliamentary reform.

“Now, my lords, let me take the liberty of replying to the charge of precipitate rashness urged by my noble friend (Wharnccliffe,) against my noble relation, for having brought forward the question so soon after his acceptance of office. I would ask him to recollect the state the country was in at that period. We found several districts seriously disturbed—the public mind in a ferment—no confidence in the civil power—a spirit of combination ripe among the workmen in the manufacturing towns—and the population of six of the most important counties in the south of England, namely, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Berkshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, in a state of almost open insurrection and rebellion, a ready prey to incendiaries and plunderers of every description. We found, moreover, the civil power without energy or direction—the magistrates in the disturbed districts afraid to act, and the king's peaceable subjects either besieged in their houses by night, or openly maltreated and plundered



in the day. We found a still more dangerous state of things in the unwillingness of the middle classes to support the government in the suppression of these disturbances—an unwillingness which we found carried to such a pitch on our accession to office, that I am confident even so experienced a commander as the noble duke himself would have found it no easy matter, by the mere aid of armed soldiery, to pacify the disturbed districts, unaided, or at best but feebly and coldly supported, by that important body in every free state—the middle classes. This was the state of the country, not only in the disturbed districts in the south of England, but in the large towns in the manufacturing districts of the north. In this almost desperate situation did our predecessors leave the country, when they resigned their offices! What then did we do, and with what success? We first won back the confidence and support of the middle classes. This important body we found alienated from the civil power by the declaration of the noble duke against reform; that alienation was removed by the open and uncompromising pledge of my noble relation in favour of reform. Having thus produced this important effect on the public mind—having enlisted the confidence of the country in our intentions to administer, on right principles, the affairs of this great empire; and having firmly, yet mercifully, asserted the majesty of the law, public tranquillity was restored, and the way was prepared for that internal improvement and amelioration which is now so generally perceptible.

“Having then, on our accession of office, given a pledge in favour of reform, the question was, as to the manner and period of our fulfilling it. I need not tell your lordships, that, if ministers had contented themselves with barely redeeming their pledge by some small measure of reform, just sufficient to fulfil the promise they had given, this would not have satisfied the just wishes and expectations of the public. Such a course would not have been fulfilling the spirit of the pledge given, nor would it have been what



the people had a just reason to expect. It would not have strengthened the administration—but it would have weakened it, by sowing the seeds of future discontent and agitation, and would have further increased that want of confidence in the sincerity of statesmen which has so long prevailed, with the worst effects, in the public mind. Besides, I know that there is no policy more blindly mischievous than an obstinate resistance to the just claims of the people: your lordships well know that no lesson of history has been more frequently taught, than that the ill-timed refusal of such demands of a nation have no other effect than to raise them higher and higher, till you are compelled to yield, without thanks, what, if timely granted, would have been received with gratitude. Ministers knew and felt this; and therefore were determined that their measure of reform should be one, from its broad basis, and from its adaptation to the just demands of the people, of permanent settlement. My noble friend, it is true, denies that the measure will be a permanent one: but his denial is only an assertion, entirely unsupported by facts or reasoning. We, on the other hand, affirm, that by our plan an end will be put, at once and for ever, to the rotten-borough system, and the elective franchise bestowed on a large and important class, which at present are denied it—in other words, we at one blow remove a great abuse, and provide an efficient remedy—we enable all those who possess sufficient property to insure their independence to exercise the elective right; and, without yielding to extravagant demands, we satisfy the just claims of the people. There is no principle of our constitution—there is no principle affecting the representative system—that has not property for its basis; and I am warranted in saying, that the plan of ministers is of this nature. It is therefore, I contend, of a permanent character, and I know that it has been so considered by all classes of the community. I think that I may venture, without the fear of contradiction, to assert, that the measure has been hailed as wise and beneficial by the



enlightened and respectable portion of the people—that the middle classes have been unanimous in its favour, and that the great body of the people regard it with satisfaction. If we consider the almost countless petitions that have been laid on the table of this house in favour of it, from all parts of the country, and from all classes—if we look to the proceedings of the various public meetings in England and Scotland—if we refer to the emphatic declaration in its favour by the first commercial body in the world, I mean the merchants and bankers of the city of London—if we remember that the great organ, the public press, has generally and ably supported it, and advocated its immediate adoption—in fact, in whatever way the opinion of the public on the subject is investigated, it will be found that the plan of government has satisfied the just expectations of the country, and that we have honourably, consistently, and boldly redeemed the pledge we gave on coming into office.

“I now come to the bill itself, which, rather irregularly I own, has been so unsparingly discussed and criticized by my noble friend—but I do not complain of this proceeding on his part; on the contrary, I rejoice at every opportunity that is afforded his majesty’s ministers of explaining and defending, here, the measure which is now pending in the other house. The first part of the bill to which my noble friend objects, is that which cuts off the rotten boroughs; and he is pleased to call this a breach of the constitution of the House of Commons. Now, I cannot conceive that any measure, short of lopping off altogether these rotten boroughs, can produce those beneficial results which we anticipate from the present bill. These boroughs are so monstrous an abuse—they are so wholly indefensible—that it is hardly necessary for me to detain your lordships, by entering into a detail of the hideous defects of the system, and the gross bribery and corruption to which it leads. We have had so many proofs daily before our eyes of these abuses—we have them in the printed records of the evidence, given at our bar, in the cases of Penrhyn, Grampound,



and East Retford, in which bribery and corruption were as notorious as the sun at noon-day—that it is almost a waste of time to do more than mention them. Have your lordships forgotten the evidence to which I have just alluded? My noble friend, at any rate, has not; for he has complained that this house, by its strict adherence to the rules of evidence in these cases, has prevented the adoption of a trifling and “bit-by-bit” reform, and thus produced this universal demand for a more comprehensive measure. Then, as to the notorious corruption of the rotten-borough system! Do you not know, that persons of every description buy and sell seats in the other house of parliament? that Jews, as well as Christians, deal in the right to nominate members of the legislature? Has the threat of a noble boroughmonger been forgotten, that he would put his own menial in parliament—as a representative, forsooth, of the people of England—a threat which was not fulfilled, not for want of power on the part of the proprietor, but from his individual discretion? I myself heard the fact of nominee-ship, that libel on the representation of a free people, distinctly avowed, not long since, in the other house of parliament; and in common with, I am sure, many who now hear me, I heard of sales of seats in the other house being a matter of daily occurrence; that, for example, £1200 a year was sometimes paid to a borough-dealing attorney, for the representation of some rotten borough, of which the person elected, perhaps, had never heard before, and which he would never visit. But the abuses of the rotten-borough system are notorious, and their continuance would be disgraceful. Even in the more open boroughs, need your lordships be informed of what you have in evidence on your journals—extorted, it is true, by the most unjust and inquisitorial process, but yet there recorded—and, I fear, too well known by practice to some of your lordships individually—the disgraceful bribery and corruption, of which they are almost invariably the scene, under the present system? These facts are matters of public notoriety, and no reform



can possibly satisfy the public mind, that permits their continuance. How then, I would ask, could ministers, in justice to themselves and the country, shrink from boldly and impartially proposing to disfranchise, at once, all those boroughs, where such gross abuses exist? We hesitated not for one moment, and determined to propose the extinction of every one borough, which could not be purified by the practicable infusion of independent electors. My noble friend has urged some objections to the line which has been drawn, in disfranchising those boroughs. I confess I do not think that we could have adopted any fairer course than that which we did. I will enter into a short explanation on this point, as the view his Majesty's ministers took of the case has been misunderstood in this house, as well as elsewhere.

“In fixing on a population of 2000 inhabitants, in 1821, as the line within which all boroughs should be disfranchised, our object was to cut off all those rotten boroughs, for which there could be no purifying remedy by way of extension of franchise. It was not because the boroughs, the population of which was under 2000 in 1821, contained but few electors, that we proposed to extinguish them entirely; but because we could not possibly extend the franchise in them, so as to do away with the evils of the system, without absorbing in them nearly the whole county representation. It was because that line accurately described them, because it included them all—and if the line of 2000 had not effected this, we should have proposed 3000, or any other number which could have effectually accomplished this purpose. This was the reason that we fixed upon the population returns of 1821—not from any attachment to a particular number, or theory—and in founding upon them our line of disfranchisement, we were wholly influenced by a regard to the general good of the community at large, without consideration of personal detriment or advantage, to friends or enemies.

“And here I hope I may be permitted to say a few words in reference to myself, impure motives having been imputed to



me, which it is but fair to allow me to refute; the rather, as my situation in the government requires such refutation to be explicit. It has been insinuated, that I used my official influence in favour of the county with which I had the honour to be connected, in procuring for it additional members, to which it would not otherwise have been entitled. No language which I can summon to my aid can express my contempt for the baseness of the insinuation; nor can I find words to express my pity for the understandings which could suggest or harbour such an imputation. Need I disclaim being actuated by such low, paltry motives of self-aggrandizement? I feel that I need not: for I know that, in considering this bill, all merely personal or party feelings were absorbed in a desire to promote the general interest of the country. But how does the matter stand as regards the county of Durham? Simply, that it contains 50,000 persons more than the number which has been fixed as the line, above which the counties were to receive an additional member. If, therefore, you refrain from granting to Durham additional members, the exclusion, on the same ground, must extend to ten other counties, and the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, which are now included in the bill. It was proposed that Durham should have new members, because it fell within the line of wealth and population which had been fixed upon as a just ground for an extended representation. If, therefore, you exclude Durham, you must also exclude Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Cumberland, Northamptonshire, Sussex, Nottinghamshire, Hampshire, Worcestershire, and Leicestershire.

“With respect to the three towns in that county which will return members under the ministerial plan of reform, all that I need say is, that their population is considerably above the line of population and property which has been, after due deliberation, fixed upon as the basis of extending the representation to large towns. The population of Sunderland, and the two Wearmouths, is 33,000; of Shields, 16,000; and of Gateshead, 11,000: so that, if you do not allow these



places to return members, you will exclude many others. With two of these places I never had any further connection than that which arose from my being member for the county in which they are situated. With Sunderland I certainly have commercial relations; but not more than my noble friend who expressed his opposition to this plan of reform a few evenings ago, and who has also property and influence in the neighbourhood. Indeed, I should be ashamed to stand up in this house, if such an unworthy motive could, for one moment, have actuated me. I have no parliamentary influence, and therefore exercise none. I have never sought the possession of such influence, contenting myself with having in my own person, and at an immense cost, asserted the cause of independence in a contested election in my native county. I have no doubt that voters, not elevated to a certain rank of life, might easily have been induced to support my political views; but it never has been an object of desire with me, to establish a parliamentary influence. If, however, I had been accidentally possessed of it, let the extent be what it might, I should be glad to relinquish it, for the sake of the great and beneficial change which the bill before the house is intended to accomplish. I shall say nothing more with reference to the insinuation which has been attempted, so unfairly and unjustly, to be cast upon me.

“Having explained to your lordships the principle on which we proposed to disfranchise all boroughs where the population was less than 2000 in 1821, I come now to those in schedule B. That class consists of those which may be retained, after purification by the admission of £10. householders. But, it was found that, under the operation of the bill, several of these boroughs would not possess more than from fifty to eighty electors; hence the necessity of the provision which adds to them the adjoining districts, so as to insure a constituency of at least 300. We have thus drawn a distinct and most important line between the curable and the incurable boroughs: the incurable we lop off as rotten branches; the curable we protect against dis-



ease, by an efficient constituency. They are both defined by the population returns of 1821; but I beg to assure your lordships, that if, in the list of either, it is found that exceptions ought to be made, owing to an incorrectness in those returns, his Majesty's ministers will deem it their duty to see them rectified.

“The next question is, as to the unrepresented towns on which it would be expedient to bestow the choice of representatives. And here, again, ministers take population and wealth as their guide for the measure of an efficient and independent representation; and, in doing so, we have adhered closely to the ancient principle of our representative system. My noble friend says, in allusion to the time at which his own borough (Bossiney) was erected, that then the amount of population was not attended to, and that it is not therefore the principle on which representation was originally granted. This is undoubtedly true as regards that particular period, because the object then was, to strengthen the king and the aristocracy; but had my noble friend gone a step farther back in his inquiries, he would have seen that the primary object of representation was, to give population, wealth, and intelligence their due share of weight and influence in the decision of the legislature—an influence not allowed them under the present system. He would have found, that originally (before it became an object with kings and nobles to obtain personal influence in parliament) writs were always issued to populous and wealthy towns; and for the plainest and most obvious reason—supplies of money were wanted for the service of the state, and from those sources alone could they be derived. My noble friend has read an extract from a work by Lord John Russell, on this point. Will your lordships allow me to cite an authority, greater, he will admit, without supposing that I undervalue that to which he has alluded—I mean Mr. Locke: “Things of this world,” said Locke, “are in so constant a flux, that nothing remains long in the same state. Thus, people, riches, trade, power, change their stations;



flourishing, mighty cities come to ruin, and prove in time neglected desolate corners; whilst other unfrequented places grow into populous countries, filled with wealth and inhabitants. But things not always changing equally, and private interest often keeping up customs and privileges, when the reasons of them have ceased, it often comes to pass, that in governments where part of the legislature consists of representatives chosen by the people, that, in tract of time, this representation becomes very unequal and disproportionate to the reasons it was first established upon." After commenting on the absurdity of places without inhabitants returning members to parliament, Mr. Locke thus proceeds: "*Salus populi suprema lex*, is certainly so just and fundamental a rule, that he who follows it sincerely cannot dangerously err. If, therefore, the executive, who has the power of convoking the legislature, observing rather the true proportion than fashion of representation, regulates, not by old custom, but true reason, the number of members in all places that have a right to be distinctly represented, which no part of the people, however incorporated, can pretend to, but in proportion to the assistance which it affords to the public, it cannot be judged to have set up a new legislative, but to have restored the old and true one, and to have rectified the disorders which succession of time had insensibly, as well as inevitably, introduced."

"Upon this principle, and upon no other, have ministers proceeded; and they have, therefore, enfranchised the largest and most populous towns of Great Britain."

Lord Durham thus proceeded—"I now come to that part of the question which has so alarmed my noble friend—namely, the class of voters who are to be allowed by this bill. Your lordships will take into consideration, that the £10, householders are possessed of sufficient independence and property to insure a permanent interest in the prosperity of the country; that they are free from undue influence on the one hand, and factious excitement on the other; and that, therefore, we could not have selected a better class of



people in whom to vest this important privilege. The noble lord, it appears, has at present in his employment a labourer, who happens to be a householder to that amount ; but what inference are we to draw from such a fact ? Why, that the noble lord is a good master, and that his labourer is well-conducted and industrious ; and it appears to me matter of congratulation to the noble lord, that he has the opportunity now offered him, by which he may confer such an invaluable privilege on so respectable a person. But why should not this individual have a right to vote, if in other respects eligible ? I really cannot admit, that the fact of being a labourer can be a just reason for excluding him from the exercise of the elective franchise. The right of householders to vote at elections has been repeatedly asserted to be the ancient right of the people of England. It has been recognized by a resolution of the House of Commons, which declared, that, “where no custom by charter of incorporation existed, there the right of franchise was in the householders ;” and, therefore, we do not go further, by adopting this measure, than we are justified in doing, either by this resolution, or upon constitutional principles. Anciently, all possessors of any property, however small, had the right of voting—all freemen—from the earliest ages until the time of Henry VI., when those rights were most arbitrarily narrowed. We, therefore, do not propose to give the right of voting to any class of persons whose claims have not been already recognized by the legislature itself. Consequently, I repeat, that, in giving the franchise to these classes, we have not introduced any thing new or unknown to the constitution.” At this part of his speech, Lord Durham corrected some mistakes into which Lord Wharncliffe had fallen, in regard to the number of persons who would be entitled to vote under the new order of things—in which there was a dry detail of numerical calculations, which we omit. His lordship then said :—“I come now to what I confidently hope will be the advantages arising from the adoption of this measure. If it be true, as the noble lord



and others have stated, that there is a spirit of discontent abroad, among the lower classes, hostile to the institutions of the country, and tending to the destruction of the monarchy :—if there be this spirit abroad, (which I deny,) I should like to know in what class will the supporters of the constitution find greater friends henceforward, or more stedfast allies, than among the middle classes? And what measure can be wiser than that which goes to secure the affections, and consult the interests, of those classes? How important must it be to attach them to our cause? The lower orders of the people have ever been set in motion by their superiors; and in almost all cases they have chosen their leaders from men moving in another sphere. From the multitude, therefore, we take the body from whence they derived their leaders, and the direction of their movements. To property and good order we attach numbers; and the issue of a conflict, if any should ever occur, cannot be doubtful.

“But I cannot make these observations without stating, that I do not believe such a spirit exists as that of which we have been told. I believe, on the contrary, my lords, that the lower orders are attached most sincerely to the monarchy, and to the maintenance of the three estates, King, Lords, and Commons, as the sources of their welfare and security; and that of all the nations in the world, the lower orders of England would be least disposed to change for a theoretical republic, or a pure despotism. To give security to the three estates, is the object of our bill. We leave the peers in possession of all their privileges; the crown, in the enjoyment of all its prerogatives; but we give to the people at large that share in the government, of which, by the lapse of time and the progress of corruption, they have long been deprived.

“The principle of the bill being the extension, not contraction, of the elective franchise, we have felt it right, disfranchising only the rotten boroughs, to preserve all existing rights; although, in many instances, the exercise



of those rights has been grossly abused ! but we certainly have not thought it consistent, in these cases, to extend this great privilege beyond the present possessors. True it is, my lords, the opponents of the bill, sympathizing for the first time with them, have endeavoured to excite alarm and jealousy on the part of the potwallopers and burgesses—but those bodies disclaim all community of feeling with the anti-reformers, and petition generally in favour of the measure. Driven from this strong hold, the opposition have now changed their ground, and profess similar alarm for the privileges of the apprentices. How that body might act under such circumstances, it is not for me to say ; but, judging from the manner in which others have performed their part, I have no doubt that they likewise will emulate such an example, and that they will not interfere to deprive the country of the benefit of a measure in which they themselves will participate, and by which they will be gainers. I regret very deeply that I have to weary your lordships by going into these details ; but I have felt it necessary to take some notice of the remarks advanced by the noble lord (Wharncliffe) upon the details of the measure, and to state such observations as have occurred to me upon them. I shall not at present pursue them any further, contenting myself with simply observing, that in this bill we have also amply provided for the diminution of expense at elections—which will be effected by the enforcement of residence, the registration of votes, and taking the poll in counties, in districts.

“ Before I leave this part of the subject, I would state, with regard to the observation, made rather sarcastically, by the noble lord, as to the power which it is proposed to give to the privy council—the reasons why we have made this provision in the bill. We felt it necessary that power should be given to alter the limits of boroughs, in order to ensure a numerous and independent constituency, and to make the necessary divisions in counties, for the purposes of lessening the expenses of county elections ; and we felt



that, in order to effect this, we could not go to a body more responsible, better known, or more confided in by the country, than the members of the privy council; among whom are individuals unconnected with the administration—men eminent for talent and character, whose decisions could not possibly be impugned as that of interested parties, and who were, therefore, liable to no misconstruction of motives, or imputations similar to those which have been already directed against myself, and others of my colleagues, on the discussion of this question. It was upon these grounds that we considered the privy council the best and most impartial power to apply to, entertaining, however, no wish to give any undue influence to that particular body.

“My lords, I now come to almost the last subject upon which I have to make any observations; and it is one of the gravest importance. The noble lord (Wharncliffe) has said, that though he will not charge us with being revolutionists, yet that we are guilty of introducing a great change in the existing constitution, and that we shall subvert our present happy form of government: in short, my lords, though he disclaims the word “revolutionary,” still, that is the term which the noble lord, by his arguments and insinuations, does really apply to us. If, however, he has been sparing of the term, he is unlike others, both in and out of this house; we have been assailed by them, and that in no measured terms, with reproaches of the most bitter and vituperative description. We have been told that we are destroying the constitution, and perniciously changing all the relations which have heretofore subsisted between each branch of it.

“I am not to be scared by a nickname, or discountenanced by a word. Undoubtedly, any change effected in the government of a state, may be deemed a revolution. The glorious events of 1688 bear that name—yet they are hallowed in the breast of every true Englishman. I have often heard that memorable revolution termed a glorious event, by the same persons who now use the word for the purpose of denunciation and opprobrium. This revolution of 1688 was upheld



by none more warmly than by the noble lords opposite, during the discussion of the Roman Catholic relief bill: it was then never mentioned but in terms of approbation and reverence—because it suited their political purposes—and yet the noble lord and others now use the word “revolution” in order to frighten us from the adoption of the proposed measure. Revolution, it seems, is at the present day, no longer glorious, but horrible; and it is now no longer associated with the recollections of 1688, but with those of the revolution which occurred in France forty years ago—all its horrors are dressed up in the most vivid colours—for the purpose of scaring weak, timid, and short-sighted alarmists—and the effects produced by the operation of different causes made applicable to a state of things now utterly and entirely dissimilar.

“My lords, I ask how is that revolution to be assimilated to the present period in England? The people then massacred their superiors, it is true; but for what cause? Not in consequence of their just claims having been granted, but because they were wrongfully denied, and pertinaciously withheld. The populace were hurried into criminal enormities, not in the exultation of success, but in the recklessness of despair. It is this very state of things we wish to avoid—this very crisis we would avert—by granting to the people those claims which they have a right to make—and by refusing which, we must inevitably leave the power in the hands of those who would plunge us into all the evils of a civil war. Such a deplorable consummation it is our object to prevent; and the measure which has been proposed, so far from leading to anarchy or revolutionary excesses, will conciliate the disaffected, if such there be, while it strengthens and consolidates the fabric of the constitution. But my noble friend tells us that this bill will destroy the constitution:—that I most peremptorily deny. It involves no departure whatever from the principles on which the constitution was established in 1688. It is an enforcement of them—not in violation of, but in



complete conformity with them. In fact, it is the final settlement of that great work, which in this respect was avowedly left defective.

“It may be known to your lordships, that it was a matter of grave charge against the authors of the revolution of 1688, that they did not do that which we are now going to do by this bill. It is stated by Lord Bolingbroke, that the authors of the revolution ought not only to have made the act of settlement, but that they ought also to have secured the independence of parliament. In his “Dissertation on Parties,” after alluding to the conduct of the authors of the revolution, he says, “They ought to have been more attentive to take the glorious opportunity that was furnished them by a new settlement of the crown and the constitution, to secure the independency of parliaments for the future. Machiavel observes, and makes it a title of one of his discourses, ‘That a free government, in order to maintain itself free, hath need every day of some new provision in favour of liberty.’” After affirming the truth of this assertion, and illustrating it by reference to Roman history, Bolingbroke thus proceeds:—“If a spirit like this had prevailed among us at the time we speak of, something like this would have been done—and surely something like it ought to have been done; for the revolution was, in many instances, and it ought to have been so in all, one of the renovators of the constitution which we have often mentioned. If it had been such with respect to the electing of members to serve in parliament, those elections might have been drawn back to the ancient principle on which they had been established, and the rule of property which was followed anciently, and was perverted by innumerable changes, which length of time produced, might have been restored, by which the communities to whom the right of electing was trusted, as well as the qualifications of the electors and elected, might have been settled in proportion to the then state of things. Such a remedy might have been a radical cure



of the evils which threaten our constitution—whereas it is much to be apprehended, even from experience, that all others are merely palliative.”—So far Lord Bolingbroke.

“But, my lords, I should like to know from whom the charge against us proceeds, of making innovations upon the constitution of 1688? Why, it has been mainly advanced by the promoters of the Roman Catholic relief bill! If this measure be an alteration of the constitution—what was the Roman Catholic relief bill? Certainly that relief was most wisely afforded. But is it for those to object so loudly to the introduction of change, who have so materially altered the constitution by the admission of Roman Catholics to privileges which they had not before enjoyed since the revolution so often referred to? The policy adopted in reference to that portion of our fellow-countrymen, was wise and judicious, undeniably; but still, was it not a change in the constitution? It was urged then, with a good deal of clamour, and not a little pertinacity, that emancipation would alter the three estates of the realm—would violate the coronation oath—would annihilate the church, and destroy all the liberties of the people. And yet, my lords, those very persons who then stoutly resisted this clamour, are now struck with horror and amazement at any proposal which goes to affect the inviolability of that constitution, which they themselves had fundamentally altered only two years ago.

“But, my lords, let me not be misunderstood: I think these changes were of the greatest importance to the welfare of the country; and events have proved that the change effected by the Catholic relief bill has been essentially beneficial. It has admitted within our walls noblemen who have long been deprived of their rights—it has opened the doors of the other house of parliament to as loyal, as honest, and as respectable men as are to be found in the country—and it has erased that foul blot of religious and political intolerance which had so long disgraced our constitution.



“My lords, I believe that I have now, to the best of my ability, gone through all the arguments of the noble lord opposite. I do not offer any opposition to the motion. On the contrary, I assure the noble lord that it is the wish of his Majesty’s ministers to produce every information that can facilitate the most strict examination into all the various points which bear on the question; convinced, as we are, that the more the subject is probed, the more the measure will be found entitled to the approbation of the country.

“I must declare, on the part of his Majesty’s government, that, so far from being influenced by a wish to change the institutions of the country, we are anxious to protect and strengthen them. We propose to enable your lordships to exercise your high privileges consistently with the legitimate rights of the people, and the real interests of the state. We do not permit even the smallest jewel to be extracted from the crown, but we add to its grace and lustre. We secure to the monarch the undisturbed enjoyment of all his dignities and prerogatives, sustained and cherished by the love of an affectionate people; and on them we propose to confer the noblest gift which can be presented to freemen—the power of choosing representatives, in whom is vested the maintenance of their properties, their rights, and their liberties.”

There are, probably, few readers who, after a careful perusal of this vindication of the reform bill, will have any hesitation in considering Lord Durham as its legitimate father; or, at any rate, of applying to his lordship the words, *Quorum pars magna fuit!* That the noble baron might avail himself of the suggestions of his colleagues, in various parts of the complicated machinery, is no way incredible; but his has evidently been “the master-mind,” and the country owe him a debt of gratitude, for the labour he has bestowed on it, and the ability with which he has defended it.

When the second reform bill was under discussion,



April 13th, 1832, on the second reading taking place, Lord Durham, though labouring under the effects of severe indisposition, rose after Lord Wynford, but evidently more with the intention of replying to a speech delivered the preceding evening by Dr. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter. This intemperate and indiscreet prelate, to whom the army would, probably, have been a more appropriate station than the church, had attacked the reform bill with all the hostility of fanatical zeal. The preamble, he said, expressed the necessity of reforming abuses; "but who was to suppose that it was to be followed up *by the extinction of rights, by spoliation and robbery!*" The principle of the bill, he declared to be change—revolutionary change; and, after indulging himself in a furious tirade, the bishop quoted an expression from the *Times* newspaper, and went on to describe that journal, according to general belief, as breathing the inspirations of Lord Durham.

The noble lord (Durham) began, by offering some observations on the long and desultory speech of Lord Wynford; but said, he did not feel himself called upon, at the moment, to enter into an investigation of the many subjects which his lordship had introduced into his address, because they were not within the scope of their lordships' consideration. He complimented the learned lord, in not having adopted a tone of party asperity, and rancorous animosity against his Majesty's ministers, (and then turning round, and directing his observations to the bench of bishops,) very different from the tone and temper of a right reverend prelate, who had spoken the last night. "Of that exhibition on the part of a reverend bishop," (Phillpotts, bishop of Exeter,) said Lord Durham, "I shall only say, that if coarse and virulent invective, malignant and false insinuations, the grossest perversion of historical facts, decked out with all the choicest flowers of his well-known pamphleteering slang—"

Here the noble lord was called to order from the opposition benches, and the Earl of Winchilsea moved, that the words "false insinuations," and "pamphleteering slang,"



should be taken down. After some observations from Earl Grey, Lord Holland, and the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Durham continued as follows :—

“ My lords, I was interrupted by the noble earl in the course of a sentence I was addressing to your lordships, and it now seems to be his intention, that the words which I uttered should be taken down. I have not the slightest objection to that course being adopted—on the contrary ; and I now state to your lordships the reasons which induced me to use those words—I shall not stop to inquire whether the words, “ pamphleteering slang ” were the most elegant which I could have used. They do not, perhaps, suit the noble earl’s taste ; but they are the only words which I consider can correctly describe the reverend prelate’s speech. Now, as to the words, “ malignant and false insinuations : ” the noble duke (Buckingham) who wishes me to retract, must, I am sure, well recollect that that reverend bishop, in the course of his harangue, insinuated that some of his Majesty’s ministers were unbecomingly connected with the press. From the terms in which that insinuation was couched, I could have no doubt that he alluded to me : it would be gross affectation in me to deny it ; the more especially, as I had been previously told, by those who had read those papers, that the same charge had been made against me, by name, in those weekly publications which are so notorious for their scurrility and indecency. When, therefore, I found that charge repeated in this house, in terms which neither I, nor any man living, could misunderstand, I determined to take the earliest opportunity of stating to your lordships, that it was as false as scandalous. I now repeat that declaration, and pause, for the purpose of giving any noble lord an opportunity of taking down my words.”

Lord Durham then resumed his seat for a moment, but as no noble lord rose, he proceeded :—

“ My lords, as it seems no further interruption is to be offered me, I shall dismiss the subject by saying, that I never will shrink from the opportunity of meeting before



this house, or my country, any charges or insinuations which may be directed against me, from whatever quarter they may proceed. If I have expressed myself somewhat earnestly and warmly, your lordships will, I am sure, deem me justified, when you reflect that, to all the tortures of an afflicted mind, have been of late superadded calumnies of the basest description—calculated to wound not only my own feelings, but those of all who are dearest to me : but I now return to the question, from which I have been diverted by the interruption of the noble earl.

“My lords, we have been charged by the noble duke (Wellington) and a noble earl who sits on the third bench (Mansfield) with having created the excitement in the public mind which led to that general demand for reform, which is now admitted to prevail by many of those who formerly denied its existence. On what facts these noble lords found their assertions, I cannot comprehend. If there is any one subject which more than another has been discussed, both in and out of parliament, especially within the last fifty years, it has been that of a reform in the representation of the people. From the revolution it has been advocated by the most eminent men of which this country can boast. From the year 1783, when the celebrated Yorkshire petition was presented, it has never been lost sight of by the people ; taken up, it is true, with more or less energy, according to the circumstances of the times—but always holding a high place in their estimation, and connected by them with the most vital interests of the country. It was brought under the notice of parliament by the Duke of Richmond, in 1780 ; by Mr. Pitt in 1782, 3, & 4,—and subsequently by Mr. Flood, my noble relation (Earl Grey,) Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Brand, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Lord John Russell, and many others. The noble and gallant duke, therefore, is not supported by facts, when he says, the feeling is one of late growth ; and still less when he says, that it is owing to the examples of the French and Belgian revolutions of 1830. That it has assumed a much more formidable appearance



within these last four or five years, is true ; but not owing to the causes alleged by the noble and gallant duke. In my opinion it has been owing, in a great measure, to the repeated refusals of your lordships to grant representation to the great towns of Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, when the fitting opportunities were afforded you. It has also arisen from the exposures which took place in the parliamentary inquiries relative to Grampound, Penrhyn, and East Retford, laying bare scenes of the grossest political profligacy and corruption : but above all, my lords, it has been in consequence of the great mass of the middle classes having at length identified themselves with this question. To this part of the subject, I particularly wish to call your lordships' attention, not only because I think its full consideration involves one of the great and leading principles of the bill—I mean the emancipation of those classes—but because it will account, in the only satisfactory way, for the intensity of feeling with which this measure has been received ; and will demonstrate the improbability of the country being satisfied with any less degree of reform than that which is afforded them by this bill.

“ Your lordships are, no doubt, too well read in the history of your country not to be aware, that, up to the revolution of 1688, the object of each successive struggle was to prevent the sovereign from obtaining despotic power. At that period, the crown was defeated, and has ever since been dependent on, and at the mercy of, two parties of the higher orders—between whom the contest for political power has been bitter and incessant—whilst the people were well or ill governed, according to the principles of the party which was predominant. For a long time, the people acquiesced in the supremacy of the higher orders, and their exclusive possession of political privileges. Conscious of their own incompetency, from want of education, to enjoy those privileges, they felt no jealousy, and offered no opposition to the monopoly vested in their superiors. But, my lords, a great change has taken place within the last fifty years in the



state of society. The two extremes have been gradually meeting—the one standing still, whilst the other has been constantly improving. It cannot be concealed, that the middle classes have increased, of late, in skill, talent, political intelligence, and wealth, to such an extent that they are, and feel that they are, competent to the performance of higher duties. They thus, naturally enough, feel ambitious to be no longer excluded from their fair share of political power; and the result of their continued exclusion must be a political convulsion—and necessarily, a destructive one—for the unnatural compression of great power by insufficient means, always ends, not only in the annihilation of the feeble bonds which restrain it, but in the destruction of all that is within the range of its explosion.

“That the middle classes have a right to indulge in these feelings, no accurate observer of the state of society can deny. The noble duke opposite, (Buckingham,) the proprietor of St. Mawes, has thought proper to describe them as paupers—as beggars. So far from this being the fact, their wealth more than doubles, it nearly trebles, that of the higher orders. And as for their intelligence—look at all the great towns of the empire—this metropolis, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Liverpool, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow; and many others—and by whom will you find the scientific institutions, the literary societies, the charities, in short, all associations tending to the advancement of arts, literature, and of science, and to the amelioration of the human kind—by whom will you find them supported? by whose example, and whose purse, maintained? By the middle classes. The gentry, living apart in the country, enjoy the luxuries and amusements peculiar to their class, but mix neither in the pursuits or relaxations of their neighbours in the towns. Whenever they are brought together in public meetings, on political occasions, their superiority in learning or intellect is no longer manifest; the reverse is the fact, and I can assure the noble baron (Ellenborough,) that whether he is right or wrong in the



opinions he entertains with regard to the inferiority of intellect displayed by the newly returned members, if he were to attend any of the meetings of the middle classes, and enter into a discussion with them on political or scientific subjects, he would have no reason to plume himself on his fancied superiority.

“Such being the case then, the question is naturally asked, is that a fit and proper state of the constitution, which excludes from the enjoyment of political power and privileges, a large body of men, possessed of talents, skill, and wealth, merely because they do not happen to be included in a particular class, endowed with privileges bestowed upon them in different times and different circumstances? I contend, therefore, my lords, that these feelings alone would be sufficient to induce the people to desire that the advantages, as well as the burdens of the constitution should be extended to them. But, were there no other reasons? Did the working of the constitution, in its present exclusive state, produce no other mischievous effects than their exclusion? Did those who virtually represented them—as the noble and learned lord (Wynford) says—did they perform the duties of their trust advantageously to the country? The answer, my lords, which the people give to these questions is, and always has been, in the negative. I can accumulate proofs upon proofs of the correctness of this assertion—a few will suffice. It appears, that when this corrupt parliamentary system first came into operation—I mean shortly after the Revolution—the national debt amounted to sixteen millions: at the end of the last war, in 1814, it had risen very nearly to eight hundred millions! The national expenditure had increased, during that time, from five millions and a half to more than ninety-four millions!! the poor rates, from one million to seven millions!!! In one reign alone, that of George the Third, seven and twenty millions were lavished in subsidies to all the great powers of the Continent. In the same period, the naval and military expen-



diture amounted to £928,000,000—that is to say, the luxury of indulging in war cost this country a sum little less than ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS.

“All these proofs of an unlimited and unchecked expenditure, and many others which I need not now detail, became known to the people at the conclusion of the war. Great distress followed—much discontent and loud complaints prevailed—and how were they met? by conciliation or concession? No, truly; but by every species of repressive and coercing enactment. Measures for preventing the exercise of public meetings and petitioning—for fettering the press—for suspending the habeas corpus act—for granting indemnity bills—was successively proposed to the House of Commons, and immediately adopted by that assembly. These proceedings seem, if I may judge from their cheers, to be approved by the noble lords opposite—they were not grateful to the people, I can assure them—who, seeing their liberties attacked, and their resources squandered, through the instrumentality of a House of Commons, theoretically the guardian of both, naturally directed their attention to the mode in which that house was chosen, which neither represented their feelings, nor protected their interests. The picture which was then presented to them was no less startling and disgusting than that of the state of their finances, to which I have just alluded. They found one portion of it nominated by peers—a second by commoners—a third by trafficking attorneys, selling seats to the highest bidder—a fourth owing its return to the most unblushing bribery and corruption;—in one part of the empire, a park with no population at all, or, at least, of the smallest kind, returning two members—in another, a large and important town, with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, yet no representation whatever—and even that small part of the house still dependent on the public voice, so fettered and circumscribed by the immense expenditure required, as to be virtually placed in the hands of a very small class.



“My lords, all this led to that state of things which has been so prophetically and so accurately described by a celebrated writer, whose name is so familiar to noble lords opposite, and whose opinions are generally so pleasing to them, that I make no apology for substituting his glowing words for my feeble expressions. Mr. Burke says :—“An addressing House of Commons, and a petitioning nation—a House of Commons full of confidence, when the nation is plunged in despair—in the utmost harmony with ministers, whom the people regard with the utmost abhorrence—who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon them for impeachments—who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands account—who, in all disputes between the people and the administration, presume against the people—who punish their disorders, but refuse even to inquire into the provocations to them :—this is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things, in this constitution. Such an assembly may be a great, wise, awful senate—but it is not, to any popular purpose, a House of Commons.”

Lord Durham, then concluded his able and spirited address, to the following effect.

“My lords, I think that I have now stated sufficient reasons to account for the general prevalence of that desire for reform which now exists, and to shew that it did not owe its origin, either to our instigation, or to the French and Belgian revolutions, as stated by the noble and gallant duke (of Wellington) opposite. At all events, of this I am quite confident—that, to whatever causes it is to be attributed, it never can be allayed or removed by any other mode than that of a full and generous compliance with the wishes of the people. Here, however, I am met by the noble lord opposite, who talks so loudly of the dangers of concession, and the safety of resistance—and by the reverend bishop (Phillpotts of Exeter) who preaches to us the necessity of leaving consequences to God. My lords, I say nothing of the impropriety of those constant



appeals to the sacred name, in this place, especially from such a quarter, but I ask, is history to be for ever a sealed book to those noble lords? are its pages to be for ever perverted by that reverend prelate? do they not teem with instances of the folly and inutility of resistance to the determined wishes of the people, intent on the acquirement or restoration of their rights? When the consequences have been left to Providence, has that resistance ever produced any thing but a postponement of those claims, always to be renewed with increased vigour, and ultimately attended with complete success?

“My lords, I assert that the revolution of 1641, the French revolution of 1785, and the separation of the North American colonies—might all have been averted by timely and wise concession. Can any man, with the slightest knowledge of our history, attempt to persuade me, that if Charles I., after conceding the petition of rights, had kept his faith with his people, he would not have saved his crown and his life? Again, with reference to the French revolution, I say, that if Louis XVI., had adopted the advice given by his ministers, the people would have been satisfied—the ancient institutions of the country ameliorated—the altar, the throne, and the aristocracy preserved from the horrible fate which afterwards befell them. Twice had Louis XVI., opportunities—first, under Turgot’s ministry, secondly, under Necker’s—of conciliating the country, and averting that fatal catastrophe, by limited concession. The nobility resisted—and the revolution followed. The noble baron (Wharncliffe) has so ably detailed to you the impolicy of our resistance to the claims of the North American colonies, that I need only add to his powerful argument my own conviction, that if, after the repeal of the stamp act, England had not destroyed all the benefit of that concession, by the declaratory act, and the re-imposition of the tea-duties, North America would at this hour have been a portion of the British empire. My lords, I repeat, therefore, fortified by these examples, that when the consequences have been



left to Providence, according to the suggestion of the reverend bishop, (Phillpotts,) the course of events has always been uniform;—in the first instance, bigoted resistance to the claims of the people—in the second, bloody and protracted struggles—and, finally, but invariably, unlimited, disgraceful, but then useless concession.

“But, my lords, have those of you who talk of resistance, calculated the comparative amount of forces which are arranged on each side? On the one hand, are arrayed the crown, the House of Commons, and the people—on the other, not two hundred peers. Now, my lords, supposing that you reject this bill a second time, and supposing that the people acquiesce quietly in your decision, and that their feelings of disappointment do not break out in open tumult and violence; will there be no punishment to you, in the utter separation which must take place, between you and your fellow-countrymen? In the sentence of excommunication which they will pass upon you—are you prepared to live in solitude in the midst of multitudes—your mansions fortified with cannon, (as was lately that of the noble duke, Newcastle,) and protected by troops of faithful, perhaps, but, if the hour of danger came, useless retainers? Surely there must be something in this state of things most revolting to the habits and feelings of a British peer; and yet these are the most favourable circumstances which can follow the second rejection of the bill. I see before me many noble lords, who pride themselves on the cordiality of their intercourse with all around them, in the country, both rich and poor, whose presence there is generally welcomed by the congratulations of their neighbours of all ranks—will those noble lords receive with equal complacency the greetings they will have to encounter, after having destroyed the long-cherished hopes of their fellow-countrymen? No, my lords, I fear the change between confidence and distrust, affection and hatred, will be so great, that the satisfaction of having preserved nomination-boroughs for a time, and for a time only, will but ill console them for the annoyances and



expressions of dislike and aversion which will be heaped on them on all sides.

“My lords, it was under this conviction, and believing as I did, and still do, that the claims of the people of this country were not to be trifled or tampered with by any ministers; it was under this persuasion, that I, for one, and I believe all my colleagues, came to the consideration of this measure, and were anxious to frame such a bill as, by its large and comprehensive provisions, might not only give general satisfaction, but at the same time set this question, generally, at rest.” After a few more general observations, Lord Durham concluded with the words of the late Charles James Fox. “We risk our all upon the excellence of this bill. We risk upon it whatever is most dear to us, whatever men most value—the character of integrity, of honour, of present reputation and future fame—these, and whatever else is precious to us, we stake on the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity, and the wisdom of this measure.”

These eloquent and impressive speeches will make Lord Durham more known than he has hitherto been, and, in proportion as they extend his reputation, they will also raise him in the estimation of his countrymen. They display, not only great eloquence, but an intimate acquaintance with the feelings and wants of the country, which marks him as superior to most of his colleagues, and, we may say also, to most of the members of the aristocracy. His lordship has proved himself a sterling reformer, and, as such, deserving the confidence of the people. We may justly say of him, as has been remarked by a powerful writer of the present day, that “he is a lump of pure ore, seldom found without some alloy.” The public will be glad to see Lord Durham come more prominently forward than he has of late, and exert his great talents more actively in parliament than he has hitherto done, since he became a minister.









THE RT HON<sup>BLE</sup> HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, G. C. B.

*Palmerston*

FISHER, SON & CO LONDON, 1833.



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K. N.

*Foreign Secretary.*

THIS gentleman, whose family name is Temple, is the third Viscount Palmerston in succession. He was born on the 20th October, 1784, and inherited the title from his father, Henry, the late Viscount, who died on the 17th of April, 1802, at which time the son was eighteen years of age.

The TEMPLES, from whom this noble family, paternally, and the present ducal house of Buckingham and Chandos maternally, descend, are said to be of Saxon origin, and to spring immediately from the son and heir of Algar, Earl of Mercia. The reader whose curiosity may prompt him to trace their lineage, may be gratified by looking into Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, art. PALMERSTON.

One of the ancestors of the present viscount was Sir William Temple, Knight, an eminent English statesman, and polite writer, of the 17th century. He was born at London about the year 1629, and at seventeen years of age was sent to Emanuel College, Cambridge, where he had the celebrated Dr. Cudworth for his tutor; and, on leaving the university, went abroad, to visit Holland, Flanders, and Germany. On the restoration of Charles II. he became a member of the Irish parliament; but being sent over to England as a commissioner to the king in 1662, he settled here, with his family, and became a very efficient member of the state. He conducted himself with peculiar honour and success from the age of 37 to 52, when he declined meddling





THE RT HON<sup>ble</sup> HENRY TEMPLE, VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, &c. &c.

*Palmerston*

WILKINSON, SON & CO LONDON, 1851



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any longer with public employment, and retired into private life. To give a particular account of Sir William Temple's negotiations at home and abroad, would be to relate a great part of the reign of Charles the Second, and therefore must not here be attempted. He died at Moor Park in Surrey, in the year 1700, in the 72nd year of his age.

HENRY TEMPLE, Esq. a descendant of the nobleman last mentioned, was created a peer of Ireland, 12th March, 1722, by the titles of *Baron Temple* and VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, and was the first who bore the latter title. HENRY, the second Viscount, was grandson of the preceding, and born in 1739. This nobleman, in 1783, married Mary, the daughter of B. Mee, Esq., by whom he had issue Henry-John, the present peer; also William, secretary of embassy to the court of St. Petersburg; and two daughters.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, the subject of this memoir, was educated at Cambridge, and entered parliament about the time of Mr. Pitt's death, ranging himself on the ministerial side of the house, and aiding the measures of government by his vote and influence. In 1809, during the administration of Spencer Perceval, he obtained the office of secretary at war, which he continued to fill for nineteen years successively, namely, from October, 1809, to May, 1828, when he gave place to Sir Henry Hardinge, in consequence of the breaking up of Lord Goderich's cabinet.

The office which Lord Palmerston filled during this long period, extending through the successive administrations of Perceval, Castlereagh, Liverpool, Canning, and Goderich, is one of acknowledged importance, and of no inconsiderable difficulty; and the best proof of his lordship's competency for discharging its functions, is to be found in his continuing to retain it undisturbed amid the conflict of parties, and the perpetual changes which, in other offices, were continually taking place. It is pretty evident that Lord Palmerston, for much of this time, must have avowed Tory politics, and given his support to them. But it is equally plain, that, of late years, he imbibed the liberal principles of Mr. Canning, and,



after that lamented statesman's death, he discovered an evident leaning towards the enlightened policy of Lord Goderich and Mr. Huskisson. Though, like the latter, he accepted the office of secretary at war in the Wellington ministry, he took Mr. Huskisson's part in the *fracas* occasioned by that gentleman's vote on the East Retford question, and resigned his place on account of what he considered to be the arbitrary conduct of the Duke of Wellington on that occasion.

On the meeting of parliament, January 1828, immediately after the formation of the Wellington cabinet, the address upon the king's speech was moved by Mr. Jenkinson, and seconded by Mr. Robert Grant. The former entertained the house with a tedious, but *edifying* discourse on the merits of his brother, the late Lord Liverpool, then living, but incapacitated for business, and who, he thought it important to assure the house, concurred in the formation of the new ministry! In seconding this address, Mr. R. Grant adverted to the circumstance of Mr. Huskisson and Lord Palmerston forming a part of the administration, and mentioned the latter gentleman as being then in the house, though he deprecated any strictures on the conduct of other ministers who had not yet taken their places. This brought up Mr. Brougham, who said, "Before entering on other topics, I beg to say, that I agree most entirely with an observation which has fallen from the last speaker, that we should do well to refrain from entering into a full discussion of certain questions, as if all his Majesty's ministers had their seats. But with this sentiment in his mind, I must own that I do not think it quite consistent with candour, or with perfect fairness, for the honourable and learned gentleman to have entered upon so many subjects as he has done to-night. I must own, that if the theory which he has recommended to others had been practised by himself, I should have been better pleased."

After passing some severe strictures on what he considered the inconsistent conduct of both the mover and



seconder of the address, Mr. Brougham thus proceeded to advert to Lord Palmerston:—"I do say, that to propose such a course, presents an inconsistency which no excuse that can be made to-night will get over. For while the honourable gentleman has been exercising his opinion—his plenary opinion, I may say—not only on the question of the old ministry, but likewise on that of the new, he negatives all idea of any thing being said in reply: and not content with his own sentiments on the matter, he has given the house the sentiments of a noble lord (Palmerston) who, I certainly thought, was not in a condition to have any knowledge of what was passing in the political world; but certainly what has been thus advanced, removes from my mind all feeling of delicacy that I might have had in entering my protest against the manner in which the affair has been carried on! The opinion of the noble lord (Palmerston) was to be received as the opinion of a member of a former cabinet; and indeed as a *member of every cabinet which had existed for the last twenty years—as though he was a sort of hereditary member!!* That the noble lord was universally respected by his political enemies, and that I, for my own part, can bear witness that he was the fairest and most candid adversary that it ever fell to my lot to contend with, I am most willing to admit; but why the honourable mover of the address has had recourse to his opinion, to prove that the present administration, founded on the ruins of the old one, is as good an administration as ever existed, I cannot conceive."\*

When Mr. Brougham sat down, Sir Joseph Yorke called upon Lord Palmerston to give the house some explanation how it was that this great battalion of Whigs and Tories had been broken up so suddenly on the martial appearance of the new premier, and concluded with expressing his obligations to his honourable and learned friend, Mr. Brougham, for his powerful speech.

\* The remainder of Mr. Brougham's speech on this occasion, will be found page 62, &c. of this volume.



Thus called upon, Lord Palmerston rose, and said, he was not prepared to accept the invitation of the gallant admiral, Sir Joseph Yorke, to go into a detailed statement of all the circumstances which attended the late change in his Majesty's councils. The honourable and learned gentleman, Mr. Brougham, who threw such an air of pleasantry about all the observations which he thought proper to address to the house, and who knew so well how to mingle the grave and the ludicrous, as to amuse even those against whom his observations were directed—that learned gentleman had on this occasion—although he must take leave to say, he thought with no very peculiar good taste—taken an opportunity to throw out some observations calculated to lower the military character of the Duke of Wellington. After some well-turned compliments to the martial reputation of the hero of Waterloo, Lord Palmerston informed the house, that his grace had tendered to his Majesty his resignation of the office of commander-in-chief, the functions of which he, from this time, ceased to exercise. His lordship proceeded to say, that the honourable and learned gentleman, Mr. Brougham, had boasted that he was likely to prove a better tactician than the present first lord of the treasury, whom he had got into a dilemma, out of which it would not be easy for him to escape. But if all the anticipations and prognostications of the learned gentleman proved no better, nor more fortunate, than the victory he fancied he had achieved to-night, he was not likely to prove very successful in the campaign. The King's speech pronounced no condemnation of the battle of Navarino. It neither condemned the action nor its consequences. The honours which had been sent out to the gallant admiral, and his brave companions in arms, bore sufficient testimony to the fact, that there was no disposition to censure; and when it was borne in mind that the admiral still commanded in the same position—one, manifestly of singular trust—and that he did so with the full and unchanged confidence of his Majesty's government



he thought it might be admitted that there could be no intention to censure his conduct in the speech from the throne.

In perusing the noble viscount's speech on this occasion, one cannot but admire how much more solicitous he was to guard the fair fame of the Duke of Wellington, than to shield himself from Mr. Brougham's home-thrust at his own political consistency! Mr. Perceval came into office on the "No Popery" cry, and Lord Palmerston became one of his colleagues. The Peel and Wellington cabinet proposed the removal of the Catholic disabilities, and Lord Palmerston has shewn himself one of their most powerful advocates! It may, no doubt, be said that his lordship lived to reap the benefit of experience, and that, as fresh light broke in upon his mind, he obeyed its dictates. Let us judge him candidly, and rather hope that such was the case, than that the noble viscount preferred the sweets of office to a regard for the honour which is due to political consistency.

There are, it must be confessed, a few difficulties, that start up and perplex the mind, when endeavouring to make out a satisfactory vindication of his lordship's political conduct. His masterly speeches on the Catholic question afford convincing evidence of what his sentiments were when the Wellington administration was formed, of which he was one. Yet nothing could be more remote from the *intentions* of the noble duke at the moment of accepting the premiership, than to remove the Catholic disabilities in the manner it was afterwards effected. The repeal of the Test and Corporation acts was carried, despite of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel—and that measure drew in its train the removal of the Catholic disabilities. As the heads of the government, at the time of forming the cabinet, had it not in contemplation to carry either of these important measures into effect, Lord Palmerston would appear to have given his consent, and yielded acquiescence, to a totally different line of policy, and, as regards Ireland,



opposite to his subsequently avowed principles. Considerations of this kind, which a fruitful mind would find no great difficulty in multiplying, tend somewhat to abate the confidence one would wish to repose in a person of his lordship's acknowledged talents and amiable character. Similar observations will be found to apply to the question of parliamentary reform. But we proceed.

When the subject of the breaking up of Lord Goderich's cabinet came under discussion in the House of Commons, on Monday, February 18th, Lord Palmerston said, When a proposition was made to him to become a member of the new government, he had answered at once, that he wished first to know who were to be the members of that government: and when he found that it was to include Mr. Huskisson, Lord Dudley, and Mr. Charles Grant, he wanted no other pledge for the maintenance of those principles he had *always supported*!

On the 3d of June, Mr. Huskisson submitted to the House of Commons his explanation of the difference which had taken place between himself and the Duke of Wellington, by reason of which he had lost his office. Lord Palmerston defended the conduct of his right honourable friend, who he considered to be ill-used by the premier, and at the same time declared his determination to resign his office and connection with the ministry. On this occasion, after detailing various particulars relative to this affair, and, among others, an unsuccessful interview which he himself had had with the Duke of Wellington, with the view of rectifying what he considered to be a misunderstanding—Lord Palmerston thus concluded his speech:

“On Thursday my right honourable friend received from the noble duke the letter which he has just read to the house—a letter passing wholly by, all the explanations which my right honourable friend had offered, both verbally and in writing, and fixing my friend's first letter with a meaning which he had repeatedly declared was not that which he intended to convey. I became completely convinced that no



further communication on the subject could be of the slightest service. That conviction I communicated to my right honourable friend; and the impression on my mind being, that the removal of my right honourable friend from his Majesty's government would render it advisable for me to withdraw also, I requested an honourable friend of mine to postpone for me, till after the holidays, a notice of a motion which I had given in this house. Sir, I have stated those things, to shew that there existed, on the one hand, the greatest possible avidity to take advantage of my right honourable friend's first letter, to pin him down to that letter as containing a final and positive resignation of his office; and that there existed, on the other hand, no disposition whatever to receive any of the explanations which my right honourable friend was ready and desirous to make. This country, under the administration of which my right honourable friend formed a part, has been raised to a point of proud pre-eminence which she never before attained. It is said that the course which we have thus so happily pursued is to remain unchanged. I trust it will. I confess, however, that there are prognostics, that there are symptoms, which inspire me with apprehension on the subject. I trust, however, that his Majesty's government will found their claim to the approbation of the people, by maintaining, not in this country alone, but wherever their measures may extend, the ascendancy of liberal, wise, just, and enlightened principles. Sir, it is only by pursuing such a course, that his Majesty's government can obtain the confidence of the house, and the public; it is only by pursuing such a course, that they can secure the permanence of their own power."

It could contribute little to the advantage of the reader, either in the way of instruction or amusement, to trace the steps of Lord Palmerston in his official labours during the nineteen years he filled the office of war secretary, moving the army estimates from year to year, and parrying the thrusts of Mr. Joseph Hume. In talent for debate, industry and application to business, and an intimate acquaintance



with the political state of Europe, and the corresponding duties of his office, there is no deficiency on the part of the noble viscount. There are also a few *redeeming* speeches which it would be unjust to the fair fame of Lord Palmerston to pass over in this place unnoticed. They breathe a tone of liberal politics, both as regards our own country and foreign nations; on which account we shall preserve at least some traces of them. Viscount Palmerston opposed the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts at the time that question was brought forward by Lord John Russell, April 1828; but he opposed it chiefly by his vote, which, as a member of the Wellington administration, he might be compelled to do, or resign his office. His speech, which was the last that was delivered in the House of Commons on that occasion, prior to the division for going into committee, when ministers were left in a minority of 44, will sufficiently speak for itself, and shew that, though ostensibly levelled against the claims of the dissenters, it involves in all its reasonings a powerful plea in their favour. Thus his lordship spoke:

“I can very sincerely assure the house, that, at this period of the night, and at this stage of the present debate, it is not my intention to detain them more than a very few minutes. I do declare to the house, that I am really most anxious to be permitted, however shortly, to state the grounds of the vote which I shall this night feel bound to give; and I am the more desirous of doing this, as that vote will be adverse to the motion of the noble lord (Russell.) I am still further anxious to do so, for I should be extremely sorry, indeed, were the considerations which influence my intended vote for a moment misconstrued into the acknowledging myself favourable to a continuance of the laws now under consideration. I beg most distinctly to declare that I am a warm and zealous friend to religious liberty; that I am as strenuous a partisan of religious freedom as the noble lord himself, or any other honourable member of this house. I concur with him as far as he, or any other man, can wish, that restraints upon the consciences of men can never be advantageous.



No good, no public benefit, can arise from them—much evil may possibly ensue from their operation. They convert into hypocrites men who would otherwise have been honest: they sow the spirit of disaffection among men who would otherwise have been loyal. They proceed upon a principle the most fallacious that can be conceived; namely, that of assuming that peculiar religious opinions necessarily indicate the existence, in the same individual, of peculiar political opinions; for it is not for a moment contended, that those restraints were imposed for the purpose of putting down religious sentiments of a peculiar character. No such thing: it is fully understood that they were imposed for the purpose of guarding against political acts, which were expected to proceed from the political opinions attributed to those who held religious tenets like theirs against whom those statutes had been directed.

“Now, sir, I fully agree with those who think that in their operation, if they were in operation at all, they must prove nugatory for the objects of their framers, and most unjust as respects those against whose consciences they were directed. If we refer to times of internal dissension, when breaches of law were frequent, and even treason did not fear to shew itself, I am perfectly ready to admit, and I take much pleasure in referring to the fact, that the dissenters were not open to any accusation; and as a sincere, though humble advocate of religious freedom, I take leave to say, that no particular set of theological opinions has been found to distinguish those who have arranged themselves against the existing government, and the preservation of social order. It is asked, do those precautionary tests afford a sufficient safeguard for the interests of the established church? I think they do not: in that point of view I attach no value or importance to them. In my humble opinion, no rational man can set the slightest value upon them for such a purpose. The safety of the church depends upon the number and character of



those who are included within its pale ; depends upon its doctrines, its opinions, and its practical morality. But when it seeks to sustain its existence (and I deny that its friends in the present case propose so to do) by means of imposing, upon others, tests contrary to their consciences, it only rouses into activity that principle of human nature which makes men instinctively revolt from any shackles on the freedom of thought—which makes them hold with increased tenacity those very opinions which persecution would in vain seek to eradicate. No, sir, I think that, in the present day, the established church of this country derives no advantages from such safeguards, if safeguards they at all can be considered. In these times, the safety of the established church is founded upon the piety and learning of its prelates and clergy, and still more upon their practical morality. Its safety is, in these times, ensured, not by the pains and disabilities imposed upon other denominations of Christians, but by the reverence which it has inspired, and continues to inspire, amongst the bulk of the people. So long as that freely is acknowledged, that learning pre-eminent—that morality spotless—and that general reverence unabated—it may disdain any attempts at external hostility.

“ If, then, I consider these laws unjust in the abstract—if I think them inexpedient even now—if I disregard them as securities to the established church—it will naturally be asked on what grounds I propose to justify my voting against the motion of the noble lord? Now, sir, I must, in the first place, be permitted to say, that in spite of the refined legal arguments this night so ingeniously placed before the house—in spite of all the hypothetical cases suggested with such ability—I must contend, that, of late years, these acts have been, to all intents and purposes, practically repealed. It is utterly vain to deny that they have been virtually suspended, and that there is not now—that there has not been for years—the slightest possible grievance affecting the dissenters. It must be



fully in the recollection of the house, that there are two great classes in this country, who complain of labouring under religious disabilities—I mean the Catholics, and the Dissenters. Now, I am unwilling that the jealousy of the latter should be excited towards the former—I am unwilling that the lesser evil should be removed, before the greater becomes the object of legislative interference—I wish to bring the one up to the level of the other; or, rather, I do not wish to be guilty of the partiality of relieving the Dissenter from that which is merely nominal, while the Catholic labours under real and substantial disabilities, and has, in fact, great grievances to complain of. It is upon these grounds, sir, that I am unwilling to accede to the motion of the noble lord—just as the measure may be, in the abstract—expedient as it may be, under any circumstances—and indifferent as it may be to the interests of the established church;—I am unwilling, I say, sir, to be so unjust towards the Catholics as to remove from others, or mitigate, I might say, an imaginary grievance, while real inflictions press upon *them*. While their fetters yet remain to be struck off, I can never consent to the demands of the Dissenters.”

The ground taken by the noble viscount, in this instance, is precisely that which was assumed by the late Mr. Canning; but, happily for the country, a majority of the House of Commons thought it untenable; and Mr. Peel and the Duke of Wellington found it necessary to yield to the public voice, and abolish the Corporation and Test acts before the Catholic relief bill came under consideration. It is due to Lord Palmerston, however, to add, that no sooner was the bill carried against his own vote and speech, than he rejoiced that an object was consummated, which would establish a good understanding between the established church and the dissenters.

The removal of the Catholic disabilities, however, travelled quickly on the heels of the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts. It was only in March, 1829, that



Mr. Secretary Peel brought forward that important measure, in which he proposed to do away with the votes of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, and raise the elective franchise to £10 householders. Lord Palmerston, though in office, opposed this alteration, in a short speech, which we here insert. ??

Lord Palmerston said, that, however unwilling he might be to oppose a measure which was said to be ultimately connected with the great measure which was intended to give tranquillity to Ireland, he was induced by insurmountable feelings of dislike to this bill to meet it with his opposition. The house had been told that the bill for granting Catholic emancipation, and the present measure, were inseparably connected. He denied that parliament had made any such bargain with the government. The price required for Catholic emancipation was the immediate suppression of the Catholic Association; and that price having been paid, it was impossible, in the event of the bill before the house being defeated, for government to turn round, and refuse to fulfil its part of the bargain. It was absurd to suppose that government could withhold emancipation. No ministry could do so. The house had been told that the measures of government were proposed in the spirit of peace; but to him it appeared that the present bill was conceived in something like the spirit of vengeance. But the only offence of the persons against whom the bill was directed was, that they had exercised their privilege honestly and independently, and according to the dictates of their conscience. One of the other arguments in support of the bill was, that the forty-shilling freeholders were influenced by the priests, and that it was dangerous to leave them in possession of the power they now held. If the bill were passed on that ground, how could it be said that Catholics were admitted to an equality of political privileges? The one measure proposed by government would defeat the other, and a Catholic question would still remain to be discussed. It



was said that landlords in Ireland were too prone to subdivide their estates, with the view of obtaining political influence; but this evil might safely be left to cure itself. He believed this statement was not borne out by facts, and that in reality the system was the other way. During the last three or four years, attempts had been made to thin the population of Ireland, and advance its social condition, without considering the misery which such efforts occasioned to large bodies of people. It was said that the present measure would have the effect of giving to Ireland substantial yeomanry. Honourable members would not wait until the progress of events worked out this desirable object; but were determined to cut the matter short, and effect it at once by legal enactment. If the bill were passed, and a £10 yeomanry established, could they be compared with the yeomanry of England? It would soon be discovered that the £10 yeomanry were of too low a denomination, and that it was necessary to raise the qualification to £20, and indeed it would be difficult to know at what point to stop. The subdivision of property in Ireland depended mainly on the state of society in that country, and any sudden attempt at consolidation in a country where there were no manufactures to afford employment to the superabundant population, could only be productive of extensive misery. In Ireland, the population of which was seven millions, there were only thirty towns which contained more than 5,000 inhabitants, whilst in Scotland, whose population was but two million, there were thirty-three towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants. It was in vain to endeavour, by arbitrary enactments, to anticipate the progress of society. He trusted government would consent to let the present elective system of Ireland remain, contenting itself with correcting the abuses connected with it.

How Lord Palmerston contrived to make his peace with the Duke of Wellington, for presuming to differ from "the Commander-in-Chief," we know not; but in advocating



the grand measure, the repeal of the Catholic disabilities, his lordship managed to make ample amends for his previous delinquency. He delivered a speech in support of the bill, which was highly applauded at the moment, and is still regarded as the ablest address that was produced in the House of Commons on that memorable occasion. Though it suffers not a little from the imperfection which must unavoidably attend a newspaper report, it is still worthy of being preserved as a record of the noble viscount's enlightened judgment and superior talents.

Lord Palmerston said, the honourable member for Newark, (Mr. Sadler,) who had last night spoke in that house for the first time, had, in his eloquent and able speech, thought it necessary to apologize for even touching upon the state of Ireland—an apology altogether unnecessary, and somewhat curious. The honourable member seemed to think that although the state of Ireland was the cause of the measure upon which he addressed the house, yet that he might deal with the poor-laws, with political economy, with education, and with all other matters, but the great matter of all, the state of Ireland—the state of the country most concerned in the question—was not to be mentioned at all. It was, however, upon a view of the condition of Ireland that he (Lord Palmerston) was prepared to support the bill. But before he proceeded further, he wished to offer a few remarks upon some arguments which had fallen from the member for Corfe Castle and another honourable gentleman. He esteemed as much as any honourable member could, the character and the conduct of those great men who effected the revolution of 1688; and he thought it was but a very ill compliment to the memory of those illustrious persons to say, that their steps were followed by illiberality, excluding any of our fellow-subjects from the blessings of the constitution in consequence of their religious opinions. He read a very different version from some honourable gentlemen, in the motives and proceedings of those men. The honourable member for Corfe Castle had brought forward the declaration



of the Prince of Orange, as a proof of the correctness of the view which that honourable gentleman took of the question, when he opposed this bill, and contended that that declaration was framed and entirely directed to the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from political power. He would not deny that much was levelled against the Roman Catholics, but he had greatly misread that declaration, who confined its intention to so narrow a view. If properly read, it took a much more comprehensive and enlightened scope.

The noble lord then went through the different clauses of the declaration, and contended that it was levelled not merely or principally against the Roman Catholics, but against the perversion of the laws, and the establishment of despotic power. That declaration described who the evil counsellors were to whom it alluded, and set them forth as persons who—when they found they could not by intrigue or violence command the votes of parliament—recommended to the king that the parliament should be dissolved. And what was the remedy proposed by it? Why, a new parliament or convention was summoned, and for what purpose? Why, for the purpose of preparing such new laws, and making such new provisions and arrangements, as should be considered by it necessary for the settlement of the kingdom; and also for the purpose of establishing a good understanding between the Protestant established church and the Protestant Dissenters. The latter object had not been effected, however, until last year, when it was happily consummated. And the last great object for which that convention met was, to secure to all persons who had lived peaceably and properly, perfect security and toleration in their religious opinions, the papists themselves not even being excepted. These were the opinions of that great religious radical, King William! If the objects and opinions of that monarch had really been such as they had been represented to be, there would be every reason to deplore his ever having landed in this country, rather than to rejoice in the event, and to bless his memory. King William, how-



ever, came not with Protestantism in one hand and the axe of intolerance in the other : he came with peace and toleration on his lips, and religious and civil liberty upon his banners.

The noble lord then alluded to the state of Ireland, and, after stating that it was the great reason why he supported this measure, he depicted its deplorable condition in glowing colours. In opposition to the measure, it had been observed, that if thirty, forty, or fifty Roman Catholics gained admission into that house, they would use their best endeavours to subvert the constitution ; but it had not been exactly explained how they were to accomplish the task. It should be remembered, however, that although a small party might, by throwing its weight into nearly poised balances, give the preponderance to one, yet that the measures which it was supposed the Catholics would be desirous to carry, were of such a nature that they could succeed only when they could support them by a decided majority ; and that being the case, it was impossible that thirty or forty Roman Catholics could effect their adoption. But it was said that in the case of a tottering, weak ministry, the Roman Catholics might, by their co-operation and assistance, obtain a mastery. Such a supposition was absurd. The very moment a ministry so misconducted itself it would be deserted by every Protestant, and crushed by its own baseness or folly. The honourable baronet, the member for Kent, had said, that he did not object to the admission of the Roman Catholics to political power from any objection to their general conduct, but from some of their religious tenets. The honourable baronet of course could not allude to such imputed tenets as "there is no faith to be kept with heretics," but referred, he supposed, to the presumption, that the Roman Catholics would give only a divided allegiance to the king. The Catholics positively and solemnly denied the tenets attributed to them : they had done so over and over again, and he believed them when they did so. But even if they were not sincere in their



denial, that would make no difference in his opinion, for he did not see what the objectionable tenets had to do with the question. If the question was, as to whether there should be any Catholics or not, he would say, as decidedly and as readily as the honourable baronet—No. But then the Roman Catholics were there—they were with their tenets, whether good or ill—and the only question to be considered was, what was to be done with them? The question was, whether a new attempt should be made to depress, subdue, or extirminate them, or whether, by conciliation and kindness, they should be converted into friends and supporters of the common interest? For his own part he hoped to see the latter course adopted.

The only professed objection to the admission of the Roman Catholics to political power was, that they held a divided allegiance. The Catholics utterly denied that such was the fact; and as a proof of the truth of his denial, said to the Protestant, "Frame what oath you please, binding me to temporal allegiance to the king, and I will truly take it." And if it was said in reply, that oaths were but words, and words but air, he would remind those who made such an answer, that the Roman Catholics were admitted at present to the command of fleets and of armies, and might appeal to the exploits they had performed in their military capacity. If Catholics were likely or inclined to treat oaths lightly, in what situation were they so likely to do so as in the navy or army, where they were distant from control, and exposed to temptation? The act by which they were admitted to the command of the navy and army, was not framed at the time of the revolution of 1688. No, it certainly was not: it was passed in more modern times, and many of the opponents of the present bill allowed it to pass without opposition. What then was the fact? Why, you trust the outposts of your camp, you trust the outworks of your fortress, and the parts most accessible to intrigue and collision with the enemy, into the custody of Roman Catholics; but you will not admit them into the heart of your



citadel, where they will be surrounded by guards and checks, if they should be disposed to play you false. They would give the Roman Catholics the command of fleets and of armies, even in those perilous times, when the fate of the nation might depend upon the result of a battle, and they would do so without apprehension, but they would not consent to admit one Catholic into that house, where he would only be one among many, where his language and his actions would be made fully known, and whose proceedings were carried at the dawn of day, upon wings scarcely less swift than those of the winds, to the most distant parts of the empire, and everywhere freely discussed and canvassed.

Much had been said respecting the wisdom of their ancestors; and, certainly, upon the question before the house, their ancestors appeared to have the advantage. Their ancestors hated the Roman Catholics, and perhaps had some cause; they hated the Roman Catholics, and had none. Their ancestors attempted to extirpate the Catholics, and set about it in right good earnest, deeming a Catholic a sort of dangerous and ferocious beast of prey, and, treating him as such, drove him into his fastnesses. They hated the Catholics, but permitted them to walk about their cities, to be seen in the neighbourhood of their gardens, and thought it sufficient if they only closed against them the portals of the temple of justice. If the Catholics were dangerous, they had gone too far—but they could not recede; and if they were not dangerous, they had not gone far enough. The elements of political power were numbers, wealth, and intelligence; and these they had permitted Catholics to acquire. Yet, while the Catholics were going on, daily adding to their importance, they still went on discussing the danger if Catholics should acquire any further political power. Why, those persons who swayed the passions and commanded the actions of five or six millions of Catholics possessed political power, if there was any meaning in words. He called upon the house to strip these men of the dangerous power they



possessed—to convert them into supports of the empire ; he called upon the house, as skilful physicians, to extract the poison, and to convert it into a restorative.

The population of England in 1821 was 14,000,000 ; that of Ireland was 7,000,000. In the same year the revenue raised through the industry of England was 50,000,000*l.* ; the revenue raised through the industry of Ireland was, what ? 25,000,000*l.*, as in due proportion it ought to have been ? No ; it was barely 5,000,000*l.* What was the reason of so great a disproportion ? The soil of Ireland was celebrated for its fertility, and, as a proof of the industry of the people, he appealed to the harvest fields of England. But he should be told that the cause was that Ireland was without capital. Why was she without it ? That simple fact proved that she was misgoverned. The capital of England overflowed in every direction excepting Ireland. It was found to climb the Andes, to visit the Antipodes ; but into Ireland it did not enter. Beyond the united kingdom no enterprise was too difficult for the British capitalist ; but around Ireland the enchanter had thrown his spell, and he called upon the house to break the charm, and let in the fertilizing medium. He called upon the country gentlemen who wished to be relieved from the burdens which oppressed them, and told them that there was no plan, however ingenious, of finance, that would afford them one-half the relief they would derive from Catholic emancipation. Until that was granted, nothing beneficial could be done.

If the most ingenious tormentor of the human race had endeavoured to devise a scheme for rendering Ireland miserable, he could not have conceived a more effective one than the penal. In a pure despotism all might be contented, because all were alike ; but when freedom was given only to a part, there must be dissensions and heart-burnings. If he wished to convert an unprejudiced Protestant to his opinions on the question, he would take him to the south of Ireland, and let him see the open discontent of the peasantry, and the better-concealed, but rankling jealousy of the gentry ; and if



that did not convert him, he would take him to the north, and then let him see how noble and generous natures might be corrupted and perverted by the possession of an unnatural and monstrous ascendancy over the great majority of their countrymen. These truths afforded a melancholy proof of the evils produced by exclusion, and they ought to be entertained as a salutary warning. His right honourable friend (Mr. Peel) had asked those who opposed the measure what other course they would pursue; and the hon. member for Newark had said, mulct the absentees, educate the poor, introduce the poor laws, and, as a last remedy, a civil war. Absenteeism! Make Ireland habitable, and the absentees would return. Educate the poor! No; if they wished to maintain the disabilities, they should keep the poor in ignorance. Introduce the poor laws! Why, the Irish were charged with being an improvident people, the population was considered superabundant. How then would the poor laws serve them? Committees of that house had sat to endeavour to get rid of the curse of the poor laws in this country; but it had never occurred to any one to think that their introduction into Ireland would confer a double blessing on that country. As to a civil war, gentlemen said that they must come to it sooner or later, and that they were better prepared now than they should be hereafter. When the honourable member for Newark was better acquainted with the history of Ireland, he would know that blood had been shed, and leaders had been tried and punished. True, those measures had succeeded for the moment; but they had ultimately only fixed deeper the barbed arrow of discontent in the hearts of the people. It was easy for honourable gentlemen who lived secure in the blessings of peace to talk of civil war.

“He jests at scars who never felt a wound.”

That barbarism which required civil war would not be sanctioned by the people of England. If the nation was glutted with peace, and, like a smothered fire, was ready to



burst forth in flame, let it turn to another country, and not upon itself. England, he was sure, would recoil with loathing at the prospect of shedding fraternal blood. Whilst they were debating about securities, dangers were increasing; the groaning of the earth warned its inhabitants of approaching convulsion, and the signs of the times excited alarm. The noble lord, in conclusion, said, he did not appeal to idle fears: it was that fear which Burke described to be the mother of safety. The man that would not yield to the danger he had described, should go and break his lance against a windmill, and the court of chancery should restrain him from interfering with public affairs.

When the first reform bill was introduced to the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, Viscount Palmerston appeared in the foremost rank of its supporters. He came forward on the 3d of March, 1831, and thus addressed the house:

He rejoiced, he said, that he had given way to his noble friend, (the Marquis of Tavistock,) as it had created an opportunity for the honourable member (Mr. A. Baring) to explain what might otherwise have produced an impression that something was done by the government in the framing of this plan, out of deference to the views or wishes of the house of Russell. Nothing of the kind could have been expected on the one side, or thought of on the other; and he was glad that the honourable member had the opportunity of declaring that he had never meant to convey any such imputation. With what fell from the honourable member in the beginning of his speech, he fully concurred. He agreed with him in thinking that whatever subjects of importance might have occupied the attention of the house at former periods, there never was any subject of so much moment as that now submitted to its consideration. Many former measures of great consequence had been decided by their single importance, and with reference to some past experience; but the present measure could not be tried by any such test. It was one which did not affect only one particular



interest—it would affect the whole government and character of the country, not only now, but in all future ages. He did not affect for a moment to conceal the difficulty with which the question was surrounded: if he did, he should be unworthy of the place he held, and the part he took on this occasion; for he must, indeed, be a bold, or an unthinking man, who could approach such a question without a due consideration of all the difficulties with which it was encompassed—who could propose to make such a change in the constitution, which, with all its faults, had been productive of so many benefits to the country at large. He repeated, he must be a very bold, or a very thoughtless man, who could propose such a change, without the most serious consideration of it in all its bearings.

Fondness for change was, he must say, not the character of the people of England. They had always been remarkable for a tenacious attachment to their national institutions, affording, in this respect, a striking contrast to their next-door neighbours, who were often dazzled and delighted by the freshness and newness of their institutions, whilst in Old England people rejoiced in the antiquity of theirs. We well knew the great difficulty of bringing the people to consent to a change in their laws; how strenuously many a hard-fought contest was maintained before they could be induced to relinquish certain statutes; how long and how eagerly the struggle was carried on during years of discussion, before they could be brought to give up—first, the traffic in human beings; and, at a later period, those laws which condemned a considerable portion of the people to political degradation; he meant the penal code affecting the Roman Catholics. When we saw in a people, so unwilling heretofore to consent to change, a now eager desire for innovation—a desire not confined to itinerant demagogues, or bow-window orators, but manifested by large masses, including those of rank, and wealth, and station, and influence, in the country, demanding a change, we should come to the conclusion that there existed in the country some great practical abuses which



called loudly for a remedy. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Baring) said, that if the people were left to themselves, they would be quiet, and not think of making such demands as the present measure was intended to satisfy; and he added, that, if the government, and the press, and the public, did not pursue a fallacy, we should not have heard so much of the cry for innovation. Now, he must say, that if the government, and the press, and the public, were of opinion that this innovation was necessary, it might happen that it was not a fallacy. He contended that the people of this country sought for a change, because the state of the country was such as to require it. Among the many instances which he could cite in proof of that fact, he would for the present only mention one, that they (the ministers) were now seated on those benches which had been so recently occupied by honourable gentlemen opposite. Honourable gentlemen might say what they pleased, but it was not the difference about the civil list—it was not the reduction of the salaries of some half-dozen offices—which caused the overthrow of the late administration. The rock which they split upon was their defiance of public opinion. They went on, spreading wide the canvass of patronage as they proceeded; but that patronage, and the use they made of it, to accelerate their progress and increase their power, proved to be their ruin. He would again repeat it, the besetting sin of the last administration was a disregard of public opinion—of public opinion at home—of public opinion abroad.

The error of the course they pursued did not, unfortunately, end with their power; it had become the means of setting Europe in flames. He asserted, that an obstinate adherence to the notion, that a few men in authority could succeed in bearing down public opinion, had proved fatal to the late administration, and he warned the house that the example might serve as a guard against any such error in future. He would contend, that, if it were not for the prudence, and discretion, and activity, of two men—of his noble friend at the head of the home department, and of the great



firmness of the noble lord at the head of the government of Ireland, we might now be in a situation to be alarmed for the connexion of the two countries. Those who recollected what took place in November last, and who considered the steps taken on that occasion, would bear out his assertion; and, notwithstanding the cheers of honourable gentlemen in opposition, from whom no very large support or approval could be expected on such an occasion, he would repeat, that to the circumstances he had alluded, the country was much indebted for the tranquillity that now reigned in that part of the country; but he must at the same time say, that all that the present ministry had done would have been unavailing, if they had not been supported by public opinion.

What they had done, the late ministry could never have achieved; for public opinion was decidedly against them. He said, then, when public opinion was so strong in favour of a change, it was the duty of government to concede that change, in such a manner as not to impair those advantages we had so long enjoyed. In looking at the nature of the proposed changes, let the house consider some of the evils which it was intended to remedy. What was it which for years had produced so much misgovernment—so much of disregard to public opinion? The gross bribery and corruption practised at elections, by means of which, parties made their way into parliament—the undue influence exerted at elections for members of that house—and so many of them coming in, either without constituents, or only with those whom they had purchased, and might sell again. When then, by such practices the people were driven to tear aside the veil of sanctity with which hereditary respect had invested even the imperfections of the constitution, it was impossible that they whose limited propositions of reform had been rejected, should not be led to demand wider and more extensive changes. There were many men in that house who wished things to remain as they were, and who would be willing to bear the faults of the



constitution, for the sake of its many excellencies. He would tell those people, that if now they were driven to the necessity of choosing between a change which they feared, and the evil consequences which would arise from the refusal of that change, the blame must rest on those who three years ago refused to make even the smallest concession to public feeling. If, three years ago, advantage had been taken of the conviction of corrupt boroughs to bring gradually into connexion with that house the great unrepresented towns—if, instead of drawing nice equations between the manufacturing and the agricultural interests, they had turned reformers on ever so moderate a scale—the house would not now have been discussing a plan of general reform proposed by his noble friend, his Majesty's paymaster of the forces.

Lord Palmerston said, he had supported all those proposals for limited reform, because he thought them good in themselves; and because he clearly saw, that if they were refused, we should be obliged to have recourse to wider and more extensive changes; but his predictions had been condemned and disregarded by the honourable gentlemen opposite. For reasons similar to those for which he then supported those limited propositions of reform, he was now prepared to support the more extensive measure which had been proposed by his noble friend. Taunts had been thrown, in the course of that night's debate, against those who, like himself, were the admirers of Mr. Canning. They had been taunted for abandoning the principles which that great man had adopted with respect to the important question of reform. He thought that the events which had taken place in that house since the lamented death of that illustrious person, might have taught those who indulged in such taunts, that public men might change their opinions on questions of deep national concernment, without being influenced by any but honest and honourable motives. He should have imagined that those who cast such reproaches, would have learned by



this time, that public men were not justified in indulging what he called the puerile vanity of consistency of opinion, if by so doing they might endanger the great interests of the country. What Mr. Canning's opinion on the question of reform would now have been, had he lived to the present day, it was not for him to say; but they were bad expounders of Mr. Canning's opinions, who looked for them in particular sentiments, expressed at particular times, and did not scrutinize the principles by which his public life was guided. If any man took a great and enlarged view of human affairs, without doubt, that eminent statesman did; and he would venture to say, that had Mr. Canning lived in the present day, and stood in the same circumstances in which he (Lord Palmerston) stood, his great genius would have at once comprehended the necessity on which the opinions of the government were founded, and would have stated to the house, in his (Lord Palmerston's) belief, the same sentiments which he (Lord Palmerston) was now expressing. If any honourable member wanted to learn the opinions of Mr. Canning, let him refer to the speech delivered by that gentleman in February, 1826, on the freedom of the silk trade, when he expressed himself in a manner very applicable to the present occasion—saying, "That those who resisted improvement, because it was innovation, might find themselves compelled to accept innovation, when it had ceased to be improvement."

Lord Palmerston said, it was no longer in the power of the house to do, in 1831, what would have been easy in 1828—namely, to take advantage of the conviction of corrupt boroughs to transfer the elective franchise, as occasions occurred, to the great manufacturing towns. A change of circumstances had made it necessary for government to prepare for the consideration of parliament a plan of general reform. He was aware that those who were wedded to the present system might denounce the proposition of government to be a revolutionary measure, while those who sought to overthrow existing establishments,



and build on their ruin another system, of which they aimed to be the rulers, would stigmatize it as insufficient; but he was convinced that those who admitted timely correction and improvement to be the conservative principle of free institutions, would look upon the proposition as well adapted to consolidate the fabric of the constitution, and give it due consistency and strength. Any one who looked at the constitution of the representation of this house, could not fail to be struck by seeing five prominent defects;—the nomination boroughs—the gross, general, and barefaced corruption which prevailed, not only in small, but also in large places—the want of members for some of the greatest and most important manufacturing towns—the expenses of elections—and the unequal distribution among different classes of society of that power which resulted from the exercise of the elective franchise. To all these, defects the plan of government applied sound and wholesome remedies.

It was impossible for any man to say that the existence of nomination boroughs was consistent with the theory of the constitution, according to which honourable members sat in that house as the representatives of the people of England. He did not deny that some of those boroughs had afforded an entrance into the house to persons of splendid talents and great capacity, who had strenuously advocated the rights and liberties of the people. But still it was impossible for any plan of real reform to be devised, which did not take for its foundation the total disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs. Besides, without considerable disfranchisement, it was impossible to provide for the other advantages which the plan of government proposed to accomplish. Every man would agree, that the number of the members of parliament, if not too large, was large enough: and unless some boroughs had been disfranchised, it would have been impossible, without great inconvenience, to give representatives to the manufacturing towns.



Some honourable members had contended, that an unfair selection had been made of the boroughs to be disfranchised, and the honourable member for Callington had insinuated that the plan of government had not been framed on general principles, but with a view to save certain boroughs, and the borough of Tavistock among the number. A most triumphant answer to such a charge had been given by his noble friend, (the Marquis of Tavistock,) who had stated that the population of Tavistock was 5,000, while that of Callington was somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000. For the further satisfaction of the honourable member, he could inform the house, that there were twenty-five other boroughs with a population between that of Tavistock, and the most populous of the forty-seven half-disfranchised boroughs, which would retain the privilege of returning two representatives. It was not the object of government to sever the ties which existed between the middle and lower classes and the aristocracy; and they did not think their proposition would have any such effect. They did not wish to put an end to that influence which arose from good conduct on the one hand, and respect and affection on the other, but to unreasonable submission to naked authority.

The honourable member (Mr. Baring) had stated in the early part of his speech, that the proposition of government would effect a real as well as a theoretical separation of the two houses of parliament, and that the influence of the aristocracy would be excluded from the House of Commons: but the honourable gentleman in the latter part of his speech proceeded to answer his own objection; and stated, that not only the Duke of Bedford would retain as much parliamentary influence, but that even he (the honourable member for Callington) would still have it in his power to return the member for Callington.

Lord Palmerston maintained, that the proposition of government would not destroy the wholesome influence of the aristocracy—that influence which was obtained by eminent conduct, by moral and intellectual distinction, and by



exercising towards their inferiors those qualities which secured the affections and gained the admiration of men. The plan of government would introduce to a share in the government of the country the great body of householders—that is, the great bulk of the middle classes of the kingdom. An honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. H. Twiss) had chosen to make himself merry at the expense of the middle classes. He was pleased to say, that shopkeepers, small attorneys, innkeepers, and publicans, were totally unfit to enjoy any share in the representation. He could assure honourable members that he was not speaking from memory, for he had taken down the honourable and learned gentleman's words. But he would ask the honourable and learned member, in what respect were the potwallopers more fitted to choose representatives than respectable shopkeepers and attorneys?

An honourable member (Mr. Baring) had asked, Why, if it were considered dangerous to trust the potwallopers with the elective franchise beyond twenty years, not disfranchise them now? The answer he gave to that question was, that though the government thought that that description of voters should be extinguished, yet they did not see such danger in the present electors continuing to exercise the elective franchise, as to induce them to take that right away during the lives of those who now possessed it. He believed that the proposition would prove satisfactory to the country; and notwithstanding the taunts which had been thrown on the middle classes, he believed that there did not exist in any country a body of men more entitled to respect and confidence than the middle classes of this country. He would venture to say that there never was a class of men more distinguished for morality and good conduct, for intelligence and love of order, for true loyalty to their king, for affection to the constitution, and, in case of need, for devotion to their country. He considered it would be one great and main recommendation of the plan of government, that it gave to the middle classes an interest in the govern-



ment of the country, from which they had been so long excluded.

The noble lord next alluded to the great expenses attending elections, arising from gross and disgusting bribery, and stated that this cause of expense was proposed to be removed by the introduction of a respectable and honest body of voters. He did not agree with an honourable member, that it was worse for electors to sell their votes than the proprietors of boroughs to sell seats in parliament, because corruption on such a large scale had a tendency to destroy respect for the institutions of the country, and demoralize the whole population of the place where it prevailed. An honourable member had stated that there was no necessity to give representatives to the manufacturing towns, because they possessed virtual representation; but he (Lord Palmerston) asked, why should not, then, small boroughs be contented with similar representation? The manufacturing towns required something more than virtual representation, considering how often parliament was called upon to legislate on matters affecting the interests of the commercial portion of the country. It was therefore desirable that they should possess representatives with whom they could directly communicate, and in whom they placed confidence. To the manufacturing towns, then, it was intended to give thirty-four members, and, to preserve the just preponderance of the landed interest, it was proposed to add fifty-five to the county members. Besides, all persons who had votes in towns would not be entitled to vote in counties; so that the representatives of the counties would be even more exclusively than at present the representatives of the agricultural interest. We looked on the landed interest as the surest foundation on which rested the fabric of the state, and the institutions of the country. He meant no disparagement to the manufacturing and commercial classes. He was perfectly aware that they were indispensable to the happiness and prosperity of the country; and that, without them, land would lose its value. But the house must not forget, that



the soil of the country was the country itself. With reference to what had fallen from the honourable member for Callington (Mr. Baring,) he would add, that under the present system, it was not talent that procured a man a seat in that house, but length of purse, the ability to pay agents and post-horses up to the fourteenth day. This was a great and practical evil, and this evil the bill would prevent. The great and leading principle of the bill was, that it would alter the distribution of the different classes, and bring the middling classes into communion with the others. The present system did not give the middling classes an adequate share in the representation. He was convinced that the majority of the house would concur in the bill, as a measure adapted to promote the public good; though there might be men who thought that a vote of that house might change the opinion of the country, or that government might bid defiance to that opinion, and refuse to comply with it. He trusted that the number of such persons, and of those who acted as they did, would not prove to be a majority of the house, as it might lead to serious consequences. There were, however, persons who thought that the bill would satisfy the country, and unite all classes in its favour; and he trusted that, in the decision which the house was about to come to, the truth would prevail.

We could easily enrich our pages with interesting extracts from Lord Palmerston's speeches, were it necessary to give further proof of his parliamentary tactics—but enough has been done for that purpose. The office which his lordship now fills is, in the present state of the Continent of Europe, one of no ordinary difficulty, and one that calls for talents of the highest order. He may be too aristocratical in his notions for the present day, but no one denies him the merit of official aptitude, and some of his state-papers, recently produced on the affairs of Belgium, are very creditable both to himself and the country.



RIGHT HON.

SIR JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, BART,

*Secretary at War.*

THIS intrepid reformer, who has now represented the city of Westminster, in parliament, for several years, in conjunction with Sir Francis Burdett, is the son of the late Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, Bart. F.R., and A.S.S., and many years member for Hindon, in Wilts.

The family of Hobhouse came originally from Germany, and settled at Minehead, in the county of Somerset, whence towards the close of the seventeenth century they removed to Bristol, of which city they soon after became considerable merchants.

Sir Benjamin Hobhouse was trained to the profession of the law; but adopting political in preference to forensic pursuits, he was appointed secretary to the Board of Control, in Mr. Addington's administration, and, in the Fox and Grenville administration, 1806, chairman of ways and means. He had been previously selected (1804) by the East India Directors, as one of the commissioners for paying the debts of the Nabob of Carnatic, and subsequently for liquidating those of the Rajah of Tanjore; an office which he resigned a short time previous to his death, which took place on the 15th of August, 1831.

SIR JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE is the eldest son of Sir Benjamin, and indeed the eldest of twelve children, which the late baronet had by two wives. He was born on the 27th



June, 1786, and succeeded to the title as second baronet, upon the demise of his father. He finished his education at Cambridge, and, before he left the university, signalized himself by a successful prize essay, on the subject of the origin of sacrifices, and their continuance among both Jews and Heathens. This essay was printed, but not for sale. Quitting the banks of Cam, Mr. Hobhouse went abroad, and, on his return to his native country, favoured the public with "Some account of a Journey into Albania, Romelia, and other provinces of Turkey, in 1809 and 1810," in 4to, London 1812; of which a second edition appeared in the following year, in 2 vols. 4to., embellished with plates.

It was on the lamented death of Sir Samuel Romilly, we think, that Sir John Hobhouse was chosen to represent Westminster, and soon began to distinguish himself as an expert and spirited debater. In his political opinions he was as liberal as his highly gifted colleague, or any other member of the British senate. When the reign of Buonaparte drew towards a termination, Mr. Hobhouse went upon the Continent, and became an eye-witness of many interesting occurrences, which he subsequently detailed in a publication, entitled, "The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman, resident at Paris, during the last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon; with an Appendix of Official Documents," London, 1816, 2 vols, 8vo., but without the author's name. And while adverting to his publications, it may be as well to mention, that we are indebted to Sir John Hobhouse, for "Imitations and Translations from the Ancient and Modern Classics, together with original Poems, never before published," London, 1809, 8vo.—also, "Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold; containing Dissertations on the Ruins of Rome, and an Essay on Italian Literature," 1818, 8vo. Besides these now specified, which are all works of research and learning, indicating no ordinary talent, there are several minor productions of his pen, in the form of pamphlets, some with, and others without, the author's name. Mr. Hobhouse was also at



Vienna in 1815, when the congress was held in that metropolis, by the allied Sovereigns, for ratifying the peace of the continent, and was a spectator of that imposing pageant.

In taking a cursory review of the right honourable baronet's parliamentary career, we shall commence with his masterly speech in support of Mr. Lambton's (now Lord Durham's) motion for a reform in parliament, April 17th, 1821. It may be worth the reader's while to turn back to our report of Mr. Lambton's address, which they will find at page 400 of this volume, and cast his eye over it once more, as it will enable him to enter more fully into the merits of Mr. Hobhouse's able defence and support. There is, however, something more to be said in the way of explanation, to render the latter quite intelligible to readers of the present day, and prevent the exquisite poignancy—might we call it the *Attic salt*—contained in the latter part of the speech, from being evaporated by the lapse of time, and so lost to posterity.

It is well known that the late Mr. Canning was through life a determined opposer of parliamentary reform, and, from the circumstance of his great talents and commanding eloquence, he presented a more formidable barrier to the measure being taken up by the House of Commons, than anything else that can be named. Mr. Lambton refers to this in the beginning of his speech; and both he and Mr. Hobhouse anticipated that gentleman's opposition to the motion. Hence the pointed reference to him towards the conclusion of Mr. Hobhouse's speech, as "a smart six-form boy, the little hero of a little world." The mere circumstance, however, of Mr. Canning's being an anti-reformer, would not justify the honourable baronet, in indulging in such personalities as are to be found in that singular address—consequently some other cause must have existed; and a few lines on this subject will render the matter intelligible.

It is no secret, that a bad state of feeling had existed for some time between Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Canning



previous to the delivery of the following speech. In consequence of the great distress which prevailed throughout the country for a few years after the return of peace, much dissatisfaction with the measures of government prevailed;—the habeas corpus act was repeatedly suspended, from which many suffered—and petitions containing the most affecting details of cruelty and oppression which individuals had undergone in dungeons and chains, were submitted to parliament. Mr. Hobhouse believed these representations to be true—Mr. Canning scouted them almost *in toto*, as a scandalous imposition on the House of Commons; and having, as he conceived, sufficiently exposed their falsehood, exclaimed, in his lofty style, in reference to the case of one individual in Manchester—an old man of the age of seventy-four, who had been nine months in confinement—“The case of the revered and ruptured Ogden may be a very fit one to be brought before the Rupture Society; but to require upon it the decision of parliament, is such a daring attempt upon its credulity, as will probably be never again attempted.”

This sportive sally, which was very characteristic of Mr. Canning at that period of his life, was viewed by some in the light of trifling with human suffering. It was accordingly denounced vehemently in the anti-ministerial prints and, in particular, in an anonymous pamphlet, which Mr. Canning suspected to have proceeded from the pen of Mr. Hobhouse. It described Mr. Canning's flourish as a monstrous outrage upon the audience that it insulted, and added that “the stupid alliteration—‘the revered and ruptured,’ was one of the ill-tempered weapons coolly selected from his oratorical armoury;” and the writer concludes his invectives and denunciations with the following threat: “If you ever accuse me of treason—throw me into prison—make your jailors load me with chains—and then jest at my sufferings; I will put you to death.”

It has been already intimated, that suspicion of having written this philippic rested on Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr.



Canning certainly lost no opportunity, after its publication, of insulting that gentleman. One night, in a debate, he had the temerity, when referring to the two members for Westminster, to speak of them as "the honourable baronet and *his man*" ! Now, the reader must keep these things in mind, if he would form a proper estimate of Mr. Hobhouse's parliamentary tactics, as they are displayed in this uncourteous retort.

Mr. Hobhouse said, he hoped that the great importance of the subject would be his excuse with the house, if he should find it necessary on this occasion to occupy their time at some length. He felt he was incompetent for the task, but he trusted for the indulgence of the house, while he exerted himself to discharge what he considered an important duty. Before he entered into the question, he must remark upon one observation which had fallen from the honourable member who had just sat down. He considered his assertion respecting nations emerging one step from slavery to freedom, as wholly inapplicable to the question before the house. We were not now emerging from slavery to freedom ; (how soon we might be in a state of slavery, was another point ; ) but to prevent so deplorable a catastrophe was one great object of his honourable friend in bringing forward the present motion. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilmot) had said, that if great abuses arose, there was a powerful check on them, in the force of public opinion. He (Mr. Hobhouse) would admit that it was a great corrective, but it was erroneous to say that the people should have only that, and no other, to correct the errors of a bad system, or that it would of itself correct those errors. He really could not understand what the honourable member meant by saying that the people had no right to this or that change in the system ; but he was sure the house would feel that enough had been said to shew that the system of parliamentary representation had been quite different from what it was at present, in numbers, in the duration of parliaments, and in the general



constitution of the house. Mr. Hume had said, that the history of this constitution was a history of perpetual change; and in 1784, it was contended by Mr. Fox, that the mere objection of innovation was, of all others, the least worthy of attention in a question of reform. In stating that there had been great changes in the numbers of the house, he was fully borne out by the best authorities. In the reign of Henry the Sixth, the numbers were three hundred. Henry the Eighth added thirty-one; Queen Elizabeth, thirteen; Edward the Sixth added the city, which he (Mr. Hobhouse) had the honour to represent; King James the First added the universities. This was proof of one of his positions, that great changes had taken place with respect to the numbers in that house: to this he might add, that there were not fewer than seventy-nine places which had formerly sent members, but which at present did not return any; he therefore concluded that with the omnipotence of parliament, as it was called, we have a right to alter the number of representatives as circumstances should require.

With respect to the extent of the elective franchise, great changes had also taken place. In fact, the full extent of the franchise was not known in many places up to the present day. He would state, as one instance, that an election committee had sat two years on a dispute about the franchise in Westminster; and at the end of that time they reported, that parliament would be likely to end before they could come to a conclusion as to what was the extent of the franchise in that city. Still greater changes had occurred in the duration of parliaments: first, they were sessional, then twice a year, sometimes six times a year, then annual, next biennial, then triennial by three acts of parliament, and lastly septennial. Thus then on these three points he had shewn that very important changes had taken place. There had also been very considerable changes in the character of parliament. The parliaments of the Plantagenets differed very materially from those of



the Tudors ; the latter differed as much from the parliaments under the house of Stuarts, and there had been still as great a difference between those and the parliaments after the Revolution. That they had differed in character since then, he believed no man would deny. At the revolution the revenue of the country was £2,500,000, and the statutes against parliamentary corruption were fourteen. In the year 1792, the public revenue was £16,500,000, and the statutes against parliamentary corruption were 65 ; how great a change had taken place since, would appear from the immense additions to our income by the great increase of taxation. In the year 1818, the public revenue was altogether £64,500,000, and if to this we added the great increase of patronage in the East India Company, the creation of a board of control, the patronage arising from the Leeward Islands, and also the sum of £160,000 a year divided between seventy-two members of that house, we should come to the conclusion, that the present house was a mushroom, which had sprung up in the corruption of the last fifty years.

What, then, was to be said of making a change in that house ? Surely it could not be called innovation which was only reverting to a former state of things. Nor could it be objectionable innovation, if the house were to make a change by the infusion of new strength into their body. In the year 1720, Mr. Hutchinson, who represented Westminster, complained of the influence of the crown in that house, which he calculated at thirty votes. That influence had not much increased for forty years after, for it was not then considered as more than from thirty to forty votes ; but how much it had increased in latter years, it would be unnecessary for him to detail. He had said sufficient to shew that the house had changed its character, and therefore that it could not be considered innovation to bring it back to its ancient form. Mr. Hutchinson, to whom he had alluded, had declared, in an able speech on reform, that the House of Commons had erected itself into a third estate, independent of the people of England. He



(Mr. Hobhouse) contended that no man could now deny this. We were now, as Mr. Fox had said, a House of Commons, in which the power of the people was nothing. We were, he maintained, acting in many important points directly against the public opinion. But then it was denied that the public opinion had been really declared on those occasions. Honourable members would not admit that any number of petitions coming to that house expressed the public opinion. If they came from a million of people, it was still not the public opinion, because there had not been one million five hundred thousand, and so on. Let the petitioners come in what numbers they might, still there was no public opinion, according to gentlemen opposite. It was like the line

Ask where's the north, at York 'tis on the Tweed."

All admitted its existence, but none recognized it present. He would wish that honourable gentlemen would agree in stating in what it consisted, according to their notions; for then it might be seen whether or not they respected it as representatives of the people. But after what had been said by his honourable friends, after what had been offered to be proved at the bar, that seventy-one peers and ninety commoners returned a majority of that house, could it be doubted that a reform was necessary? No person, he presumed, would contend that seventy-one peers and ninety commoners were the people of England; and unless that could be established, the fact must remain, that the Commons of England were not represented; and that such a state of things arose, not from the ancient form of the constitution, but from corruption. It was relied upon, on the other side, that the reformers were not agreed among themselves. This was also the objection which was urged in England, by the friends of the Church of Rome, against the religious reformers. It was said, that at Augsburg there were not less than fifteen or sixteen different sects; and it was triumphantly asked, to which of those varying confessions the English reformers would adhere? That argu-



ment had, however, been found ineffectual; the Reformation daily gained strength, and was at length gloriously triumphant. He trusted it would be the case with the reformers of the present day, and that, whatever little shades of difference existed between them, they would all unite in the great object, until they had established what Mr. Pitt had wished for in 1785—a complete sympathy between the house and the people of England.

Mr. Hobhouse differed on some points from his honourable friend who brought forward the present motion, but still he heartily concurred in the motion, as the object of all was the same—to procure an effectual representation of the people. It was said, that no injury could arise to the constitution from the great influence of what was called the oligarchy. He would admit that the body so called might for their own sakes be, and he had no doubt they were, unwilling to destroy the constitution. But the same argument would not apply to the holders, for boroughs could easily pass into other hands, in which they might be, as they too often were, under the direct management and control of the administration of the country. They were, therefore, in their nature detrimental to the best interests of the constitution. Mr. Horne Tooke had said, that seats in that house were as saleable as stalls in a cattle-market: and if they were thus sold and bought, it was natural to think that the purchasers would expect some return for their money. It had been said that seats were bought from a laudable ambition to come into parliament; but if there were some isolated cases of that species of purchase, it applied not to the question. In arguing the general question, they had a right to go on the general system. The demand of his honourable friend (Mr. Lambton) was very moderate. It was as clear as records could make it, that the people had a right to triennial parliaments. Up to the time of Edward the Second, parliaments had been held twice and sometimes thrice a year. [The honourable member here deduced a history of parliaments down to



William the Third.] King William had been reluctant to agree to the triennial bill, and had not given his consent till Sir William Temple had sent Swift to persuade him. He said that he looked upon annual parliaments as a venerable Gothic institution, which ought to be preserved to the country. In his time, then, there had been no doubt that annual parliaments had been the ancient practice of the country. Lord Raymond, that ornament of law and justice, had said that annual parliaments could never be departed from without detriment to the country and to the constitution. In 1745, Mr. Carew had lost his motion for annual parliaments only by a majority of thirty-two, although opposed to him were Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. He had made these observations, to shew that even annual parliaments could be demanded as authorized by the law and the practice of the constitution. Therefore the claim of triennial parliaments was an extremely moderate claim.

He would next advert to the right of householders to exercise the elective franchise. Dr. Robertson, the historian, had stated that it was the great principle of the feudal system, that none could be taxed without his own consent. Mr. Justice Blackstone was an authority to the same effect, Sir William Jones, and all enlightened and independent men who inquired into the subject. In the case of Cirencester, at the time of Charles I., it was decided that the franchise ought to be extended to all householders. Another case was decided in the same terms. The right of householders to the franchise, was the common law and common right. The bill of rights, unfortunately, made no provision upon this subject; and hence had all the provisions of that celebrated document proved nugatory. A writer of that time, whose name was Samuel Johnson, had said that one line settling the free election of annual parliaments would have been better than all the provisions of the bill of rights. This was no mean authority, since it was the authority of one who had, according to his own expression, formed the bridge on which the Prince of Orange had come to this



country. When the army on Hounslow heath hesitated, a letter from this Mr. Johnson had persuaded them to withdraw their allegiance from king James. Having been thus active and useful, and having been punished for his patriotism—for he had been, according to the practice of the time, whipped from Tyburn to Newgate—he was entitled to give his opinion upon this subject. Lord Shaftesbury had proposed a reform to the extent even of election by ballot, and the extension of suffrage to householders. But Lord Chatham was the first who thought of remedying the corruption of parliament by a reform of that house. Mr. Pitt afterwards brought the question three times before parliament. On the second time the motion had been lost only by a majority of 20. On the third occasion, 174 had voted for it. He needed not add, that he, in common with every well-wisher to his country, lamented the defection of that illustrious man. Had he been true to the principles of his father, and his own principles in his youth, we could now look around, and in the glory, the happiness, and the prosperity of the country, find his monument, instead of seeing it only embalmed in a ballad. With the Romans it had been a custom to animate their armies in the day of battle, by representing the shades of their ancestors as fighting with them. So ought they, whatever might be the result of the present discussion, to feel animated and encouraged by finding the greatest names in our history on the side of reform. At what period, he would ask, had the people shewn themselves unworthy of the trust which was now claimed for them? They were always reminded of the enormities of the French revolution. But those enormities had not been occasioned by the representative assembly, but by a set of monsters that had compelled the assembly to acquiesce in their excesses. At our own revolution, and even in the rebellion of 1745, private property had been respected. But if excesses were committed during the revolution in the reign of Charles I., they were not to be ascribed to popular influence in parliament. At three



several periods a large number of members had been excluded from that house. What was called "Pride's purge" excluded one hundred and forty-three members; and the revolutionary decision was carried by 83, of whom sixteen only were members for counties, the other 67 were for boroughs; so that if the alarmists were afraid of any thing, it ought to be a borough parliament. The present family on the throne had nothing to fear from a popular parliament. In 1745 the Pretender had been promised the assistance of a great portion of the aristocracy of the country. This was an undoubted fact, proved by the Stuart papers. Yet, in the whole course of his march from Carlisle to Derby, only 300 joined him of the people, of the despised rabble, whom gentlemen were now so anxious to cut off from all participation in political rights and privileges. He held in his hand a pamphlet which was a sort of *vade mecum* on this subject, a text-book with the anti-reformers. It contained the speech of a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning,) at a dinner in celebration of his re-election. This speech had been called by the honourable member for Bodmin unanswerd and unanswerable. In this speech it had been asserted that this house was now what it always had been, and that it was the best that could be found for all the purposes of a House of Commons. Dr. Pangloss was of the same opinion: he thought that this was the best of all possible worlds. Candide and Martin said it might be so: but it was not very pleasant to be afflicted with the gout and the stone. On this subject he would quote a passage from the publication of Mr. Arthur Young, called, "The Example of France, a Warning to Britain." There he had said, that corrupt boroughs, corrupt courts, corrupt ministers, and corrupt parliaments were so interwoven, that it was natural for them to say, that we owed all our blessings to the evils which threatened inevitable ruin to every constitutional right and public blessing. An unreserved intercourse between the representatives and the constituents was all he (Mr. Hobhouse) wanted. But was this intercourse to be



maintained between the representatives of Gatton and Old Sarum and their constituents? Were they to go to the "woods and wilds" and to court the nymph Egeria? The unanswerd, unanswerable speech had represented the House of Commons as being like Aaron's rod, and having swallowed up all the other branches of the legislature. That was the very thing the reformers complained of. This house had swallowed up the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the people. The unanswerd and unanswerable speech alluded to the parliament of 1745. But that parliament, as he had already shewn, had had no more right to act as they had done, than the present parliament had to act as they were acting. Coke stated the case of the mayor of Whitbury, who had disposed of a seat in that house for £4., (honourable gentlemen might consider that a very reasonable price,) and who had been punished for having poisoned the fountain of correct government. It was remarkable that Mr. Locke made use of the very same expression. Yet now it was asserted that the poison was found necessary. But if corruption had been really necessary, why had so many laws been made against it? It had often been urged that corruption was a very good thing, for many clever individuals were by that system brought into parliament. What if many clever individuals were so sent to parliament? the people wanted not a clever speaker, but a man who would act honestly, and represent their situation and wants. It had been well stated, in a pamphlet just published on this subject, that it was no satisfaction to you that the lock and trigger were in good order, if the muzzle was directed against yourself. But the people would return men whose talents and integrity would promote the interests of their country. It was not fit to hold the understandings of the people so cheap, as it was the fashion with some honourable members to hold them. Amongst the other excellent qualifications attributed to the House of Commons as now constituted, should not be forgotten that which has been lately assigned to it, namely, that "the



demagogue finds his level, and shrinks to his proper dimensions in six months when once admitted to this assembly :” to this was added, that in case parliament should be reformed, it would be expedient to retain a nest of close boroughs, for the purpose of ensuring the introduction of the said demagogue into the senate at all times. Now, as to the latter recommendation, it arose, I imagine, from the confusion of ideas to which the eagerness to say a smart thing at all hazards will expose even the most experienced debater ; for it is the great complaint of the anti-reformers, that in a reformed parliament there would be an inundation, as it were, of mere popular orators, and that none but such characters would compose this house under the new form of construction. However, let us not, as I before said, imagine that this hint as to the nest of boroughs arose from any thing more than the wantonness of the moment. But to turn to the eulogy passed on this house.

“ If it be true that it is framed so happily as to afford a touchstone to the pretensions of public men—to strip the tinsel off a coxcomb who would otherwise remain undetected—then indeed it performs a service to the community. If it shews the value of sounding words and big promises, and displays the treachery of pretended patriotism, it is also of much use. I suspect, however, that all that can be fairly collected from this eulogy is, that the demagogue has but one vote in this house, and that he is not gifted with the extraordinary quality of inducing men to decide against their own interest, and make a volutary resignation of their own power. If, however, the demagogue is but six months in finding his level, in shrinking to his proper dimensions, here there is a description of persons that do not in six months, no, nor in thirty years, find their level, and shrink to their proper dimensions. These are the regular adventurers, the downright trading politicians. The house will easily suggest to itself the sort of being to which I allude ; but to prevent mistakes, I would presume to attempt a portrait, not finished, but not exaggerated. A smart six-



form boy, the little hero of a little world, matures his precocious parts at college, and sends before him his fame to the metropolis: a minister, or some boroughholder of the day, thinks him worth saving from his democratic associates, and from the unprofitable principles which the thoughtless enthusiasm of youth may have inclined him hitherto to adopt. The hopeful youth yields at once; and, placed in the true line of promotion, he takes his beat with the more veteran prostitutes of parliament. There he minds his periods; there he balances his antitheses; there he adjusts his alliterations; and, filling up the interstices of his piebald patchwork rhetoric, with froth and foam—this master of pompous nothings becomes first favourite of the great council of the nation. His very want of sincerity and virtue qualifies him for a corrupted audience, who look upon his parts as an excuse for their degeneracy, and regard him, not only as the partner, but as the apologist of their common degradation. Such a man may have notoriously spurned at every principle of public morality and public honour; he may have by turns insulted, derided, betrayed, and crouched to every party, or at least every politician, in the state. Sometimes he may have shewn all the arrogance of success, at other times have displayed the true tameness of an underling, and have submitted to serve under those in public whom he has conspired in private to ruin and destroy. Yet this man—with

“Beauty that shocks you, parts that none can trust,

Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust—”

this man, I say, shall be courted and caressed in parliament, and he shall never be so much admired, never so much applauded, as when playing off his buffoonery at the expense of public virtue—as when depreciating the understandings or mocking the sufferings of the people. Such a man does not find his level; he does not shrink to his proper dimensions in the unreformed house; on the contrary, he is the true House of Commons hero. Despised and detested as he



may be without doors, he finds a shelter in the bosom of the senate: sunk as he may be in public opinion, he there attains to an eminence which raises him for the time above the scorn of his fellow-countrymen. True, his fame is not lasting, but for the moment he is the glory and the shame of parliament: no one equals him on that stage.

“Him, thus exalted, for a wit we own,  
And court him as top-fiddle of the town.”

Such a man, I say, would have no place in a reformed parliament, and if he be either useful or ornamental in a deliberative assembly, it is for him should be reserved that nest of boroughs which it has been proposed to keep solely for the demagogues. Talents without character would be banished from such an assembly, and the honest discharge of a sacred trust would be the first instead of the last requisite of a public man.”

Whatever might be the provocation, this was surely exacting ample retribution. The pen of Junius himself could scarcely have inflicted more severe chastisement—but, to proceed: It is pleasant to find these personal animosities dissipated by time, and a more friendly feeling succeeding. In the year 1824, at which period Mr. Canning was foreign secretary, Mr. Hobhouse took an active part in the business of parliament. On the 4th of February, he rose for the purpose of putting a few questions to the right honourable secretary for foreign affairs. He must enter his protest, he said, as his honourable and learned friend Mr. Brougham had done, on the preceding evening, against being supposed to concur with the sentiments contained in the address, so far as regarded the foreign policy of the government. He should think that he disgraced himself by approving of the foreign policy of ministers, for, in his opinion, they had been totally unmindful of the renown of the country. He had paid the utmost attention to every word which dropped from the right honourable secretary last night. It was not surprising that he should do so, for all Europe was attending



to what he said, conscious that on his words, in some degree, depended its very fate.

There was one point on which he thought Mr. Canning was not sufficiently explicit in his explanation—namely, the South American states. That gentleman appeared to be aware of the difficulty of the subject, and touched upon it so lightly as to satisfy no person, except, perhaps, his colleagues, who might have reasons to preserve secrecy on that topic. The right honourable secretary had said, that he considered it “a grace and favour done to Old Spain, to allow her an opportunity of attempting to recover possession of her colonies.” He would admit that if the king of Spain were capable of governing his kingdom without foreign assistance, he should be allowed an opportunity of employing the resources of the once mighty monarchy of Spain in the attempt to recover her trans-atlantic colonies. But did the right honourable gentleman mean to say, that whilst the king of Spain was only kept upon his throne by the presence of seventy thousand French troops—whilst Barcelona, Cadiz, and every other important fortress in his territory, were in possession of the French—Ferdinand was to be suffered to employ his armies in an expedition against South America? It could not surely be said that, because the constitutional system had been put down in Spain, and there was at present no appearance of a re-action, Ferdinand was therefore to be called a free king. If he was before a prisoner to the constitutionalists, what was he now? He was hemmed round with foreign bayonets; and every body who was acquainted with the state of Spain, knew that if the French army was to withdraw from that country to-morrow, the unfortunate king—unfortunate he meant only with respect to his bad character, and not for his misfortunes—would be driven from his throne. He wished, then, to know from the right honourable secretary, whether, while the French troops were in possession of Spain, the government of this country would allow any attempt to be made on the part of a merely nominal king



to recover possession of the South American states? Mr. Hobhouse said, he might allude to an important omission in his Majesty's speech, delivered the preceding evening. The house had heard a great deal during last session about a positive guarantee on the part of the French ministers, and that there should be no permanent occupation of Spain by the French troops. The right honourable gentleman had not told the house whether he had asked Monsieur Chateaubriand how long his master meant to keep possession of that country. Mr. Hobhouse dared to say that Mr. Canning had asked the question, and he thought the House of Commons had a right to know what answer had been returned. He hoped the right honourable gentleman would not take the word of the French king for a guarantee. The word of no king was a guarantee; much less of that king who had pledged his sacred word of honour, and the sceptre which he wielded, that what he called the army of observation should not cross the Pyrenees. After that shameless breach of promise—after that falsehood, which would have disqualified a private individual for the society of gentlemen—he trusted Mr. Canning would not attach much weight to the word of the king of France, or his minister Chateaubriand!

Mr Hobhouse said he should now take the liberty to allude to another matter, not unconnected with the foreign policy of government. He would wish to know whether the colonial secretary had been informed of the reasons for the issuing of a recent proclamation in the Ionian islands. The proclamation was so very extraordinary, that he should have supposed it to be the result of a drunken frolic, did not the high situation which Sir Thomas Maitland held, render it impossible for him to think that officer could so far forget himself as to be guilty of such folly. But when they knew that Sir Thomas Maitland had issued such a proclamation as this, putting two of the Ionian islands under quarantine for thirty days; and when they recollected that this same governor had committed one of the most flagrant



breaches of quarantine in his own case—one could not help feeling astonishment at the occurrence of which he (Mr. Hobhouse) now complained. The reason assigned by Sir Thomas Maitland was also singular: he states, that Prince Maurocordato having approached too near the islands, the quarantine became necessary, lest the British government should appear in any way involved, or as partakers in the cruelties elsewhere inflicted—and inflicted by whom? By the Greeks! for he appeared in every instance to attack the Greeks, and to overlook the Turkish share of the atrocities which had been committed. Now he could assure the house, and on the authority of an eye-witness of what had occurred, that the affair off the coast of Ithaca had been much misrepresented. The facts were these.

A small Greek squadron having chased three Turkish armed vessels off that coast, mastered one of them, the crew of which, however, escaped on shore; and then, while the Greeks were rowing towards the captured vessel, poured upon them from the land a murderous fire. The Greeks immediately landed in their turn, and took some revenge upon their opponents. But so far from the Greeks standing upon their justification for this retaliation, prince Maurocordato made on their part the humblest apologies for the infraction of the neutral shore; and similar apologies were now on their way to England. But why throw all those acts upon the Greeks? The Turks had repeatedly been guilty of similar infractions, without drawing down upon their heads the anathema of Sir Thomas Maitland, “When he adverted to the conduct of this governor, he by no means wished to impugn the conduct of the government at home; he knew that they could not prevent the atrocities of either side, as long as they observed their neutral policy. They could no more prevent the Greeks and the Turks, than they could the Spaniards and the French, or the Italians and the Austrians, though he preferred the Turks to the latter, and he knew both.”

Mr. Canning returned a very courteous reply to Mr.



Hobhouse's inquiries, as far as they could be answered, and sufficient to shew that all former unpleasant feeling had subsided between the parties. During the same session we find Mr. Hobhouse exerting himself with great ability on some important questions—particularly in reply to Mr. Peel, on renewing the Alien act, March 23—when he spoke at very considerable length, and concluded with moving certain resolutions against the measure. He also opposed the ministerial measure of appropriating a million of the public money to the building of new churches. We are, however, compelled to forego the pleasure of tracing minutely Mr. Hobhouse's parliamentary career, in order that we may do him the justice of placing upon record in these pages his noble defence of the reform bill, when first introduced by Lord John Russell. He spoke on the 3d of March, 1831, in reply to Sir Charles Wetherell, Mr. G. Bankes, the member for Corfe Castle, and Sir R. Inglis, the representative of the University of Oxford.

Mr. Hobhouse thought, that, after the personal call which had been made upon him, he was justified in taking the first opportunity to address the house. Notwithstanding the able address which had been just delivered by his learned friend, (Mr. G. Bankes,) and notwithstanding the confident and powerful tone in which he had addressed himself to the house, and in the latter part of his speech to himself, he thought that he should be able to shew, out of as good an authority as his—for the authority to which he meant to refer was the same as had been referred to by his honourable friend, namely, the authority of Mr. Pitt—he thought he should be able, he said, to shew from that authority, that the right honourable gentleman (Sir H. Hardinge) was not justified in calling the measure which had been brought forward by his majesty's ministers, a revolutionary measure. When the present measure was first brought forward by the noble lord opposite on Tuesday night, he (Mr. Hobhouse) sitting as he did in that region of the house (on the opposition benches,) which had been his abode from his first



entrance into parliament up to the present moment, could not help observing, (and in making the disclosure he supposed he did not commit any breach of confidence, or violate what was due to proper privacy,) with astonishment, not the indignation, but the delight with which the proposition of the noble lord, as he unfolded it to the house, was received by the honourable members who sat around him. Those honourable members well knew what were dangerous subjects to propose; they had themselves experience in that way, and they viewed the proposition of the noble lord as one calculated to drive out the present ministers, and replace themselves in their former situations. They appeared then to think that the day was not distant when they were to regain their old places, and when his friends opposite would be sent back to that side of the house, to advocate still, but with less chance of success, the rights of the people.

In the conversations which passed amongst those honourable members while the noble lord (John Russell) was speaking, he (Mr. Hobhouse) heard nothing about the measure being a revolutionary one; he heard nothing from any one of them but the language of congratulation. Since, however, that measure had been denounced by his honourable friend the member for Corfe Castle as a revolutionary measure, it had been also denounced by the honourable and learned member for Boroughbridge; and the honourable baronet, the representative for the University of Oxford, had shadowed it out as something equally as bad as the murder of Charles I. He had heard much abuse levelled against this measure, but he begged to remark, that in the way of argument, or proofs, or documents, he had heard nothing urged against the proposition of his noble friend. Nothing had been adduced to prove, that, if this bill passed, the people of England would lose their constitutional rights—that the monarchy would be destroyed—and that the three estates of the realm, the king, lords, and commons, would cease to exist. To listen to the language which had been employed by some of those who opposed this measure, one would



think that these, if not more dreadful consequences, would result from this bill ; but where were the proofs to substantiate such absurd assertions ? His honourable friend (the member for Corfe Castle) had adverted to the authority of Mr. Huskisson. He did not mean to undervalue the authority of Mr. Huskisson, and, indeed, for some time previous to his death, in his career of parliament, he believed that he (Mr. Hobhouse) was more inclined to pay attention to the authority of Mr. Huskisson, than his honourable friend was. As to Mr. Huskisson's opinions, however, upon parliamentary reform, he had never participated in them. He had never been the disciple of Mr. Huskisson, and if his honourable friend meant to convey a sarcasm, in turning towards him when he quoted the authority of Mr. Huskisson, it was a rather waggish mode of attacking some of the right honourable gentlemen opposite. As to the authority of Mr. Huskisson, therefore, on this subject, he begged to say, with all due respect, that it was no authority for him. His honourable friend had also quoted the authority of Mr. Pitt, he had quoted from one of the most distinguished speeches that that marvellous man had ever made—he alluded to the speech pronounced by Mr. Pitt, on the 31st of January, 1799, on the subject of the Legislative Union. Now, in replying to his honourable friend, he thought that he could produce a most complete answer from the lips of that same great man, to the learning, as well as the law, with which the house had been favoured by the honourable and learned member for Boroughbridge. What did Mr. Pitt say, as to the right of the parliament of England and Ireland, to take away corporate rights, and to disfranchise such boroughs as it might think fit ? Let the house mark the masterly and overpowering manner in which he disposed of the trumpery precedent, which was then set up, as it had been now, that the parliament of the country had no right to alter the representation of the country—that it was a fundamental principle of the constitution, that the legislature could not entertain the question as to the disfranchisement of boroughs,



and the taking away of corporate rights, unless in cases where delinquency had been proved. What was Mr. Pitt's answer on that occasion to such arguments? He should read it to the house from his speech upon the Union. He might, in passing, remark, that he could not possibly divine, while looking into Mr. Pitt's speeches that morning for the extract which he was about to read, that he and his honourable friend the member for Corfe Castle, should be poaching in the same manor, and that they should have gone to the same speech for their authority. The decisive passage which he should quote from Mr. Pitt would settle, as far as authority could settle any thing, the arguments which had been put forward last night by the honourable and learned member for Boroughbridge, on this point, and which, indeed, had been already tolerably well settled by the attorney-general. And in quoting that passage, he would beg to say, that though Mr. Pitt might not have been as learned in the subtleties and difficulties of the law, as the honourable member for Boroughbridge, he was at least as high an authority in a matter connected with English history and the principles of constitutional government.

The following was the opinion of Mr. Pitt on this subject : —“ If this principle of the incompetency of parliament to the decision of the measure be admitted, or if it be contended that parliament has no legitimate authority to discuss and decide upon it, you will be driven to the necessity of recognizing a principle, the most dangerous that ever was adopted in any civilized state ; I mean the principle, that parliament cannot adopt any measure new in its nature, and of great importance, without appealing to the constituent and delegating authority for directions. If that doctrine be true, look to what an extent it will carry you. If such an argument could be set up and maintained, you acted without any legitimate authority when you created the representation of the principality of Wales, or of either of the counties palatine of England. Every law that parliament ever made, without that appeal, either as to its own frame and constitu-



tion, as to the qualification of the electors or the elected, as to the fundamental point of the succession to the crown, was a breach of treaty and an act of usurpation. If we turn to Ireland itself, what do gentlemen think of the power of that parliament, which, without any fresh delegation from its Protestant constituents, associates to itself all the Catholic electors, and thus destroys a fundamental distinction on which it was formed? God forbid that I should object to or blame any of these measures. I am only stating the extent to which the principle, that parliament has no authority to decide upon the present measure, will lead; and if it be admitted in one case, it must be admitted in all. Will any man say, that (although a Protestant parliament in Ireland, chosen exclusively by Protestant constituents, has, by its own inherent power, and without consulting those constituents, admitted and comprehended the Catholics who were till then, in fact, a separate community,) that parliament cannot associate itself with another Protestant community, represented by a Protestant parliament, having one interest with itself, and similar in its laws, its constitution, and its established religion? What must be said by those who have at any time been friends to any plan of parliamentary reform, and particularly such as have been most recently brought forward, either in Great Britain or Ireland? Whatever may have been thought of the propriety of the measure, I never heard any doubt of the competency of parliament to consider and discuss it. Yet I defy any man to maintain the principle of those plans, without contending that, as a member of parliament, he possesses a right to concur in disfranchising those who sent him to parliament, and to select others, by whom he was not elected, in their stead."

Having read that extract, he should suppose that they had now completely done with the arguments about corporation robbery, and about the incompetency of parliament to deal with corporate franchises. He thought that he had now done with the law with which the honourable member for Boroughbridge had favoured them, with regard to



this point. Again he would say, that with respect to the details of Chancery practice, he would not place the authority of Mr. Pitt in competition with that of the honourable member for Boroughbridge ; but Mr. Pitt knew something of constitutional law, and he did not think that there was any thing illegal in the disfranchisement of corporate boroughs, or that such a proceeding on the part of parliament could be looked upon as an act of spoliation and robbery. Mr. Pitt still more strongly expressed himself against the principle insisted upon by the learned member for Boroughbridge, in the passage immediately succeeding that which he had now quoted. "I am sure," continued Mr. Pitt, "that no sufficient distinction, in point of principle, can be successfully maintained for a single moment ; nor should I deem it necessary to dwell upon this point in the manner I do, were I not convinced that it is connected, in part, with all those false and dangerous notions on the subject of government, which have lately become too prevalent in the world. It may, in fact, be traced to that gross perversion of the principles of all political society, which rests on the supposition that there exists continually in every government a sovereignty in abeyance (as it were) on the part of the people ; ready to be called forth on every occasion, or rather on every pretence, when it may suit the purposes of party or faction, who are the advocates of this doctrine, to support an occasion for its exertion."

It was thus that Mr. Pitt disposed of that principle, so that it would be found that he (Mr. Hobhouse) was travelling to the same constitutional end as his honourable friend, only it happened that they were going by different roads. His learned and honourable friend had fallen into the most unfortunate trap that had been laid for him by the honourable member for Boroughbridge, with respect to the parliament in the days of Oliver Cromwell. He had warned the learned ex-attorney-general last night of his error ; but there were some gentlemen that would not take advice, and least of all from an enemy. If the learned gentleman



had only extended his reading of Mr. Pitt's speech, and had carried his reading still further, he would not have quoted that portion of that celebrated harangue. If he had only looked into a page of Hume—certainly a very popular and commonly read author—he would have found a full and accurate statement, why Oliver Cromwell dismissed the parliament in the short space of eighteen days. So far from the learned and honourable gentleman's assertion being founded in truth, he would have learned from the historian, that Cromwell dismissed that parliament for the very reasons for which some of those who heard him would wish to have just such a parliament now. It was because he found by their proceedings that the parliament completely represented the people of England, and was swayed by the public voice, and influenced by the good of the country. What was it that parliament did? As Hume said, these very intemperate popular gentlemen did not want to flatter the government of the Protector, but they wished to begin to pull to pieces the instrument of government; and Cromwell in his privy council said, that although they were called together to consult for the good of the country, they forgot the authority by which they were called together, and that therefore they should sit no longer. This was because they really were the representatives of the people of England, and had the good of the people at heart—they were the representatives whom Lord Clarendon said were worthy of more warrantable authority, and deserving of better times—they were, in fact, representatives whom Cromwell's sagacity at once saw were totally incompatible with tyranny. No man better knew how to speak lucidly and forcibly than Cromwell, when he found it necessary, and wished to be understood; and, on the contrary, no man better knew how to involve a speech, or perplex a subject—not even the honourable and learned member for Boroughbridge. This was the declared and open reason why Cromwell dissolved this parliament, and this was the reason of Clarendon's



giving such an opinion of that assembly. The parliament was fit for the people of England, but not fit for the purposes of Cromwell. That it was a popular parliament, a parliament solely and entirely for the people, Cromwell soon found out; and in eighteen days he pronounced it to be an unmanageable assembly. Had Cromwell lived in these times, it would have been quite another thing. He would have found out the modern secrets of managing a parliament. He would have gone on, allowing the pleasing contention of parties, with sometimes one set of gentlemen in office, and sometimes another set of gentlemen out of office, whilst the people and their interests were left out of consideration. The learned and honourable member for Boroughbridge was excessively jocose on the preceding evening, and, with all due admiration of the learned member's talents, he (Mr. Hobhouse) must say, that he had never passed a happier hour in his life than during the learned gentleman's speech. The learned gentleman had talked to the house about Oliver Cromwell's and Pride's purge, and tried to saddle the term upon the present noble lord, the paymaster of his Majesty's forces. It had not, however, been convenient to the learned gentleman to consider what the parliament really was that Pride had applied his medicine to, and he had talked of it as the regicide parliament.

The honourable member for Oxford had claimed a sort of privilege of making an *ex officio* blunder upon the occasion, and had indulged himself in a mutilation of the history of England, as the University of Oxford itself had done before now. The honourable member for Oxford (Sir R. H. Inglis) had said, that if ever the country had had a popular parliament, a popular House of Commons, it was that which ended in murdering the king. Now this, he conceived, was not the time to talk thus of crowned heads, dead or living, for they had enough to do to keep their stations, without further endangering their position. He spoke advisedly. He was fully aware of what he had said. The reason why he had objected to the words of



the honourable member was, because he thought that the error ought to be contradicted, and it might be contradicted with all the good humour of the honourable member for Boroughbridge, who, at another time, might, without great mischief, enter again into the discussion. If he had been aware of the cheer, he should say the same thing again. It was not the time when it was necessary to slur over what tended to detract from those unfortunate men who were placed by birth, or other circumstances, upon thrones. He might, had he been disposed to quibble or be captious, have quarrelled with the honourable member's phrase of "murdering the king." The honourable member for Oxford perfectly well knew—for he (Mr. Hobhouse) well knew his learning, and it did not require much to know that!—that the unfortunate and ill-advised monarch, Charles the First, met his doom, not in consequence of any determination of the democracy to put him to death. It was very well known by this time—it was not a very modern discovery—who it was that put the king to death. So thoroughly were understood all the circumstances that led to that event, so well were known the motives, views, and objects of those who influenced, or were concerned in, the transaction, that he felt astonished that the honourable member for Oxford should commit himself by such a misstatement before the house, and in the eyes of the country. Was it not known to every body the least acquainted with history, that when attempts were made to come to terms with Charles the First, it was unfortunately discovered, that at the very time the treaty was pending, the king was preparing to sign the compact, with a mental reservation, that, when he should be placed upon the throne by these means, he did not intend to stand by his bargain? He was therefore put to death on a principle of self-defence, and by those who were guided by the paramount consideration of their own purposes. The monarch was brought to the scaffold by an usurper, and not by a democracy; and well did the honourable member for Oxford know the fact. But



did not the honourable member likewise know that the parliament was not what he had termed it—a popular parliament? It was in every respect a borough parliament. It was a parliament composed of only sixteen members for counties, six members for cities, and all the remaining members were for boroughs; only eighty-four members composed the parliament that condemned Charles to death, and more than sixty members were for boroughs. The learned member, therefore, was wrong, entirely wrong, in asserting that it was a popular party, or a popular parliament, that brought the king to the block.

If he travelled from ancient to modern times, the honourable member for Oxford would be found equally wrong in all his facts, and equally confused and mistaken in his view of them. He had said that wherever democratic or popular assemblies had been tried, they had been found in practice to be utterly inconsistent with a monarchy. What were the two instances he had quoted, to make out such an extraordinary opinion? First, the honourable member had quoted the recent political history of Spain. He (Mr. Hobhouse) would ask, whether it was the Cortes of Spain that dethroned Ferdinand the Seventh. He was dethroned, not by popular violence, but because the French army, in violation of all the treaties of Europe, entered Spain, not being prevented by this country, as, unquestionably, it ought to have been. This was the reason why the power of the monarchy and of the democracy was found incompatible; and until the French invaded the country, the kingly functions and the rights of the popular assembly had been found perfectly consistent, as the constitution of England had long shewn them in every respect to be. Next the honourable member referred to Sicily, and had triumphantly asked why the experiment had not succeeded there. He would answer—for the best of all reasons, because Lord Castlereagh's settlement of Europe (of which Europe was still enjoying, and likely for some time to enjoy, the fruits) had not tended to any settlement, but to revolution. This



was the reason why popular assemblies had not recently been found compatible with monarchy. He had thought that the merits of the French revolution of 1830 had been settled in every man's mind. He had thought that all parties in that house had acknowledged that it was an experiment which the French people were not only justified in making, but that it was one which they were imperiously called upon to make, and he was extremely sorry that any individual could now be found capable of blaming it. If that experiment had not succeeded, and if France were not now tranquil, it was not because the parliament of France was too much the representative of the people, but because the people complained of the very reverse. This was the cause, and the sole cause, why there were likely to be any disturbances in France. He had listened to all that had been said upon the subject of the present debate with attention, and he had not heard one single argument, or any thing worthy the name of argument, to shew that there was any danger whatever that could arise or was likely to arise, from adopting the project of the noble lord, (Russell.)

The honourable member for Newport, who had been member for Wootton Bassett, (Mr. Horace Twiss,) had expressed himself very much alarmed lest the present plan of reform should throw the elective franchise into the hands of shopkeepers and attorneys. He should like to know where the elective franchise rested at the present moment. Were there any individuals in the country, that now exercised so much power at elections as this proscribed class, the attorneys? Some people were very nice, but he did not see why that gentleman, of all others, (the honourable member for Newport,) should be so nice respecting attorneys. Of all men, the honourable gentleman had least reason to be restive on this point. By the bill of the noble lord, the elective franchise would be thrown into the hands of that class who ought to possess it—namely, of people of a certain degree of property, and of those who had the



greatest hold upon the higher classes. This was as good and as proper a basis of representation as could be proposed. He could not understand why so many honourable members had expressed their surprise when the measure had been proposed. Did those who heard him know what the plan of reform had been which Mr. Pitt had proposed to that house? Mr. Pitt had proposed to leave out one hundred members from the house, and to take away or disfranchise thirty-six boroughs; and nobody had objected to his scheme upon the ground of its being a revolutionary measure. When Mr. Pitt had changed his opinions as to parliamentary reform, and when Mr. Grey, in the year 1797, had brought forward in that house his project of reforming the representation of the people, Mr. Pitt did not object to Mr. Grey's scheme, or to any part of it, upon the ground of its being revolutionary. All he had said was, that it would not do, just at that time, to make such a change; but his own opinions were too well known for him to object to the motion on the ground of its being inconsistent with the constitution.

The learned and honourable member for Boroughbridge had even quoted Mr. Fox in support of his opinion. Mr. Fox, in speaking of the procession of the goddess of reason at Nottingham, had merely said, that, had he been there, he should have looked to the security of the skirts of his coat; and he objected to the people of Nottingham being deprived of their rights, on account of the disturbances that had taken place in that town. This opinion was perfectly compatible with any scheme that should give the franchise of Nottingham to the adjoining hundred, or take it away from it. Mr. Fox, speaking of Mr. Grey's plan of reform in 1797, had said, that the plan might be called a radical reform—that it changed, without the destruction of any established right; it restored what had been injured by abuse, and reinstated what time had mouldered away. No man could complain of genuine property being assailed; and he used the expression genuine property, to distinguish it from what was called



property, but which was not genuine. As far, then, as Mr. Fox's opinions went as authority, he had shewn that they were directly opposed to those of the honourable member for Corfe Castle (Mr. Bankes.) He could excuse a little warmth upon such an occasion, and he should even say with a French author, that he never knew a kingdom lost so gayly; for, as Cæsar had said on one occasion, that he fought not for victory, but for existence, those who opposed reform might make the same exclamation. He did not mean to say that gentlemen of a certain description would be excluded from the house, if a reform took place. The anti-reformers had shewn such resolute and able advocacy of a worthless and sinking cause—they had evinced such ability in support of what was odious, and such courage in defence of what was weak and contemptible—that he could not help thinking they would be found hereafter among those whom a free constituency would choose for the advocacy of their rights. He had said before, and he now repeated it, that he did not think that by this or any plan of reform the complexion of the house, as to the members returned to it, would be much changed. The motives, however, that sent men into it would be totally different. Let parliament be reformed, let it be restored to its ancient constitutional principle, by the plan now proposed by the noble lord, the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, they would still have the best men in that house that constituents could find, for the support of their interests and the defence of their rights. He would beg those who disputed this to tell him whether they really thought that there was any peculiar and egregious ignorance in the people of England, or in any people, to make them unable to judge of those who were best able to serve them. The people had wisdom enough to get the best abilities they could obtain for every purpose, and they would likewise get the best they could to serve them as members of parliament. He was not aware that the people of England, in contradistinction to the people of the boroughs, had shewn any such peculiar marks of ignorance



and folly ; he was not aware of their possessing any peculiar quality which incapacitated them for the important trust which they were called upon to exercise. He well knew, that wherever he could discover a popular constituency, he could discover something like adequacy to the great duties it called forth, and the first and most indispensable of all qualities in such cases was, honesty—a quality that appeared to have been entirely forgotten or lost sight of by those who talked so much of introducing clever men into that house. It was scarcely possible to believe that any gentleman was sincere when he expressed an apprehension that a system of public rectitude and intelligence in electors would give vice and ignorance an ascendancy in the choice of representatives, and that a system of perjury, and bribery, and corruption, was essential to the success of virtue and knowledge. Why should such a feverish anxiety upon this subject be expressed ? With respect to men of talents, doubtless capacity was one of the necessary qualifications of a member of parliament ; but he had seen as many instances, since he had been in parliament, of capacity being used in a wrong as in a right direction. Who, in the name of wonder, would approve of any system or scheme that sent men of talent into that house, if these gentlemen of talent were placed there under circumstances that rendered it probable that they would do more of harm to the country than good ? If he ran over the list of the clever men, he could shew the house that the necessity was to make men speak honestly the sentiments of their constituents, or to retire from the representation. If a member of parliament differed from his patron, he thought it necessary to take off his hat, make his bow, and retire from his seat. He thought it necessary to consult his patron's views and opinions—and this, in his, (Mr. Hobhouse's) opinion, was the best of all answers to what was called virtual representation. There was no such thing as virtual representation with a patron. The patron must be listened to—he must and would be obeyed : he would hear of no nonsense about virtual representation.



Sir W. Jones had remarked, that virtual representation was actual folly. The honourable member for Oxford had said, there was no necessity for a member's consulting his constituents, and that he would go on in the stern path of what he deemed his duty, in spite of any constituents whatever. This ought not to be the principle upon which members should be returned to that house; nor was it a principle upon which any patron of a borough ever put his member into the house. He saw no danger whatever in the plan proposed by the noble lord, although an alarm had been sounded, as it always had been sounded, whenever any great moral changes were attempted to be introduced. At the time of the religious reformation, the historian Robertson said, that those who opposed the reformation took care to spread an alarm, that certain evil dispositions were riding about the world, to overthrow all that was established, and to undermine all religious systems. This, they said, was not owing to any thing above the earth or under the earth, but owing to the sinister influence of the stars. At present, alarms were equally spread; but he (Mr. Hobhouse) thought there was no danger, except from those who opposed reform. The danger proceeded from that cold, blunted, selfish sect of politicians—if politicians they could be called—who, in spite of all past experience, when truth pressed her light upon the whole nation, were still left in ignorance, and sunk in corruption. They would rather that the whole state should be lost for ever, than that they should resign one of their petty interests, or forego one of their much-cherished prejudices. If any cries of alarm were spread, they would be the organs of that alarm, but he trusted that there was in the country a good sense as well as a temperate feeling, which would not permit any use being made of such fears. If those with whom he agreed in opinion had been accused of appealing to the fears of the people, he must accuse the gentlemen opposite, not of appealing to the fears of the people, but of doing what was infinitely worse—they had appealed, by the worst of artifices, to the fears and selfish



passions of those whom they called the aristocracy of the country.

The honourable member for Newport (Mr. Horace Twiss) in his speech, had advised gentlemen to look after their rents; another gentleman had sounded an alarm upon the security of tithes; and another had exclaimed, that if the reform were carried, there would no longer be any security for property of any sort. When such gentlemen talked to him of appealing to the fears of the people, he had a right to taunt them of appealing to the fears of that class which seemed to think that they possessed their property without any relation to the rights and feelings of the people at large. Mr. Burke, who was so often quoted, had very justly said, that the people of England had no interest to benefit, and no purpose to serve, by disorder. They never had proved themselves to have had any—not the people of England—not those for whom he was appealing—not those who were robbed of their rights, and despoiled of their property by the power of the great, and corruption of parliament—no, these people, though impressed with a sense of their wrongs, had never shewn any inclination to obtain redress or seek relief by disorder. He did not, like the honourable member for Preston, pretend to speak the voice of millions, but he spoke the sentiments of his own heart; and having received the same education, being born on the same soil, and having the same recollections and the same wishes as the gentlemen whom he addressed, he did believe that he spoke the voice of the people; and he did hope, that a great majority of that house, by voting for the present measure, would be the faithful interpreters of the wishes of the people of England. He had no hesitation in saying, he should feel indisposed to object to any plan calculated to let in any class of his fellow-subjects to the enjoyment of privileges which they could exercise with safety to the state, and advantage to themselves. But he should be acting unjustly by right honourable gentlemen opposite, unjustly towards the country



and the great cause to which he had all his life devoted himself, and used his feeble but sincere exertions to promote, if he were not now to do his best in support of the noble lord's proposition—a proposition which, he trusted and believed, would be supported by the great mass of the people of England. And here let him warn the people against being led away by certain insinuations that had been somewhat insidiously thrown out in the course of the debate, and against the quarter in which they originated.

The honourable member for Newport had said, that the noble lord's plan would not satisfy the people; but he begged to say he knew as much of the sentiments of the community on this subject, as the honourable member possibly could, and he boldly asserted, speaking upon that knowledge and upon the communications which had already reached him from various quarters, (although, it was true, only forty-eight hours had elapsed since the plan was made known,) that the people generally would be satisfied, and, he might add, ought to be satisfied, with the measure. Taunts had been thrown out against ministers, but the people of England cared nothing about such taunts—they cared only about the measure; it might be a very good joke to mix up comments upon a little mistake in the budget, or on suspected divisions in the cabinet, with the discussion of the noble lord's proposition; but the people cared nothing for all this, their only care being to ascertain whether this measure would give them what they had a right to expect, and what they had loudly raised their voices to obtain. As to any changes of opinion in the sentiments of a noble lord, or a right honourable gentleman opposite, what had that to do with the merits of the present question? Well did he recollect the conduct of the right honourable baronet (Sir R. Peel) below him, when he pursued that manly and magnanimous career with respect to an important subject some time since disposed of—a career which never would be forgotten, and which had secured the right honourable gentleman the everlasting gratitude of his



country. And what had happened to the right honourable baronet at that time? He was reviled, not merely by his former political associates, but had the pain of hearing one of his nearest and dearest relations, who rose up behind him, and read an extract from one of his own speeches against himself. If the right honourable gentleman had shrunk from doing his duty on that occasion, and abstained from avowing the change that had taken place in his sentiments, through a weak fear of the obloquy to which the avowal must expose him, instead of the station which he now held in the estimation of the country, and the proud and unsullied character which he had maintained—a character to which posterity would do justice, as well as his contemporaries—what would have been the right honourable gentleman's position? He would not be considered the great and wise politician, which most acknowledged him to be, but would have been looked on as a man unfit to play a distinguished part on the theatre of public affairs—unfit to take a share in governing empires, because unable to govern himself.

Mr. Hobhouse repelled the cant of inconsistency, when the charge applied to a conscientious and wise change of opinion. But the very same diverting jokes had been cast upon the right honourable baronet, which were now again dealt forth against the present ministry, and from the same quarter. It was not then, as now, "Althorp and Co.," but "Peel and Co." He recollected the very words—the refined and facete expressions, learnt, no doubt, by the honourable and learned member, in the academic groves of Oxford, or the congenial bowers of Lincoln's-inn, and so pleasantly and unsparingly applied by him to the right honourable gentleman. The phrases were too expressive and witty not to deserve being revived, and accordingly revived they were, in all their original splendour, by the facete member for Boroughbridge, the last time he treated the house to the *crambe recocta* of "Peel and Co." Last night it was "the expiring member for Boroughbridge," formerly it was "the



expiring attorney-general." This was another of the waggish and facete gentleman's jokes, too good not to deserve and bear repetition, and it had been again inflicted on the house by the honourable member, who originally rung the changes on his then also last dying note, so very long, that one would have thought it might content him to utter it once in his life. But, no; the honourable member's jokes were not so easily worn out: it was then his turn to be waggish with the right honourable baronet below, and try how far a good-humoured sarcasm and a joke might divert him from his great object of saving the nation, and securing the tranquillity of the country, even at the expense of the friendship of "the expiring attorney-general." Now, the expiring representative for Boroughbridge applied his stores of humour to an attempted diversion of the present cabinet from its important determination, he trusted, with precisely the same degree of success as before. All public men must make up their minds to things of this sort, and the present ministry, like their predecessors, would bear, as best they could, the sarcasms and criticisms of the honourable and learned member. He must here observe, that the house, in shewing itself so delighted with the honourable member's jokes, evinced either that it had very little memory, or that it reckoned the jokes so good that they might be repeated. However, as he had before observed, right honourable gentlemen must make up their minds to listen to the *facetiae* of the honourable member. Supposing that right honourable gentlemen opposite had not thought it necessary to bring forward this great and healing measure—and in doing so, to sacrifice some degree of private opinion—let him ask where, how, or by whom, was a government to be formed? Could gentlemen who now opposed ministers so violently, make up a government among themselves? When the right honourable gentleman failed to do so, could any one else succeed in the attempt, if made upon the same principles? If the thing were to be done by mortal man, the right honourable baronet could have accomplished it. But a ministry could only



be framed on one of two principles—anti-reform, or reform. The late government went out chiefly because it was found impossible to carry on the business of the country on principles of anti-reform. He certainly understood the right honourable gentleman to say, it was not so much in consequence of the ill success of ministers upon the question of the civil list that the late government had retired, but rather because it appeared that things had come to that point in the country, that it was necessary to try some new principles of government, and a new set of men. He again asked, where was a government to be formed, unless from among the ranks of reform? and what government, but one thus constituted, could carry on the business of the country? It was because he was satisfied that no ministry but a reforming ministry could act with safety, that he had felt so anxious to see the late government quit their places. He might here observe (as he had made up his mind to take the first opportunity of doing,) that if on the night of the division upon the civil list he had shewn any appearance of indecorous haste, or improper exultation in proposing a question to the right honourable baronet, as to whether it was the intention of ministers to go out, he now frankly begged the right honourable member's pardon, and expressed himself sorry for it. He was not actuated by any hostile feeling against the right honourable gentleman or his colleagues; he was merely convinced, and on that conviction he spoke, that so long as ministers attempted to go on without a majority of the house in their favour, and with the people against them, it was hopeless to expect tranquillity or security. He hoped to live to see the day when, this great question being adjusted, there would be a combination of men of talent from various quarters and parties in the public service. Under such circumstances, it was possible, and he hoped not improbable, that the right honourable gentleman and some of his friends might be induced, in the great crisis of public affairs, to put their shoulders to the wheel, and endeavour to drag the car of state to a place of security.



He had seen great changes in his time—he had seen great and long-rooted prejudices give way—he had seen penal restrictions removed, commercial restrictions abolished, religious disabilities disappear, before the spirit of inquiry and truth which was abroad, and in all these great triumphs the right honourable gentleman had borne a distinguished part, and in one of those conquests he had achieved a still greater victory—a victory over himself. He trusted that the right honourable gentleman would yet be induced to add his own name to those who, late converts though they were, had at length become advocates of this great cause. In acting thus, the right honourable baronet would not have to encounter the difficulties which beset him in the Catholic question. He called upon the right honourable gentleman to take this course, and add another wreath to his laurels, and, in recommending this course, he asked for no destruction or annihilation of ancient and established rights; but he asked the right honourable gentleman and the house, in the words of the poet Waller, in his famous speech on episcopacy, “to reform, that is, not to abolish, the parliament.”

Sir John Hobhouse was not appointed to any office when the present ministry came into power. He succeeded Sir Henry Parnell as war secretary, in January 1832, and it is worth mentioning in this place, that he is the fifth person who has been appointed to that office since May 1828; that is, during the short interval of four years. All must admit that Sir John is a clever, active man, a good debater, and a bold reformer—not of necessity, like many of the members of the honourable house, but of early and voluntary choice. We hope he will continue in office long enough to abolish the *degrading* practice of flogging in the army.









THE RT HON<sup>BLE</sup> CHARLES LENNOX, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

*Richmond*



HIS GRACE

## THE DUKE OF RICHMOND,

*Postmaster-General.*

CHARLES LENNOX, the present Duke of Richmond, was born on the third of August, 1791, and succeeded his father, the fourth Duke of Richmond, who died at Montreal, 28th of August, 1819; having been appointed governor of the Upper and Lower Canada, some time before his decease. He had previously filled the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which he retained for several years. He was a Knight of the Garter, a general officer in the army, colonel of the 33rd regiment of foot, and governor of Plymouth. His grace was born in 1764; and on the 9th of September, 1789, married a daughter of the Duke of Gordon, by whom he had a family of thirteen children, of which the subject of the present sketch is the eldest.

Besides the title of Duke of Richmond, he holds a first of March, and a second of September, by the right of birth, in the peerage of Scotland; and a third of September, by the right of birth, in the peerage of Great Britain. He is also a baronet, and a knight of the Garter. He is, moreover, colonel of the 33rd regiment of foot, and high constable of Chichester. On the 20th of April, 1817, his grace married the eldest daughter of the present Marquis of Anglesey, by whom he has two sons and three daughters.

The Duke of Richmond entered the army in 1803, and joined Lord Wellington on the day of the battle of the Corunna in 1808. He was present as aid-de-camp to Lord Wellington, in the battles of Busaco, Fuentes d'Onore, Salamanca, Pyrenees, and Vittoria—the passage of the Rhine—the battle of Stenge, Wuster, and in front of Bayona—and in every campaign from 1810 to 1814. He





THE RT HON<sup>ble</sup> CHARLES LENOX, DUKE OF RICHMOND

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PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD



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Besides the title of Duke of Richmond, his grace is Earl of March, and Baron of Settrington, in the county of York, in the peerage of England; Duke of Lennox, Earl of Darnley, and Baron Methuen of Torbolton, in the peerage of Scotland; also Duke of Aubigny, in France: he is, moreover, colonel of the Sussex militia, and high steward of Chichester. On the 10th of April, 1817, his grace married the eldest daughter of the present Marquis of Anglesey, by whom he has five sons and three daughters.

The Duke of Richmond entered the army in 1809, and joined Lord Wellington on the day of the battle of the Coa in 1810. He was present as aid-de-camp to Lord Wellington in the battles of Busaco, Fuentes d'Honore, Salamanca, Pyrenees, and Vittoria—the passage of the Bidassoa—the affairs of Sabugal, Nivelles, and in front of Bayonne—and in every skirmish from 1810 to 1814. He



was present at the sieges and stormings of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and St. Sebastian, and was severely wounded in the lungs, commanding a company of the 52d regiment in the light division at the battle of Orthes. He was also present at the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo; and marched into Paris with the Duke of Wellington's victorious army. His grace purchased his lieutenancy and company, and was promoted to the brevet ranks of major and lieutenant-colonel, according to the rules of the service, for having twice brought home the despatches.

It is not to be expected that a soldier by profession should signalize himself in the senate as an eloquent debater. There are, however, upon record, a few of the noble duke's speeches not unworthy of regard, and, as they have the merit of being concise and pointed, we shall here introduce a specimen of them.

Towards the end of the reign of George the Fourth, the labouring part of the community were suffering greatly in the agricultural districts, owing to the low rate of wages and scarcity of employment. Petitions in abundance were presented to parliament, of which little notice was taken, and incendiarism began to prevail in an alarming degree. On the meeting of parliament, Tuesday, November 2nd, 1830, after the moving and seconding of the address, the Duke of Richmond rose and said, it was not his intention to take up more than a very short portion of their lordships' time, but he was anxious to take this opportunity of expressing a hope that parliament would no longer delay—that it would not put off until it might perhaps be too late—an inquiry into the state of the labouring poor. He hoped the subject would be taken up in the spirit of fair inquiry. He assured their lordships that he said this, not in the spirit of faction, for it was admitted by the noble marquis (the lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent) that great distress did prevail in that county, though he had added, that that distress was not so great in that particular county as it was last year. The noble marquis



seemed to think that the outrages which existed in that county were not the result of the distress that prevailed. He (the Duke of Richmond) would not say what was the cause of those outrages ; but whatever might be their origin, this fact could not be denied—that last session the tables of their lordships' house were covered with petitions complaining of the distresses of the labouring poor. The subject of those petitions their lordships had not thought it necessary to take into consideration, and he believed that that circumstance had taught them (the labouring poor) not to look to parliament with that confidence which they had been accustomed to feel towards the government and legislature of the country. He believed a feeling did prevail amongst the labouring classes, that the upper classes were their foes, and not their friends. That this was a most serious error on the part of the labouring poor, he fully admitted. He knew that their lordships and the other house of parliament were the friends of the poor ; and he knew that the cause of the delay of inquiry last session was to be found, not in the indifference of parliament to the poor, but in incredulity as to the extent of that distress : but, seeing what had since occurred, he must say that it would be criminal to delay the matter any longer. The county of Kent had since then spoke in a language which was disgraceful ; but, while he said this, and while he admitted that the outrages to which he alluded should be put down with a strong hand—for no distress would justify such violations of law—he still must impress on their lordships the necessity of allowing no farther delay of a fair and full inquiry into the state of the labouring poor. For himself he would say, that he felt no alarm for the ultimate state of the country, for he knew that Englishmen possessed too much good sense, and too much of devotion to the institutions of their country—too much loyal attachment to the person of their gracious sovereign, who had that day, for the first time, met his people in opening a new parliament, and who, from the



moment of his accession to the throne, had on every occasion, evinced the most paternal regard for the interests of his subjects. Englishmen, he repeated, possessed too much wisdom and good feeling to allow themselves to be led away into errors dangerous to the security of the state. Whatever was the condition of the country at present, there existed no cause of alarm as to the ultimate result ; but it was necessary that the inquiry to which he alluded should not be further delayed. He spoke this, not with a view of creating any excitement out of doors, but to impress on their lordships that conviction which he strongly felt, of the necessity that the inquiry should be speedy. On this he trusted their lordships would be unanimous, and while they put down dangerous acts of riot and insubordination by force, if necessary, they should not delay in adopting such other measures as might tend, by relieving the distresses of the poor, to restore to them that confidence in the legislature which was so necessary to the tranquillity of the country. He would not offer any opposition to the address moved by the noble marquis, but he must express a hope, that, before the close of the debate, he should hear from the noble duke (Wellington,) that he should be ready with some measure having for its object that to which he had adverted. It was necessary to the tranquillity of the country, in the winter now coming on, that the confidence of the labouring classes in the legislature should be restored, by the adoption of every possible means to improve their condition.

Before the end of the session, the Wellington administration gave way, and Lord Grey succeeded the gallant Duke as premier. We believe that the Duke of Richmond voted in the minority on the Catholic relief bill ; but as he gave a silent vote, the ground of his opposition does not appear. His grace accepted office under Earl Grey as Post-master-general of England and Ireland, and was an early supporter of the reform question. On this subject the following speech was delivered by his grace, on the 28th of March, 1831, when a discussion on that measure had been prema-



turely introduced into the upper house by Lord Wharncliffe. The Duke of Richmond rose, and said, that it was not his purpose to take up the time of their lordships ; but as he had been alluded to by the noble lord, he wished to make a very few observations. Taking the present question merely on its own merits, it must be considered one of overwhelming interest, and he had therefore little supposed that the opinions of so humble an individual as himself would have attracted notice on so important an occasion. The noble lord, however, had thought fit to appeal to his protest against the disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders, and attempted to draw a parallel between it and the proposed disfranchisement of the boroughs, for the purpose of fastening upon him a charge of inconsistency in supporting the reform bill. He would not now flinch a tittle from his former statements, or pare down his expressions with a view to his exculpation. At the period referred to, a great measure had been brought forward, disfranchising 180,000 freeholders, without any accusation of corruption having ever been brought against them. It might have been pretended that they were habitually under the stern control of their landlords, to whom they had been obliged to render an unconstitutional obedience ; but this had ceased to exist in 1828, for in the course of that year they had exhibited a fearless defiance of those who had hitherto held them in political subserviency : they had duly elected an agitator, and ejected a cabinet minister, in Clare ; nor was that the only county in which they had set at nought the authority of their landlords. Thus, no sooner had they roused themselves to a constitutional exercise of their rights, than this unfortunate body had been attacked with a bill of pains and penalties. It was against this measure that he protested, as he should always consider it unjustifiable in principle ; but what analogy was there between the case of sixty rotten boroughs, and that of 180,000 unoffending citizens, unaccused and unheard ? Were the patrons of boroughs and the nominees of patrons unoffending, or were they unheard and unadvocated ? He



would not for a moment admit the special pleading and sophistry by which this question had been attempted to be disguised. Would the disfranchisement of Midhurst, or Wareham, or Old Sarum, affect any one individual, save only the patrons and their nominees; and had not these been accused by the united voices of the entire country? On one side, there was a ministry which had floated into office on the tide of public opinion; and was there not, on the other, a ministry which had laid down office, in defending the system so universally complained of? Nay, was there not at this moment a late secretary of state in the other house, fighting, as if for life and death, for his share in the borough of Tamworth? It was not likely indeed that either the right honourable gentleman or any one else would forget Westbury. Then how ably had the interests of the notable Boroughbridge been defended by the facetious drollery and legal astuteness of the ex-attorney-general, its celebrated representative. The protest against the disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders, which had been signed by a noble friend of his and himself, was read in part by the noble lord, but he had reason to complain that the concluding clause had been omitted, for they had therein expressly stated, that they were "willing to correct every proved abuse." Now, could it be maintained that the borough system was not a proved abuse? The entire charge was empty, and could not be substantiated, as far as he and his noble friend were concerned. They had been also reproached with subverting settled institutions; but he looked upon this bill as a reformation and timely restoration of the constitution, which all concurred in thinking required repair, although there was a difference of opinion as to the extent to which it ought to be applied. The noble lord, it appeared, accused them of revolutionary projects, yet as well might a similar charge be urged against the gallant officer opposite, who led the British troops to victory, because he maintained the discipline of the army, and introduced new regulations in various departments, or supplied new men of superior ener-



gies according as his troops became debilitated or decayed. The principle was precisely the same. It was proposed to draught off Gatton and Old Sarum, and substitute the youthful energies of Manchester, and the full-grown manhood of Birmingham; nor could he well conceive how treason should lurk in the proposition for investing the West Riding of Yorkshire with the elective franchise. In fine, he was confident that when this bill, recommended by a dispassionate and united cabinet, should be sent to their lordships' house, they would not forego the opportunity of knitting together all hearts in confidence in parliament, and increased affection to the sovereign. Such a reform as was now proposed would at once ensure security to private property, and perpetual protection to the monarchy.

The gallant duke also defended the claims of Brighton to the honour of having representatives, in a short address, which is worth preserving.

The Duke of Richmond said he would in a few moments satisfy their lordships that Brighton possessed every claim to be represented. It possessed a most respectable constituency. Its population amounted to 42,000, and its assessed taxes amounted to the enormous sum of £31,800 in the year. Their lordships had already determined to give members to towns that did not pay near that amount of assessed taxes in the year; to the town of Leeds, for instance, the assessed taxes of which amounted to £18,000; to Bolton, the assessed taxes of which were £4,300, and to Sheffield, the assessed taxes of which amounted to only £12,600. Now, Brighton paid more in assessed taxes than the whole of these towns put together. Did the noble lord therefore mean that property should not be the criterion for representation? Brighton paid a greater amount of assessed taxes than nine other towns in the same schedule. He was astonished that conservative lords should object to the giving members to Brighton. The constituency of Brighton would be a most respectable one, and the members that would represent it under this bill, he was



sure, would always be found upon the side of peace and good order. He had no personal object in standing up for the claims of Brighton, as he did not possess any property in Brighton, or even in the eastern division of the county of Sussex. He maintained that a great number of most respectable persons were constant residents in Brighton, and that it possessed a greater number of voters of £20 and upwards than any other town that it was proposed to enfranchise.

During the time that the bill was under discussion before the Lords, Lord Wynford presented a petition from the members of the corporation of Arundel, against the town of Little Hampton being included in the representation of that borough, and resolving it into the circumstance that it was done to favour the borough influence of the Duke of Norfolk. In refutation of this implied preference, the Duke of Richmond said, that when the bill should be in committee, he thought he should be able to satisfy the noble and learned lord, that the decision of the commissioners would not have the effect which he anticipated. In the noble and learned lord's anxiety to prevent what he seemed to fear would be the overwhelming influence of a peer of parliament in the borough as it was proposed to be in future constituted, he had wholly overlooked the sort of influence exercised in the borough by those very parties from whom the petition came. This petition was from the corporation, who were, no doubt, extremely unwilling to lose the power and influence which they now possessed in the return of the members for the borough. These were seven resident gentlemen, and they felt that, if this bill should pass, that influence which they now possessed would be shared amongst the inhabitants. They were therefore very naturally opposed to any extension of the franchise either to Little Hampton or to any other place. For his own part, if it should be made apparent that any arrangement as to the franchise would have the effect of making the place a close borough, he would



oppose it. He pledged himself, and he was sure that his noble colleagues would give him credit for the statement, that he would not be satisfied to have one close borough left. He would therefore not stop short at the number of 56 in schedule A, but would go on to 60 or 63, if that number of close boroughs should be shewn to exist. He did not agree that the objection to the extension of the franchise to Little Hampton was well founded. Little Hampton, it should be recollected, was the port of Arundel. The whole trade of the latter place was carried on through it, and he thought it very natural that the commissioners should make a selection of a place so intimately connected with the prosperity of the borough, to be included in the extension of its franchise. But it was said that the town of Little Hampton was the property of a noble duke (the Duke of Norfolk.) It was not exclusively his property. It was true that the noble duke was the owner of many of the houses there, but they were let on long building leases, so that the noble duke could not possess that influence which the noble and learned lord seemed to apprehend. However, when they should come to the question as to that borough in the committee, if the noble and learned lord should make out a case against the borough as one which would still be under undue influence, and would move that it be transferred to schedule A, he (the Duke of Richmond) would pledge himself to second the motion.

Lord Wynford still reiterated the charge of undue influence, and was supported by the Earl of Falmouth, who made a personal attack upon the Duke of Richmond on the score of his alleged inconsistency, in having opposed the Duke of Wellington's bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, and entering his protest against it on their lordships' journal, and now advocating the cause of parliamentary reform. The noble earl said he should for the present content himself "with inviting the attention of their lordships to the speech and the protest of the noble duke on that occasion, and to contrast them with the



new-born zeal which he now evinced on the question of reform."

This unprovoked assault on a high-spirited nobleman was not likely to pass unnoticed. Accordingly, the Duke of Richmond rose, and expressed his regret that the noble earl had not deferred his remarks on his (the noble duke's) conduct, until a time, when, according to the forms of the house, he could rise to defend himself. After having already risen twice on the same question, he could not now, without the indulgence of their lordships, proceed to make those observations which the remarks of the noble earl called for. If, however, their lordships gave him permission, he would now address himself to what he must consider a most unjustifiable attack on him. (Cries of "Go on.") The noble earl had charged him with having changed his opinion on the question of reform. If he were now a reformer, never having been so before, he might use the language which many of their lordships had addressed to the house, and defend himself by stating, that the times had changed, and that that which might not have been necessary some time ago, was now become essential. If he looked to the speeches of those who were never before reformers, but who now would be thought so to some extent, he should find it admitted by the great majority, that the time was now arrived when some general measure of reform was necessary. What took place at the period to which the noble earl (Falmouth) had alluded? At that time, a noble earl (Winchilsea) had declared that the Catholic bill having been passed, he considered a reform of parliament necessary; and that he would go farther, and, if a motion were made that the right reverend the bench of bishops should no longer have a seat in that house, he (the Earl of Winchilsea) would support it. But the Duke of Richmond had then stated, that, however much he concurred with the noble earl on the subject of the Catholic question, nothing should induce him to vote for reform, because the House of Commons had passed the



Catholic bill. He had not the paper by him in which his opinions on that occasion were stated, for he certainly had not expected to be called on his legs in this manner to defend himself. The noble lords opposite saw that they (at the ministerial side) had been too tame yesterday, and, acting on that forbearance, they now came forward with personal charges of inconsistency. It was objected to him that he had opposed the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, in Ireland. He had so; but what then? If he were inconsistent in having then opposed disfranchisement, and in supporting it now, what became of those noble lords on the opposite side who voted for that measure, and who now opposed this bill? Why was the principle of disfranchisement to be supported then, and to be opposed now? Why was the principle of vested rights to be held sacred when it applied to St. Mawes, and Gatton, and Old Sarum, and to be set at nought when it affected the franchises of 250,000 freeholders? He would beg to call the recollection of their lordships to what he had said on the occasion of the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders. It was true that he had strenuously opposed that measure; but he said, that, if that bill passed, a year would not elapse without some general measure of reform being called for. He begged to deny that he was inconsistent in having opposed that measure, and in supporting the present, for he defied the noble earl—he defied any man—to say that he ever spoke against reform. On the contrary, since he had a seat in parliament, it was to him a matter of surprise how any man could get up and defend the system of nomination boroughs.

Earl Grey, who was absent during these altercations, very opportunely entered the house at the close of the Duke of Richmond's last speech, and finding noble lords in an unusual state of excitement, inquired into the occasion of it. Being told that a debate full of acrimonious personalities, and imputations, as to the motives of the



different peers who had taken a prominent part in supporting and attacking the reform bill, had been going—on he thus proceeded:

“It was not consistent,” he said, “either with the orders of the house, or with the advantage of the public, that the motives of their lordships should be thus scrutinized and discussed. He wished their lordships to consider whether this was the occasion on which a discussion of this angry and personal nature could be introduced with advantage, if indeed such an occasion could ever be found. For what was the question which stood for their lordships’ consideration? A great question of constitutional policy, in which it was possible, though he hoped it was not probable, that their decision might not be in accordance with that of the people. On such a question, he should think that it would be the wish, as well as the interest, of their lordships, that the decision should be devoid of every thing that savoured of personal irritation. And yet what was it that they had heard that evening, save crimination and recrimination, bandied from one side of the house to the other? So that it would appear that none of their lordships would vote, except from some personal motives. [A loud cry of ‘No,’ from the Earl of Falmouth.] The noble earl said ‘No:’ but what could be the object of the noble earl’s attack on his noble friend (Richmond) near him, if it were not to throw some imputation on his personal motives? [The Earl of Falmouth again vociferated ‘No.’] No! what, then, was the object of his attack? Why was it made? (Loud cheering from the ministerial benches.) A discussion had arisen injurious to the character of the house, and inconsistent with the calm and dispassionate consideration which it was their duty to apply to the grave and important subject that awaited their decision. He (Earl Grey) had hoped most earnestly and sincerely that their lordships would have approached this subject without extracting from it the bitterness of useless personality. Why such an abortive produce should be forced from it now, he would



not take upon him to inquire; but he must be permitted to say that he held, as highly objectionable, a discussion of this nature preceding so momentous a question as that which they were assembled to determine—a discussion tending to impute to public persons in that house, motives not consistent with the interests of the community, nor advantageous to their lordships. He felt himself called upon to say thus much, which, as the discussion was likely to cease, was perhaps unnecessary. He must at the same time declare his feeling of the independent conduct of the noble duke who had been made the subject of uncalled-for observations. While he stated that no one could display more true independence of character than that noble duke, he trusted that this mode of introducing irrelevant topics would not be persevered in."

This well-timed rebuke, coming from such a quarter, operated as a *quietus* on the Earl of Falmouth and other Tory peers within the walls of parliament; but whatever may be the latent cause, it is obvious that the Duke of Richmond's connection with the present government has subjected him to more slander and abuse, more false and unfounded charges, more misrepresentation and calumny, than any other individual. Since Lord Grey's return to office, the following announcement was gravely made in the *Standard* newspaper, the leading organ of the "Conservatives."

"The Duke of Richmond has disentangled himself from these disgraceful and disloyal attempts, by resigning his office, whatever may be the fate of Earl Grey's administration. His grace dissented, by a former protest, from the call upon the king to swamp the House of Peers. It would give the most heart-felt delight to every true Tory to receive the nobleman, who did so much for us in 1829, once more into the bosom of the party."

Alas, how unaccommodating is the Duke of Richmond!—the consummation, so devoutly to be wished, is not yet realized.



His Grace is evidently a personal favourite with the Sovereign ; and, if report may be credited, when an effort was lately made to reinstate the Duke of Wellington in the premiership, the Duke of Richmond was solicited from the highest authority to quit the Whigs, and form part of the projected administration ; which, nevertheless, with all due deference, he declined to do. At the coronation of their present Majesties, the Duchess of Richmond was conspicuous among the beautiful women who surrounded the Royal pair ; and wherever she is seen in public, never fails to impress the beholder with a sense of those amiable qualities and accomplishments which adorn her mind and person. This tribute to virtues admired by all who enjoy the privilege of witnessing and appreciating them, is obviously demanded from us at the present moment, when the scurrilous state of the periodical press has not scrupled to vent itself in the foulest and falsest of libels against this illustrious lady, and made it necessary for her to appeal to the laws of her country for protection against this wretched scandal, so foolishly invented and circulated.

On the demise of the Duke of Gordon, the father of the Duchess of Richmond, his Grace, the noble Duke, will succeed to large estates in Scotland ; and in the mean time, he has only to proceed, as he has hitherto done, in his straight-forward and manly course, to insure himself the esteem and approbation of all whose good opinion is worth his regard. His Grace's country residence is at Goodwood, in the county of Suffolk—a place renowned for the continuance of those good old English sports, hospitality, and customs, which characterized the age of “good Queen Bess.” Three of his Grace's brothers are in parliament, namely, Lord Arthur Lennox, member for Chichester—Lord John-George, who represents the county—and Lord William-Pitt, who sits for the borough of King's Lynn, and who is favourably known in society for his conversational talents, and taste in polite literature.



RIGHT HON.

## THE EARL OF CARLISLE.

*Cabinet Minister, without Office.*

THE family from which this nobleman is descended is a branch of the illustrious ducal house of Norfolk, springing from Lord William Howard, second son of Thomas, the fourth duke.

The father of the present earl was Frederick Howard, eldest son of Henry, the fourth earl of Carlisle. He was born in 1748, and educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, cotemporary with the celebrated Charles James Fox, whose future popularity he predicted in some very beautiful verses, now little known. He took his seat in the House of Peers, in 1769, and soon afterwards married one of the daughters of the Marquis of Stafford. In 1780 he obtained the vice-regency of Ireland, of which he was deprived on the sudden dissolution of the Rockingham cabinet, in 1782. He then joined the coalition ministry headed by Mr. Fox and Lord North, and held office as steward of the household and lord privy seal. At the breaking out of the French revolution in 1793, he became an alarmist, and gave his support to Mr. Pitt, for which he was rewarded with the insignia of the Garter. His lordship was an elegant and accomplished scholar, and devoted much of his leisure hours to literary pursuits, though he continued to take a prominent part in politics during the latter part of his life, which he closed on the 4th of September, 1825. He was succeeded in his titles and honours, by his eldest son, GEORGE HOWARD, the present earl, who was born 17th of September, 1773, and on the 21st of March 1801, married



the eldest daughter of William, the fifth duke of Devonshire. His lordship's other titles are Viscount Howard, of Morpeth, in the county of Northumberland; Baron Dacre of Gillesland, and co-heir to a moiety of the barony of Greystock. The present Viscount Morpeth, one of the members for Yorkshire, is the noble peer's eldest son.

"As his father was embarked in political life, it is probable that he contemplated a similar course for his son; and accordingly, in 1795-6, we find that he accompanied Lord Malmesbury in one of his missions to the Continent, and was, no doubt, thus early initiated into many of the mysteries of diplomacy. On his return he took his seat in the House of Commons, and continued to devote himself to parliamentary duties with more attention than is usual with young men of similar rank and fortune.

"In 1800 he was a commissioner for the Affairs of India, and so competent to his office, that we are indebted to him for one of the most luminous speeches upon the affairs of that country, which has ever been pronounced within the walls of the house. It was published separately as a pamphlet, and is, we believe, the only distinct publication which we can attribute to his lordship. Subsequently to this period his lordship was sent on a special mission to Berlin; but of the intents and purposes of such a secret and important employment, we cannot be expected to give any information. After remaining some time in Prussia, his lordship returned home, and resumed his useful, though not too obtrusive, public services; for he spoke very seldom in parliament, yet he exercised, in consequence of his acknowledged talents and intelligence, a beneficial influence, more felt than heard of, in the counsels and government of the nation.

"In 1824, he was made lord-lieutenant of the East-riding of Yorkshire; and in the following year succeeded his father in the Earldom of Carlisle. In 1827, when Mr. Canning was called upon by his majesty, to form an administration, his lordship, between whom and the minister an intimacy,



alike honourable to the tastes and endowments of both, had long been established, accepted the office of first commissioner of woods and forests, with a seat in the cabinet, and afterwards privy seal, which he resigned in 1828.

“At present, his lordship has a seat in the cabinet, but without office; and his addition to their numbers may justly be deemed one of the most stable assurances of the continuation of the new government: since, whatever changes may assail it, the country will always look with confidence to men actuated by that purity of principle and integrity which distinguishes the Earl of Carlisle. Such an individual can want nothing, can desire nothing, but the welfare of the land in which he has so large a stake; and surrounded by a family like his, with a son, Lord Morpeth, following admirably in the steps of his forefathers, whether we look to patriotism, or the love of science and literature, England has the surest pledges that he will do his duty, even were he not stimulated by the finest sense of innate rectitude, and the example of a glorious race.”\*

It is a fact too obvious to be denied, that the Tory lords, in opposing the great measure of reform, which has of late engrossed so much of the public attention, have taken no inconsiderable pains to shew that the Whig party are vastly inferior to them in point of wealth, and property, and influence. Lord Brougham took up this argument of their mightinesses in his masterly speech, delivered, Oct. 7th, 1831, on the second reading of the first reform bill; and we advert to it merely as it serves to illustrate the remarks made above, respecting the influence which such persons as the Earl of Carlisle must necessarily have in any administration.

Lord Brougham asked if it were true that the aristocracy, as a body, was opposed to the bill? He denied the assertion. “What, my lords,” said he, “the aristocracy opposed to the people—the aristocracy, who are the creatures of the

\* National Portrait Gallery, Vol. II. now publishing by Messrs. Fisher, Son, and Jackson.



people—who are created by the people, and for the people, the people,—for whom the constitution and the monarchy, and the two houses of parliament, and the government, are constituted; and without whom, neither king, lords, nor commons, could exist? The assertion is monstrous. As a member of your lordship's house, I repel it with indignation—such a calumny must not go abroad. And yet there are those who, even in this house, talk much of the bill's so adding to the strength of the democracy, as to endanger all the other institutions of the country; and who therefore charge us, its originators, as the promoters of spoliation and anarchy. Why, my lords, have we ourselves nothing to fear from democratic spoliation? The fact is, that some of the members of the present cabinet are in the possession of more property than any two administrations together, within my recollection. I need not say, that I do not include myself, for I have little or no property; but what little I have depends upon the stability of existing institutions, and is as dear to me as the much larger possessions of your lordships. My lords, permit me to say, that, in becoming a member of your lordship's house, I staked my all on the aristocratic institutions of the country. I gave up certain wealth, great professional emolument, and real power, for an office of great trouble, and, necessarily, of contingent tenure: I say, my lords, I gave up the possession of real power, for power and distinction dependent on accident; for, as member for Yorkshire, and, I will add, as leading member of the House of Commons, I was in the enjoyment of as much power as might gratify any man's ambition. I lost these, I say; I became wound up with your lordships' stability, and I implore you not to countenance a doctrine to take from me the little that is left. If it is to be said that only the populace, the rabble, support this bill, pray let me ask, Who is the Duke of Norfolk? who is the Duke of Bedford? who is the Duke of Devonshire?" Here Lord Brougham was called to order, or he would probably have proceeded to add the names of the Dukes of Sussex and Richmond—the Earls of



Carlisle, Grey, Spencer, &c., Barons Holland, Durham, Auckland, &c.

Lord Brougham took up the same subject in reply to the Duke of Wellington, and others, on the second reading of the second reform bill, April 13th 1832. Several noble lords, he said, had taken up the opinion of the noble and gallant Duke (of Wellington,) that this question of reform had not taken so deep a root in the country as it was said to have taken by others, and indeed even as the country itself supposed it had taken. The noble duke, and all who had followed him on that side, had insisted, in spite of the declarations of the people themselves to the contrary, that the people did not care much, if at all, about reform; and to so great an extent had this astonishing doctrine been carried, that he would venture to say, that if any intelligent man, not accustomed to the debates of their lordships, had been brought into that house, without knowing what the subject in debate was, and had heard this assertion, that the people did not care about the matter under discussion—that man could have gone away from the house without ever even having suspected—as indeed no intelligent man could suspect—that the subject so alluded to as finding so little favour and interest in the eyes of the people, was the great, the absorbing, the almost all absorbing, question of parliamentary reform. Indeed, this doctrine must have startled even the right reverend prelate who spoke last but one, (Bishop of Rochester,) and must have forced his ingenuity to the discovery of that distinction between the popular mind and the public mind which had enabled the right reverend prelate to satisfy himself that though the popular mind was for the bill, the public mind was against it. However satisfactory this distinction, and its concomitant assertion, might be to the right reverend prelate, he trusted he should be able to shew that there was as little foundation in fact for either, as there was in the other doctrine of the noble duke, which also found credit in the estimation of many noble lords—namely, that all the landed property of



the country was against the bill—at least, he supposed the noble duke meant the landed property.

The Duke of Wellington.—I meant all the property of the country generally.

The Lord Chancellor continued.—“That was certainly carrying the proposition to a far greater extent than he had understood it, since the noble duke had used the word yeomanry. His noble friend near him, some right reverend prelates, and other noble lords, had re-echoed the minor proposition, evidently understanding it as he had understood it; but it would be idle to notice what they had said upon it—it would be an absolute loss of time to discuss the lesser point and its supporters; so, with the permission of their lordships, he would pass over the imitators, and deal with the great original. The noble and gallant duke, then, really meant to tell the house gravely, that the whole property of this country, was leagued together in opposition to the bill. Now let him put it to the noble duke who had made this discovery, whether it was not passing strange that those who possessed either the property of the country, or who represented the possessors of it, should have conducted themselves in such a manner as to make every body suppose that, instead of being opposed to, they were warm friends of the bill? Not to go very far for an answer to this proposition of the noble duke—not to trouble the noble duke to cast his eyes beyond the limits of those walls, he would ask the noble duke to look across the house, and then tell him whether he could by possibility be right in saying that all the property of the country was opposed to the bill. Let the noble duke look at the benches opposite, let him consider how much of the property of the country was held by noble lords whose eyes would meet his—let the noble duke take this survey only, and he was sure that if the noble duke did not see the rashness of the assertion he had made, he (the Duke of Wellington) would be the only man in that house, or out of that house, who would fail to see it. And then what was to become of the property out of doors?



The property embarked in the trade of the country? Was the meeting of the merchants, traders, and bankers of the city of London, in the Egyptian Hall, to go for nothing? Did that intelligent, that respectable, that opulent class of the community, possess no property? He was quite sure that if a very small portion of that class of men had met together, not by public advertisement, and in a public place, but in some retired room to which the people were admitted by tickets and by favour, or that the few assembled would be secure of having it all their own way—he was sure, he said, that if such a meeting had petitioned that house against the bill, there would have been no end of references and appeals to their petition. What, however, had been done by the great body of merchants, and traders, and bankers of the city of London, called together by public advertisement in the newspapers, and openly congregated together in the Egyptian Hall? What they had done with regard to this measure, and what opinion they had pronounced upon it, was too well known to render it necessary for him to do more than to allude to their meeting—the very mention of which was sufficient to settle the question, as to how the persons representing the trading and commercial property of the county stood affected towards reforms, and towards this measure of reform.”

Earl Grey also resumed the subject on the second reading of the second reform bill, 13th April, 1832, and we shall use the freedom, to quote his words in this place. “An attack has been made on others for the extravagance of their views, and on myself for having introduced this measure from a false notion of preserving my own consistency, or from personal motives of ambition. I am sorry that a question like the present, which ought to depend on merits of its own, has been accompanied by such reflections, and that acrimony has been most strongly displayed where it ought most of all to have been conceded. I have been congratulated by a learned and right reverend prelate, that I have rejected with scorn and indignation the stigma of revolution. The charity



of that sneer and of that insinuation is not lost upon me : but I tell that right reverend prelate (Phillpotts, bishop of Exeter,) that I have a long life to appeal to, which, even those who know me not in private, will think sufficient to justify me, in the opinion of my countrymen, from the foul and malignant charges which he in his christian charity has thought proper to produce against me. I have a stake also in the country, perhaps as large a one as he has. I have also given pledges to my country—pledges which must prove my sincere desire to transmit to my posterity the property which I have received from my ancestors—pledges which ought to satisfy the country, that I shall not, with my eyes open, undertake any thing that is dangerous to the constitution. The right reverend prelate threw out insinuations about my ambition. Let me tell him, calmly, that the pulses of ambition may beat as strongly under sleeves of lawn as under an ordinary habit. I wish not to pursue further a subject on which I feel strongly : but a speech more unbecoming the situation of a christian bishop—a speech more inconsistent with the love of peace—a speech more remote from the charity which ought to distinguish a clergyman of his order—a speech more replete with insinuations and charges calculated to promote disunion and discord in the community—never was uttered within the walls of this or any other house of parliament.”

We must not close this article without mentioning, that the beautiful and accomplished Lady Georgiana Agar Ellis, now BARONESS DOVER, whose portrait, in the “National Portrait Gallery, Vol. I.,” furnishes one of the sweetest specimens of the painter’s and engraver’s art, is the second daughter of the Earl of Carlisle—a lady who partakes with her noble partner in life, in his admiration and encouragement of the fine arts, as indeed might have been expected from a child of the Earl of Carlisle.



THE RIGHT HON.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART.

*First Lord of the Admiralty.*

“THE ancient and powerful family of Graham,” says Sir Walter Scott, in the *Lady of the Lake*, “held extensive possessions in the counties of Dumbarton and Stirling. Few families can boast of more historical renown, having claim to three of the most remarkable characters in the Scottish annals. Sir John Græme, the faithful and undaunted partaker of the labours and patriotic warfare of Wallace, fell in the unfortunate field of Falkirk in 1298. The celebrated Marquess of Montrose, in whom De Retz saw realized his abstract ideas of the heroes of antiquity, was the second of these worthies. And, notwithstanding the severity of his temper, and the vigour with which he executed the oppressive mandates of the Punics whom he served, I do not hesitate to name as the third, John Graham, of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, whose heroic death, in the arms of victory, may be allowed to cancel the memory of his cruelty to the non-conformists, during the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second.”

So far Sir Walter: we do not here enter upon the question, how far the heroic death of a persecuting crusader ought to be allowed to cancel the memory of his deeds of blood, but proceed to remark that the Grahams of Norton-Conyers—the Grahams of Esk—and the Grahams of Netherby, derive their descent from the same common ancestor, namely, Sir Richard Graham, who was created a baronet in 1629. He was gentleman of the horse to King James the First, and purchased Netherby and the barony of Liddell in the county of Cumberland, from Francis, Earl of Cumberland. From him was descended in a direct line



James Graham Esq. of Netherby, who was created a baronet, 28th of December, 1782. Sir James married a daughter of John, seventh Earl of Galloway, by whom (with other issue) he had the present First Lord of the Admiralty, whose public character is the subject of this article.

SIR JAMES-ROBERT-GEORGE GRAHAM was born on the 1st of June, 1792, and succeeded to the title as second baronet, upon the demise of his father, April 13th, 1824. He had entered parliament several years prior to this, as representative of the borough of Ripon, in the West Riding of the county of York. In process of time, however, he became member of parliament for the city of Carlisle, and subsequently for the county of Cumberland, which he still continues to represent.

From his first entrance into the House of Commons, Sir James Graham ranked with the opposition; but though he voted with them, he has but recently come forwards as a speaker. In 1828, during the Wellington administration, he came prominently forward with a notice of a motion for a committee to inquire into the expediency of assimilating the paper currency of England to that of Scotland. Mr. Goulburn, then chancellor of the exchequer, met this by moving for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the circulation of Scottish bank notes in England. On this occasion, Sir James Graham took up the subject, and spoke at considerable length, evincing by his speech that it had occupied much of his attention. After pointing out several deficiencies in Mr. Goulburn's statements, he came to the particular measure under the consideration of the house.

"One objection which he had to the measure was, that it was premature. It was a remedy applied, not to an existing, but to a theoretic, and not ascertained, evil. Besides which, the proposed restriction was impolitic. He was a personal witness, he said, of the advantages of the old system. For many years seven-eighths of his rents were paid in one-pound notes of this currency, and from



it he had incurred no loss whatever. Again, it was anomalous that persons, separated only by a border over which they could positively jump, should have such different and opposite systems. On one side of the border, two-thirds of the circulation was gold, with the exclusion of paper—on the other, a description of paper which was found to be a sound currency, exclusive of gold. All that he wished was, that the House of Commons should inquire whether the paper system was not capable of such an amelioration as might interpose an effectual check to its abuse.”

Sir James now proceeded to examine the question of the currency in its various bearings, in doing which he displayed a very considerable acquaintance with the subject—as it affected the price of corn, the value of land, the national debt, and taxes, &c. He entreated the house to reflect, that by the measure which the chancellor proposed, they would make the twenty-four gentlemen who sat in the bank chamber, the arbiters of the destinies of the country. But this and all similar topics, he said, were merely mentioned by him, for it would be much better that they should meet with a fair and complete discussion in the proposed committee. He did not mean that the committee should merely institute a blind inquiry into the subject—that gentlemen should go into it with their minds previously made up; but that it should be a committee formed with a fair disposition to enter candidly into all such points as, in his opinion, required to be most carefully investigated. He trusted that gentlemen would not mistake his arguments, or suppose that they extended beyond the results and principles to which he meant to apply them. He certainly was not enamoured of a paper-currency; but he would say that it was foolish, because a thing required regulations, to suppress it altogether, and that without inquiry. He was of opinion that a system of paper currency was one of the greatest of the modern inventions which human ingenuity had contrived. When once a paper currency was established, it was impossible to



get rid of it; and he believed that there might be applied to the system the inscription from the *Inferno* of Dante:— ‘He who enters here must lose all hope of return.’ An enormous debt had been contracted in a depreciated currency, and no alternative remained but to continue the paper system.”

From this time we find Sir James Graham coming prominently forward, and taking an active part in the business of the house. On Friday, June 20th, 1828, he appeared with a petition from the shipowners of Hull, on the subject of the distress and embarrassment under which the shipping interests of that port were then suffering—from which it would appear, that they considered him to be inimical to the free-trade, or reciprocity system. We also find him supporting Mr. Hume in his plans of retrenchment, and reduction of salaries.

On the fall of the Duke of Wellington’s government, Sir James Graham came into office as first lord of the admiralty, and began to distinguish himself by his energetic speeches in favour of reform; not only that in the commons house of parliament, but also in his own official department. Lord John Russell brought in his first reform bill, March 1st, 1831, and, having advanced it some stages, the anti-reformers contrived to “toss it over the bridge,” by a manœuvre of General Gascoyne’s, in consequence of which the king dissolved the parliament in May, and a new election took place. Sir James Graham published an address to his constituents in Cumberland, in which he told them, that “the last division, which had the effect of delaying the supplies, left ministers no alternative, but to dissolve the parliament, or abandon the bill.”

No sooner had the new parliament come together, than the honourable member for Cumberland was taken soundly to task by Mr. George Dawson, who insisted that the assertion of Sir James Graham, namely, that the last division, which had the effect of delaying the supplies, left ministers no alternative, “could only have been broached for paltry



election purposes ;” and then Mr. Dawson went on to state, that, as none of the ordnance estimates had been voted previous to the dissolution, government had placed themselves in an awkward predicament, which he proceeded to describe in rather insulting terms.

Sir James Graham, rising to defend himself and colleagues, said, Mr. Dawson had spoken in a tone of personality, which it seemed to be the desire of the house should be laid aside. He felt that if such personalities were directed to himself, that was not the place for him to call for an explanation of them. The noble lord (Stormont) who cheered so loudly, and who on a former occasion had produced from his pocket a volume of Shakspeare, to show what crows would do in a reformed parliament, himself exhibited, even in an unreformed parliament, something of the kind : when he talked of crows, he should recollect that there were daws, who would peck at a character which they attempted to soil, but which they could not destroy. In quoting his address previous to the Cumberland election, Mr. Dawson had a decided superiority over him, for he possessed the document, while Sir James had nearly forgotten its tenor, and altogether forgotten its language. He recollected, however, enough to know that three causes were mentioned in it for the dissolution, only one of which was that dwelt on by Mr. Dawson. It was impossible to say whether the motion of Mr. W. Banks was intended to stop the supplies, or not ; but he might appeal to every one that heard him, whether such an intention was not fairly deducible from it. Sir Robert Peel seemed aware of the character of the vote ; for, though present at the discussion, he did not join in it.

Sir James Graham then proceeded to explain to the house, in what way the army and navy had been supplied from money voted by the house—and the ordnance provided for out of a sum of money voted in the preceding year, and appropriated for that purpose, but not expended. Having tendered these explanations, he threw himself upon the consideration of the house, and asked them fairly, whether what



he had stated was not a sufficient explanation, and whether the truth of his assertions was not amply proved by their own recollection of the circumstances to which he referred.

On Tuesday, the 14th of February, 1832, Sir James Graham obtained leave to bring in a bill which had for its object the abolition of the present navy and victualling boards, and for placing the whole under the direction of certain accredited officers under the direct control of the admiralty. This is a measure of great importance, and one which has been long and devoutly wished for by every man who is attached to the navy, or who had any acquaintance with its affairs, either in theory or practice. After adverting to a similar consolidation to that which he purposed to effect, and which took place soon after the Restoration, and was the first dawn of our naval superiority, Sir James proceeded to more modern instances, in which the existence of separate and nearly independent boards had been found injurious, and read extracts from evidence in the finance committee, in order to shew that such had been the case. He then proceeded to notice, what he deemed another marked inconvenience—namely, the appropriation of money voted for one purpose, to the effecting of another. No less than five instances of this kind had occurred since 1826. Under those five different heads, including the bakehouse at Deptford, the sum expended, from 1825 to 1830, amounted to £835,400, while all that parliament had voted was £270,000, leaving £565,400 to be provided for from other sources. On the other hand, in the same four years, there was less expended on building than had been voted, to the amount of £1,029,000. This surplus, it appeared, might be applied to any other purpose than that for which it had been voted, without the intervention of parliament—a proceeding which to him appeared highly objectionable.

Sir James Graham proceeded to mention other irregularities, of an equally exceptionable nature. Two regulations, which, had they been strictly followed up, would have been found extremely useful, had been introduced by



his predecessor in office. The first of these was intended as a check on the individuals to whom the receipt and issue of the public stores in the dock-yards was intrusted. By that regulation, it was directed that a ledger, containing an account of the receipt and issue of stores, should be kept at the out-port, and another at the navy board. If these two ledgers were properly kept, and agreed with each other, it was impossible that any fraud could be committed without detection. A more judicious regulation, if correctly carried into effect, could not be devised. But it unfortunately happened, that, up to the present moment, it was impossible to get any information from the ledger at the navy office. The other regulation related to the number of labourers employed in the dock-yards. They were to be reduced to six thousand, including apprentices; and no new apprentices were to be taken, except in cases of death. When he came into office, that regulation was one year in operation, and the number of workmen was 7,716; the number employed on the 31st of January last was 7,473; so that there was only a reduction of about 250 men.

Of the lack of vigilance in looking after the stores, Sir James produced an example, in the accidental seizure at Birmingham of five tons and a half of copper belonging to the King's yard at Chatham. With respect to any thing like an estimate of the cost of building a vessel, it was for a long time hopeless to attempt even by approximation; in fact, until within the last four months, this could not be procured.

Having made these preliminary observations, Sir James went on to explain what the bill was intended to effect. The boards could have been dissolved without the concurrence of the house; but as the changes were extensive, it was thought best to obtain that concurrence. It was meant to abolish the navy and victualling boards, and to vest the entire management of the navy in the hands of those who were really responsible for its proper manage-



ment. The mode in which this was to be effected, was by dividing the entire of the naval affairs of the kingdom into five great branches. 1st. The surveyor-general's, which would remain pretty nearly as it was at present. 2. The accountant-general's branch. By keeping the entire books on one model, and by one method, he thought one accountant-general would suffice. 3rd. The store-keeper's branch. 4th. The victualling branch, managed by one superintendant. 5th. The medical department, similarly managed. He should propose that the officers at the head of these departments should not be commissioners, holding their situations by patent, and possessing co-ordinate authority with other boards, even with the commissioners of the admiralty itself, as was the case at present; but that they should be appointed under-warrants from the board of admiralty, and that they should retain their situations so long only as they properly discharged their duties.

Sir James then explained the reductions which he had made. Last year there was a reduction of four commissioners, and a saving of £4,000 a year: thirty-seven superior officers, £9,470: twenty-five inferior officers, £1,285: and eight clerks, £1,970. Under the present arrangement he should be able in three months to reduce five commissioners at £6,000—three secretaries at £2,600—twenty-nine superior officers at £10,280—six inferior officers at £1,440, and fifty-four clerks at £11,950. The account would then stand thus—reduced nine commissioners, £10,000—three secretaries, £2,600—sixty-six superior officers, £19,750—thirty-one inferior officers, £2,725—and sixty-two clerks, £13,920; forming a total saving upon the civil establishment of the navy of £49,000.



RIGHT HON.

EDWARD GEOFFREY STANLEY,

*Secretary for Ireland.*

THIS gentleman is the grandson of the Earl of Derby, and son of Lord Stanley, one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Lancaster. Descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, whose lineage can be traced as far back as the times of Richard the Second, A.D. 1377, Mr. Stanley seems destined, by his services to his country, to maintain the honours of his family, and add to their renown.

His father, the present Lord Stanley, married his own cousin, Miss Charlotte-Margaret Hornby, daughter of the Rev. Geoffrey Hornby, of Winwick, near Warrington, one of the richest livings in the kingdom, and in the patronage of the Earl of Derby. By this lady, who died in 1817, his lordship had three sons and four daughters, of whom the subject of this memoir is the eldest.

MR. STANLEY was born on the twenty-ninth of March, 1799, and of course is now in his thirty-fourth year. On coming of age, he entered the House of Commons as member for the borough of Preston in Lancashire, in which he succeeded his father, who now became member for the county. Preston is a borough by prescription as well as by charter, and returns two members to parliament. Universal suffrage prevails here, the right of election being in "all the male inhabitants," of the age of twenty-one and upwards, who have resided during the last six months in the town, and have not, for the twelve months immediately preceding the election, been chargeable to any parish as paupers. The number of electors amounts to



about five thousand; and it may be questioned whether the empire could produce a more genuine radical constituency. To find proof of this, we need go no further than the fact of their inviting Cobbett and Hunt to represent them—and permitting the latter, for the two last parliaments, to displace Mr. Stanley, though the influence of the Derby family must be very great in the borough, arising from the large property which they possess in the town and neighbourhood. On losing his election for Preston, in 1830, Mr. Stanley was returned for the borough of Windsor, which he continues to represent; and on the formation of the present Whig ministry, he received the appointment of chief secretary for Ireland, and has since been made a privy councillor.

Of the attention which he has paid to the state of Ireland, Mr. Stanley had given ample proof long before he became a cabinet minister. On the 6th of May, 1824, Mr. Joseph Hume submitted a motion to the members of the House of Commons respecting the church establishment of Ireland, which he was satisfied had long exercised a more fatal and extensive influence on the condition of the country, than most persons were aware of. In an elaborate speech of great extent, Mr. Hume exhibited a frightful exposé of the evils resulting from that establishment, and concluded with moving the following resolution—"That it is expedient to inquire whether the present church establishment of Ireland be not more than commensurate to the services to be performed, both as regards the number of persons employed, and the income they receive."

Why it should have devolved upon Mr. Stanley to interpose his protest against this inquiry, does not appear; but that he certainly did do so, is very clear. The time for taking up that appalling subject was not yet arrived—and probably, were the inquiry mooted in the present day, neither Mr. Stanley nor Lord Plunkett would bristle up against it so fiercely as they then did. The former was



quite chivalrous in defence of the clergy of that country, whose high character, many virtues, and amiable qualities, together with the unostentatious discharge of their sacred duties, he eulogized in lofty strains. He would not assert that there might not be circumstances which would justify an interference with the property of the church, but he would maintain that no such circumstances could exist which would not equally justify an interference with landed, funded, and commercial property. As a measure of finance, the inquiry would be unjust and unnecessary; and as a measure of conciliation, it would be worse than useless. The motion either went too far, or not far enough. The established church of Ireland should be supported, or given up altogether. He could not consider this motion as any approach to a system of conciliation: it was, on the contrary, rather calculated to hold up to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, the Protestant church as one towering over their heads, "in pride of place," and enormous influence of wealth, or one which in turns excited their indignation and envy. Mr. Stanley then quoted several passages from pamphlets circulated in Ireland, to shew the violent temper which prevailed among certain Catholic bodies, respecting the established church, and also extracts from the bishop of Limerick's charge to his clergy—a prelate distinguished by the highest worth—to shew the different temper with which these charges were met.

Mr. Stanley candidly admitted that Ireland laboured under four principal grievances, viz. the want of resident gentry—the want of capital—the want of employment for the labouring classes—and the want of adequate education. He adverted to what Mr. Hume had said of the immense value of church property in Ireland, and contended that many of his statements were greatly exaggerated. He could not deny that Ireland had suffered greatly from that kind of corruption in her institutions which was in a degree more or less inseparable from human frailty; and he knew that the prelates of the established church were anxious to have a fair and full



inquiry made into the nature of their system ; (which was all that Mr. Hume's motion asked !) but however desirable it might be to issue a commission for such a purpose, he could never give his support to that species of inquiry which prejudged institutions before they were investigated, and which at once stamped with injustice an establishment, on the faith of exaggerated and unfounded mis-statements, before a syllable of evidence was offered to substantiate such severe allegations. So far Mr. Stanley.

An inquiry into the correctness of these statements would here be totally misplaced ; otherwise one might be tempted to question the truth of the allegation, that the property of the church of Ireland was based upon the same stable ground as landed, funded, and commercial property. Ecclesiastical property, with trifling exceptions, is the property of the nation, and is held by the church in trust for the good of the public, and must be subject to public, that is, to parliamentary, control. This is the explanation which Dr. Lushington gave of the matter, in the House of Commons, 26th March 1832, when the Irish tithes bill was under discussion. "He could not allow the right of the legislature to make such changes as the public interest required, to be called in question ; for he held church property to be purely a corporate or trustee right, *resumable at the instance of the original granting power.*" The entire ecclesiastical establishment is founded upon acts of parliament ; and the power that creates can not only control, but destroy, at pleasure. It can alter the constitution of the hierarchy, and transfer "the loaves and fishes," if it pleases, from Episcopalian to Presbyterian hands ; or withhold them from either.

Mr. Plunkett, now lord-chancellor of Ireland, followed Mr. Stanley, and echoed his sentiments. "He had ever been, and to the last hour of his life he should feel proud to be, unalterably the advocate of his Roman Catholic brethren ; but in doing so, he would ever respect *established rights*, and recognized institutions. And while he vindicated the claims of the Catholics, he should carefully abstain from



offering any wrong to the Protestant clergy—no encroachments on their property, no aggression on their sacred functions. If the honourable gentleman's (Mr. Hume's,) arguments had rested merely on the wording of his motion, he did not know that there was a great deal in that motion with which he should absolutely quarrel; but he must judge of it by the spirit and the arguments with which it had been supported; and when he heard some gentlemen (very few, undoubtedly,) supporting it by their cheers, he could not feel that he was quite safe in embarking with such company! He would not sail in the same vessel with the honourable gentlemen, and his honourable friends, to the high latitudes to which they proposed to run; nor could he agree to sail under sealed orders, that might be broken at a time when he could no longer escape out of their bark, and get back to the *terra firma* of the constitution which they had quitted."

We can pursue this topic no further. Lord Plunkett and Mr. Stanley have now got their hands full of Ireland, its church, its clergy, and its tithes; and if the time be not yet come to take up Mr. Hume's suggestion, it requires not the spirit of prophecy to convince any one that it cannot be far remote. Mr. Stanley has now the benefit of seven years' experience, the ordinary term of an apprenticeship; and while every candid mind will be ready to make due allowance for indiscretions resulting from the ardour of a youthful mind, perhaps anxious to ingratiate himself with "the powers that be," we expect better things from him in future.

Mr. Stanley has now been eight or nine years in parliament, and frequently distinguished himself in debate. His greatest effort, however, in this line, appears to us to be his speech in favour of the reform bill, delivered, Friday, March 4th, 1831, on the adjourned debate for the second reading. Sir Robert Peel had spoken at much length against the bill on the preceding evening; and on the present occasion Messrs. Freshfield, W. Duncombe, and Calcraft had followed up their attacks upon it, when Mr. Stanley rose in its



defence, and spoke with great energy and power of demonstration, chiefly in refutation of the honourable baronet, who appeared to writhe under the lash. If we had not already produced so many able speeches on this question, it would have been very gratifying to have given Mr. Stanley's, which indeed was inferior to few,—but we reluctantly pass it over with this brief notice, and merely quoting the concluding sentence. “Ministers had come into office,” said Mr. Stanley, “pledged to economy, reduction, and reform. Those pledges they had redeemed. They had cut off from themselves and their successors for ever that corrupt patronage upon which, heretofore, so much of the influence of government depended. With these views of the measure before the house, he earnestly implored honourable members, by their sense of justice to the country—by their respect of what was due to the people—by their regard for the maintenance of that glorious constitution which had been handed down to them by their ancestors—he repeated, that constitution which ministers were endeavouring not to violate but amend—by their regard for the permanency of our institutions, and the peace and security of the state—he called on them by all these considerations, by their respect for the petitions of the people, for what might be lawfully asked, and could not be constitutionally refused—to support his majesty's ministers in their endeavour to uphold and cement the legitimate rights of the crown, the aristocracy, and the people; and by so doing to fix the whole, as well as their own fame, on the imperishable basis of the affections of the people.”

There are two important measures committed to the hands of Mr. Stanley, in relation to Ireland, which must call forth all his energies, and be to his country the test of his probation—namely, the Irish education bill—and the Irish reform in parliament bill. Many other subjects of inferior moment, such as those of tithes, and magistrates, and juries, &c., might be added, were we drawing up a catalogue of his labours. On all and each of these, he has had



to stand prominently forwards, as chief secretary for Ireland, and explain, support, and defend the plans of ministers before the House of Commons. Several of his speeches on these occasions are highly creditable to him, and have raised him to considerable eminence in public estimation.

When the Irish tithe question came under discussion in the Commons, on the 13th of March last, and he had to move a series of resolutions on the subject, he gave a lucid explanation of the causes which render tithe in Ireland peculiarly odious, placing the whole subject before the house with great distinctness. When Sir Robert Peel doled out a string of lamentations over the reform bill, concluding with a prophetic description of the evils that must flow from it—in tones as emphatic and almost as hollow as those of the Bishop of Exeter—Mr. Stanley rose, to wind up the protracted discussion, and he did it in admirable style. He first alluded to what had been said on the opposition side of the house on the subject of a creation of peers for the purpose of carrying the bill through the upper house. “He would not deny,” he said, “that any minister who advised such a measure would incur a grave and great responsibility; and he was equally ready to admit that a minister of the crown, in giving such advice, must rest his defence on the emergency of the times, and upon the only alternative left to him—that of avoiding greater evils. He could not bear it said, that on no occasion, when great and imminent peril arose—when the two houses of the legislature were in complete and total variance with each other—he could not hear it said that on such an occasion, no minister of the crown could take upon himself the responsibility of advising the sovereign to adopt such a measure as would put an end to so fearful a state of things.”

Having noticed the case of Lord Oxford, and the insignificant place which the charge of creating peers formed in the impeachment of that nobleman, Mr Stanley said, “Should the confidential advisers of the crown see it to



be their duty to advise his Majesty to take such a step, they should most assuredly not flinch from the responsibility of giving that advice. Supported by the feelings and the wishes of the country, and knowing, too, the stake for which they played, they would altogether disregard the idle threat, the *brutum fulmen* of an impeachment, with which the honourable and learned gentleman had endeavoured to affright them. Mr. Stanley concluded with a solemn aspiration :—The house was now taking leave of the bill, he hoped, for ever ; and he hoped that, in receiving it favourably, the Lords would follow the example of their ancestors in 1688, who concurred in the resolutions of the other house without an amendment. He trusted the same spirit would actuate the upper house on the present occasion. Heaven grant that they might agree in their judgment with this house, on a measure the most arduous, important, and perhaps perilous, that ever was undertaken ! and, in doing so, they will see that they are consulting the future tranquillity and happiness of the realm, the prerogatives of the crown, and the security and rights of the people.”

But devout as might be Mr. Stanley's aspirations, he was fated to sustain a disappointment. A majority of the “high and mighty lords” opposed the bill, and, in so doing, brought the country to the very verge of revolution. The King, from motives that remain with himself, refused the advice of his servants to create peers, and the best friends of the country trembled for the result. Lord Grey and his colleagues resigned their offices. This was the most portentous period of the destinies of the empire, that we remember to have witnessed. The Duke of Wellington was applied to by the King, to form an administration—but with this express stipulation, that the reform bill, or something equivalent to it, must be carried—and the gallant duke having declared against all reform as unnecessary and uncalled for, he could find no persons of character to enlist under his standard ! The consequence



was, that, after a few days *interregnum*, the attempt to form a new administration proved abortive, and Lord Grey and his colleagues resumed their offices, with an understanding that the reform bill should be carried; which was afterwards done by a certain proportion of the Tory peers pledging themselves not to oppose the bill.

Another measure, of no ordinary difficulty, which Mr. Stanley has had to manage, is "The Irish education bill," and here he has had to encounter a torrent of rancour, malignity, and misrepresentation almost unparalleled in cases of this kind. It was in October 1831, that, in his capacity of chief secretary for Ireland, he addressed a "Letter to his Grace the Duke of Leinster, on the formation of a board of commissioners for education in Ireland," &c.: in this letter he explained the motives of the government in constituting this board, the powers which it was intended to confer upon it, and the objects which it was expected to bear in view, and carry into effect. A bill was accordingly introduced into parliament, having for its object the establishment of schools, and regulating the plan of education in those schools. The object of ministers was to adapt the plan of education to the circumstances of a mixed population, the great majority of which were Catholics, and consequently averse to the general and indiscriminate reading of the Bible.

Though the plan was excellent and unexceptionable, it was soon denounced by the leaders of the Protestant party, or, as it is termed, the Protestant Ascendancy, as a concession to the Catholics, and accordingly denounced as ruinous to the cause of religion in Ireland. A handbill was almost universally circulated, of which the following is an extract.—"Protestants, awake! Friends of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Bible, to your standards! A conspiracy is formed; the powers of earth and hell are combined against the Lord and his Anointed. The armies of infidelity, of Romish papacy, and liberalism, are united, to extirpate the word of God from the earth. They have



begun their experiment upon Ireland; and if you suffer them to make good their ground there, you may rest assured that they will speedily extend their conquests. Shall the Bible be wrenched from the hands and hearts of the children of Ireland? Shall the word of God, and all that has been done by Christian liberality for Ireland, be trampled under foot, and scattered to the wind, at the bidding of the Roman Catholic priesthood?"

In this raving style the hand-bill proceeded, calling upon all Protestants to come forwards without delay, and sign a petition to both houses of parliament against the proposed education bill. When the petition was presented to the Commons, March 6th, Mr. Stanley rose in his place, to say a few words on the subject. He remarked, that "the system of education which government was attempting to introduce into Ireland was founded on principles which had been sanctioned by various committees of that house. He was far from saying that this system was a perfect one; but it was the best that could be devised under existing circumstances. Government was endeavouring to introduce a system which would unite Protestants and Catholics, and which, in the words of scripture, would produce "love, peace, meekness, gentleness," &c. The right honourable gentleman then concluded an able speech with the following remarks. "It now remained to be seen whether the bitterness of party and political feeling should preclude two great bodies of the Irish community from having their children educated together—from improving their children in the practice of social charities, and from giving more elevated notions of religion in their respective creeds, which would be equally beneficial to all; for though he was not insensible of the errors of the Catholic church, still he conceived it better to have a good Catholic than a bad Protestant. In conclusion, he maintained that the measure of the government, if it received a fair trial, would produce the best effects for the future tranquillity and interests of Ireland."



RIGHT HON.

## LORD AUCKLAND,

*President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint.*

THE family name of this peer is EDEN. His father, William Eden, Esq., third son of Sir Robert Eden, of West Auckland, Bart., after being called to the bar in 1769, became a distinguished public servant. He was successively, a commissioner to negotiate peace with North America (1778)—secretary of state for Ireland—a privy councillor in England—ambassador to France, Holland, &c., and was elevated to the peerage of Ireland, by the title of Baron Auckland, on the 18th of November, 1789, and created on the 23d of May, 1793, Baron Auckland, of West Auckland in the county of Durham, in the peerage of Great Britain. He married the daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, by whom he had three sons and eight daughters, and died on the 28th of May, 1814.

GEORGE EDEN, the present peer, was the second son, and succeeded to the family titles and estates in consequence of the death of his elder brother, William-Frederick, who was found drowned in the Thames, 24th of February, 1810. He was born on the 26th of August, 1784, and is now auditor and director of Greenwich Hospital, president of the board of trade, and master of the mint. The noble baron is, by marriage, connected with several distinguished families. One of his sisters is married to the Earl of Buckinghamshire—another to Lord Bexley—a third to Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne—a fourth to Andrew Wedderburne, Esq.—and a fifth to Charles Drummond, junior, Esq.—and, if we are not mistaken, the lady of



the present Lord Chancellor of England is distantly related to Lord Auckland.

The department, at the head of which Lord Auckland presides, is one that furnishes but few occasions of addressing their lordships at any considerable length. Much of the routine of office devolves upon Mr. Poulett Thompson, who is vice-secretary of the board of trade, and also treasurer of the navy—and as a member of the House of Commons, where all matters of finance and supply must originate, the principal discussions chiefly take place. An occasion, however, was lately given to the noble lord to display his acquaintance with matters of trade and finance, which served in some degree to bring him prominently forwards, and we avail ourselves of it to eke out this short memoir.

On the 9th of March, 1832, Lord Strangford, a member of the upper house, moved an inquiry into the present very depressed state of the glove trade. Lord Auckland rose, he said, with great reluctance, to oppose the motion of the noble lord, as it would be more agreeable to him to give relief to the distress of the manufacturers than to endeavour to persuade their lordships that the appointment of a committee upon the subject would be useless and unnecessary. He would admit that distress did prevail in this trade, and there was no one more anxious to relieve it than himself. But he was, at the same time, bound to say, that the appointment of a committee of inquiry into matters of fact which were not and could not be disputed, and the result of which could not lead to any practical improvement, was much more likely to do evil than good; inasmuch as the appointment of such committee tended to create excitement amongst persons connected with any branch of trade that might be so inquired into, unsettled men's minds, and led them to indulge in speculation, from the hope of there being effected some change in the commercial policy of the country, which was, at present not to be expected. Feeling that no noble lord, not even the



noble mover himself, could accede to any remedy that was looked for by the petitioners, he should oppose the motion. The noble lord had, it was true, urged the precedent of the committees that had been appointed upon wool and coals, and, lately, that upon silk; but these rested upon altogether different grounds, more especially that upon the silk trade, as in this the whole business of the subject must be gone into, while, with respect to gloves, the only evil complained of was foreign competition, and the remedy to be proposed must be prohibition. Now, the duties upon foreign gloves, and the regulations already established, were fixed upon a basis as favourable as possible. The French came into this market upon unequal terms with us, as they had to contend against a protection of 22 per cent. If, however, by their superior skill, they were enabled successfully to contend with us, and to have an advantage in one particular branch of this trade, still in the great majority of its branches they were greatly inferior, and, in point of fact, did not contend with us. A much greater portion of the distress that prevailed was attributed to foreign competition than the facts would warrant.

The Custom-house returns for the last four years, no doubt, shewed that the importation had greatly increased, but the difference between 1828 and 1831 was not as great as had been stated, although there had been a falling off in the years 1829 and 1830. The whole consumption of the kingdom, (as we understood the noble lord) was about 15,000,000 pairs, and the whole importation was only 1,000,000; and we must therefore look to some other cause for the distress that prevailed than importation. It would be prudent to see whether a greater capital had not been invested, and a greater number of persons devoted themselves to this trade, than the demand required. And on looking at the returns before the house, what was the result?—that, in looking to what constituted the raw material of this manufacture, there was a great increase of importation. In 1829, that had amounted to 2,029,000;



in 1830, to 2,900,000; and this year to 4,000,000. Then, looking to the population returns, it would be seen that in the villages in Dorset and Somerset, which were seats of this manufacture, the population had greatly increased. Yeovil in 1821 had a population of 4,660 inhabitants, while in 1831 it contained 5,921, an increase of 25 per cent. In another town, the numbers had increased from 1,440 to 2,072, and in Chard from 3,000 to 5,000, with of course a proportionate increase in other smaller glove districts. There was no doubt, also, that change of fashion had produced a considerable effect, and, besides, a new species of gloves had come into use in this country. Cotton gloves, for instance, were now extensively manufactured; and in Leicester, where upon inquiry he had ascertained that three or four years since, scarcely any gloves were made, there were now 300 looms engaged in this manufacture, which produced 187,000 dozen pairs in the year, and, with other looms in the neighbourhood which produced 10,000 dozen, these gave a total of near 2,000,000 dozens of cotton gloves. Let that be compared with the falling off, and perhaps it would account for it. Worcester, the chief seat of the trade, had formerly sent 7,000,000 pair of gloves into the market, and it had now fallen off 2,000,000, while Leicester alone produced a greater amount. It would be impossible, therefore, to interfere for one, without involving the commission of hostility against another branch of trade.

The noble lord (Strangford) had asked to what good would the appointment of this committee lead; and though not very sanguine on the point, he had still pointed out some means which might be resorted to. But in point of fact, a committee could be productive of no advantage. Were they to raise the duty, which was now  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, it was notorious, that even did they go only as high as 25 per cent, this must lead to smuggling. The noble lord had, it was true, asked why might there not be smuggling in gloves as well as in silk? The answer was, that in some species of silks, the duty was near 70 per cent., and in



these alone was smuggling carried on ; for in the lower-duty silks, as in gloves, there was no smuggling. Another remedy proposed by the noble lord was, to have gloves stamped, but that had been tried with regard to silks, and other commodities, and had failed ; and the effect of a stamp would be, that it would be invariably forged at the other side of the water. Besides, there was another reason to prevent this ; he had examined into the subject, and the result of the evidence at the custom-house was this, that a case of silk which now could be examined in half an hour, would, if stamped, take a day and a half. The noble lord had referred to what he (Lord Auckland) had said a few nights since—namely, that there was no systematic commercial smuggling in gloves ; which was the fact, and upon this point he would refer to the authority of a letter from an under writer at Calais to his correspondent, stating the rates at which he would insure delivery. Gauzes, he stated, he would insure at 20 per cent. ; figured silks, at 18 per cent. ; but he would not advise having any thing to do with gloves, as they would not pay. This was one of his (Lord Auckland's) authorities for denying that there was smuggling in gloves, and he would now say that no smuggling did take place. The main authority, however, he went upon, was that of a great importer of French gloves, to the amount of 200,000 or 300,000 pairs in the year, who had said, that if there were smuggling in gloves, he would not import such a quantity, and pay the duty, while he could get a greater quantity, for less money, the other way. Then the noble lord asked the government to impose a duty, as if to retaliate upon the French government for their commercial restrictions ; but he (Lord Auckland) would appeal to any noble lord in the house, whether vindictive retaliation should be resorted to as a means of increasing the national wealth.

If we were to inquire whether the commercial regulations of France were an assistance to her trade, we should find that there was no country in which they proved so



directly the reverse of a benefit, as France. There was no country more blessed by nature than France, and yet there was no country in which manufactures had thriven worse. If we looked to their silk, to their cotton, and to their iron trade, which was so much protected; and if, further, we looked to her vineyards, we should also see that her protective system left nothing but poverty in the country. This argument might be followed up in every trade to which exclusive protection had been given in France, even to that strange attempt made by her to cultivate the beet-root for sugar. Under all the circumstances, we must look to an increase of our commercial intercourse with France; and the spread of knowledge, with the benefits the countries could mutually confer, would speedily effect this, aided, as it would be, by the friendly feeling that was growing up in that country towards England. It appeared to the noble lord as if the introduction of these gloves were an injury to our industry. It was, however, clear that, notwithstanding the old story of the balance of trade, and in spite of prohibitive laws, importation and exchange of commodities would be continued by means of smuggling; and it was therefore clear, that to continue prohibition would be idle; and he would also say, that for every pair of gloves we imported, cotton, yarn, or some other English goods, went in exchange. In short, it was impossible to accede to the desires of these petitioners without doing great injury to the country; and if we should return to prohibition in this instance, so must we in others, and fancy silks, cottons, and woollens must be included. For these reasons he would oppose granting the committee.









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THE RT HON<sup>BLE</sup> WILLIAM LAMB, BARON MELBOURNE.

*Wm Lamb*

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THE, R<sup>T</sup> HON<sup>BLE</sup> WILLIAM LAMB, BARON MELBOURNE

*He Melbourne*

PRINTED BY SIR THOMAS AGNEW & SONS, LONDON, 1853



RIGHT HON.

## LORD VISCOUNT MELBOURNE,

*Secretary of State for the Home Department.*

WILLIAM LAMB, Viscount Melbourne, Baron of Kilmore, in the county of Cavan, in the peerage of Ireland; and Baron Melbourne, of Melbourne, in the county of Derby, in that of the United Kingdom, and a Baronet; was born on the 15th of March, 1779, and succeeded his father, Sir Peniston Lamb, first Viscount Melbourne, on the 22d of July, 1828. His father, Sir Peniston, represented the borough of Malmsbury in parliament, and was appointed gentleman of the bedchamber to his late Majesty, George the Fourth, while Prince of Wales; advanced to the dignity of Lord Melbourne, Baron of Kilmore, on the 8th of June, 1770; Viscount Melbourne, 11th of January, 1781, and created a peer of the United Kingdom, 18th of July, 1815, by the title of Baron Melbourne, of Melbourne, in Derbyshire. He died on the 22d of July, 1828, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, William, the present and second Viscount—the subject of this article.

He received his education at Eton school, from whence he was removed to Oxford, and at both seminaries gave presage of those attainments and qualifications which have distinguished him among his contemporaries, and eventually raised him to his present high station. While a member of the House of Commons, he spoke frequently, and on constitutional points; and his speeches were always characterized by a grace and fluency which commanded attention, and, as he sided with the Whig party in his general views, he of course gave them his support. His lord-



ship has two brothers in his country's service, namely, Sir Frederick James Lamb, K.C.B., British minister at the court of Madrid; and the Honourable George Lamb, member of parliament for Dungarvon, and under-secretary of state for the home department, a gentleman of considerable literary taste, and a useful member of the house. On the 3d or June, 1805, his lordship married Lady Caroline Ponsonby, only daughter of Frederic, third Earl of Besborough, by whom he has a son, George Augustus Frederick, born 11th of August, 1807, to whom his late Majesty, George the Fourth, stood sponsor.

Previous to his elevation to the peerage, Lord Melbourne, then Mr. Lamb, filled the office of chief secretary for Ireland, during a period of two years. In this situation, he had abundant opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of business, and rendering himself a useful servant of his country. That he possesses talent of the first order, is generally admitted; but his lordship must come more boldly forwards with some popular or useful object, than he has hitherto done, if he desire to substantiate his claim to the honour of a practical statesman. The radicals say of him, that "he is one of those men who are pronounced to be very clever—only they do not shew it. He is reported to be an extraordinarily great man in his home office. His affections, however, have long been notorious for every thing severe and unpopular which a man possessing Whig politics could favour without losing caste. He has been a Whig, who might much better have been cast a Tory of the Castlereagh school. His defence of the new beer bill, so important to the comfort of the poor, and of the purity of the magistracy, was worse than any attack could have been."

This is a somewhat harsh and severe judgment of the noble lord; let us try its merits, and see if we cannot palliate it a little. He is considered to be far too aristocratical for the present "order of the day," and, in this respect, to class with Lords Palmerston and Lansdown. But a



heavier charge against his lordship is, that he is a milk-and-water reformer. He is said, in one of his speeches, to have given it as his opinion, that the reform bill would do little or no good beyond quieting the people; and on this it has been asked, "What has such a cold friend to do in the cabinet?" This, then, is the charge; let us examine upon what it is based.

When the first reform bill came under discussion in the upper house, October 3d, 1831, Lord Melbourne rose to defend the measure, in answer to the Earl of Harrowby, who, in a long and able speech, had inveighed against the democratic tendencies of the bill, which he contended would strengthen, though it would not satisfy, the radical party. The noble lord, after stating what his former sentiments had been respecting reform, and which only the universal demand of the people could change, went on to remark on Lord Harrowby's speech. The arguments of the noble earl, he said, were founded on these two grounds—first, that the clamour out of doors had been produced within the walls of parliament, and secondly, that it was temporary, and, though momentarily strong, would, if resisted, fall back, and be heard no more. Suppose he admitted the first, it was incidental to a popular assembly. Blots upon our constitution were seized hold of by eloquent men, and made the most of in their speeches; but this was the case at all times, and belonged to the very nature of a representative assembly. As to what the noble earl said about the excitement being temporary, and the advantage of delay, it were well if the excitement had been produced at this moment; but when it was seen that year after year, and on every occasion of public distress, the people raised the cry for an alteration in the representation, what conclusion could be formed, but that there resided in the heart of the country a deeply-rooted sense of injustice on this subject—a feeling that there was something usurped of the rights of the people, and that those usurped rights ought to be restored? And he conjured their lordships not to be



insensible to the danger they were in, if they suffered themselves to be considered as parties to the continuance of that injustice. The same species of danger which was removed by the concession of the Roman Catholic question, by which a body of men were admitted to the enjoyment of privileges and honours of which they had been deprived, would be removed by the adoption of this measure, by which a body of men were admitted into the constituency of this country. The danger of refusal was greater in this case: for in the former case the Catholics were a body that could be seen; but here was a hostile body in the very heart of the country, always discontented, and always ready to break out into convulsion—sowing a general distrust and aversion towards government, whilst government hoped there was general repose and perfect tranquillity.

Lord Melbourne put it to the house, whether they were prepared to reject a measure which had been so amply and deliberately considered by the commons; and if so, whether they had contemplated the consequences of their rejection? Would they get rid, by a negative vote, of a measure of this importance, upon a promise of, he knew not what, that some other measure might probably be brought forward hereafter? Their lordships would well and fairly consider the step proposed to them, and he implored them to pause before they disappointed the wishes of so great a body of people. Lord Harrowby had gone into the whole history of parliament—from the American war to the French war; but into those questions Lord Melbourne declared he would not enter. the merits of the bill itself was a question sufficiently large. He begged to consider the question as it stood before their lordships. Let them consider the circumstances in which they were placed. Supposing, what might be easily supposed, that all the members returned by the popular voice to carry this measure were to range themselves on one side; and those who had been returned, in a manner which he need not point out, were to range themselves on the other, he would put it to their lordships what would be the result



of such a state of things, and whether it could long continue : could such a conflict be otherwise than serious ?

In reply to an argument often urged—namely, the difficulty which might in certain cases occur under the new system, of finding seats for official persons—he said, this might, if necessary, be the subject of another enactment. There was nothing either in the present or contemplated system, if such a difficulty occurred, to forbid the application of an adequate remedy. He concluded by warning their lordships, above all things, not to imagine that by delaying they could gain any thing but an increase of force in the popular demands. When the Roman consul pressed the march of the army against the great Cathaginian general before he could join his other forces, and thereby, perhaps, change the destiny of the world, he addressed advice to the senate, which he would presume to repeat to their lordships :—“ Above all things, do not procrastinate ; do not make that measure, which is safe if adopted immediately, dangerous by delay.”

Now, we are at a loss to find any thing to blame in his lordship's speech, to which we have adverted ; let us pursue his history. When the subject of Irish tithes was incidentally mentioned by the Duke of Buckingham, about the end of February last, the Duke of Wellington rose in a state of considerable excitement, to repel the charge that the difficulties of the tithe question had been accumulated by preceding administrations ; and cited the tithe composition act as a proof that they had done all they could to remove them. That act, he said, had been accepted by two-thirds of the parishes in Ireland ; and when he left the cabinet, there were no disturbances in Ireland on the subject of tithes. What was the cause of the present disturbances on that point ? “ My lords,” said the gallant duke, “ the cause is to be found in the encouragement which has been given to agitators to disturb the country. I can tell the noble earl, that so long as encouragement is given to agitators, you may double and treble the regular army in Ireland—you



may heap measure of severity upon measure of severity, but you will not succeed in putting down agitation upon this question, or upon any other question which may follow it."—Earl Grey was roused by this attack upon his administration, and demanded to know in what instance the government had encouraged agitation. He contradicted the accusation of the noble duke, as flatly as the noble duke had contradicted what had fallen from him—he denied its truth. There was no man in the country more anxious than himself to put down agitation.—The Duke of Wellington explained what he meant by ministers encouraging agitation. They did not renew the Irish proclamation act, as they had said should be done. They allowed O'Connell to escape unpunished, by the prorogation of parliament—they gave O'Connell a patent of precedence; there were the letters written by Earl Grey and Lord John Russell to Mr. Atwood, in reply to the thanks of the Birmingham union—there was a meeting of a mob in Regent's park, held on the day the reform bill was thrown out, headed by two persons, one of them in the service of government, and the other a member of parliament: the line of march of that meeting was announced in the government newspapers. From all these facts, the duke drew the inference, that the government was favourable to agitation. The duke said, he felt these things strongly—he felt that the country was in a most dangerous state—he felt that his majesty's government had not only taken no means to stop the agitation, but that they had suffered a lord of the household, and others of their supporters, to go about attending public meetings, to preach up agitation to the people.

Lord Melbourne replied to the Duke of Wellington's accusations. The proclamation act fell with the dissolution of parliament; if the latter was wrong, so was the former. If the dissolution was unchallenged, so must its necessary consequences be. Mr. O'Connell's escape was another of these inevitable consequences. By the act under which he had been prosecuted, it was the con-



current opinion of all the crown lawyers, that he could not be brought up for judgment. And with respect to the silk gown given to him, it was justly due to his professional eminence, and ought to have been bestowed long before. For the terms so often complained of in Lord John Russell's letters, ministers were no more responsible than for other sayings of gentlemen who were their friends. They were, in fact, if he might use so vulgar a word, the slang of the opposition ; and had been used again and again before they were used by the noble paymaster of the forces.

But, then, the noble duke stated, that there had been a public meeting in the Regent's park, at which two members of his majesty's government attended. (" *No, no ; friends,*") " Friends ! How was it possible that his majesty's government could be responsible for the conduct of all its friends ? But the noble duke said, that the line of march which the people were to take was pointed out in the government papers. Did the noble duke mean the *Gazette* ? there was no other government paper. His majesty's government were very glad of all the support which their friends in the press gave them ; but they really could not be answerable for every thing that appeared in the papers which generally maintained their cause, or be expected to contradict every advertisement that happened to appear in them." This silenced the duke.

The second reading of the second reform bill came forwards on Monday, April 9th, 1832, on which occasion Lord Ellenborough made a grand flourish, and afterwards moved that the bill be read that day six months.

Lord Melbourne rose, and said, that he felt extreme unwillingness to address their lordships at that period of the night, being perfectly aware of his incapability to offer any new arguments on the question. He differed from the statement of the noble baron who had just concluded, that the present question was not a question of general reform ; for he considered that their lordships would, by their vote on the present bill, decide whether they would agree to enter-



tain the general subject of reform, or whether they were determined to negative the principle of all reform. The speech of the noble baron who had just sat down was completely and entirely a speech against any reform whatever. All the facts which the noble baron had stated with respect to nomination boroughs, and all the arguments which the noble lord drew from those facts, if admitted, went to this extent—that the whole of those boroughs ought to be preserved, and that no change or alteration whatever should take place. He confessed that he had formerly made use of many of the arguments employed by the noble lord; but they were arguments which went against the whole question of reform; and those who were prepared to maintain things as they were would do well to stand upon those arguments, and vote with the noble lord. But those noble lords who thought that some reform was necessary, and who, upon looking at the signs of the times, believed it to be impossible to maintain the present system of representation, would require no reply to be made to the noble lord's arguments; because they were all answered by the great and overwhelming consideration that reform there must be, and that the present constitution of the House of Commons could not be maintained.

He felt that he could, on the present occasion, do very little more than repeat those observations which he had the honour of addressing to their lordships when the former bill was under consideration. He begged leave to say, that in giving his support to the present bill, he had no intention to hold out any delusive expectation to the country that the condition of the general body of the people would, on its passing, be ameliorated. He supported the measure strictly because he believed that the feeling of the country was so strong on the subject, and public opinion so disjoined and separated from the existing state of things, that it was impossible for any government to refuse with safety to place the representation of the people on a broader and more extended basis. The vices and imperfections of the present



system were plain and prominent. They stood upon the surface, and struck every body's view, and had excited the indignation of the people. On the other hand, all the advantages of the system, and he did not deny that it possessed many, were concealed and hidden from observation, and could only be discovered by abstruse reasoning. When he saw that the feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing state of things was deeply rooted in the public mind, he felt it to be absolutely necessary for parliament to try and extend the basis of the representation, and place it on a foundation more agreeable to the feelings, and more suited to the understanding, of the country. When the noble lord told him, that by so doing he was yielding to the mob, and giving himself up to the winds and waves of democracy, he replied that he was yielding to the understanding of the people. To that alone he would yield, and to that, it was one of the terms and conditions of a popular government to yield:—*Est enim hæc conditio liberorum populorum, posse suffragiis vel dare, vel detrahere, quod valit cuique.*

The noble lord then proceeded in a low tone of voice to refer to the opinion expressed by the Duke of Wellington when in office, on the subject of reform, and attributed the breaking up of his administration to his determination not to bring the question under the consideration of parliament. He did not remember that, at the time the present ministers accepted office, and declared that they would propose an efficient measure of reform, any other person but the noble duke had expressed his disapprobation of the principle upon which the government was determined to act. The principle seemed to be generally acquiesced in; and government felt themselves bound to propose their measure as soon as they conveniently could. But it was objected that the present measure went too far. He was of a very different opinion; and he thought that when the legislature determined to make concessions, it was absolutely necessary that the concession should be full, fair, and complete. It was impossible to bring in a bill of



less extent than that which was now before the house ; and if those persons who objected to it had an opportunity of trying a plan of moderate reform, they would find themselves involved in much greater difficulties, absurdities, and contradictions, than those of which they accuse the authors of the present bill." He implored the house not to conceive that the silence, which had at present prevailed in the country was the silence of indifference. The noble lord again alluded to the conduct of the Duke of Wellington on the question, and, after passing a high eulogium on the character of the noble duke, concluded by entreating him to reconsider his opinion on this important subject. He also implored the house to allow the bill to pass the second reading. He admitted that the bill proposed great changes ; but he was convinced that not only would the advantages which were anticipated from it be produced, but there would also arise on every side collateral blessings and unexpected benefits, which would shew the genial nature of the soil in which the seed had been planted."

This is certainly not the language of one who is indifferent to the cause of parliamentary reform, and the noble lord has good reason to complain of the misrepresentation to which he has been exposed from some of his own camp. The post which Lord Melbourne occupies, namely, that of home secretary, is, in the present agitated state of the country, one of paramount importance and extreme difficulty, requiring unremitted attention and herculean labour. But when we look back to the time of his coming into office, contemplate the appalling scenes of incendiarism, murder, and insubordination which then prevailed, and compare with them the tranquillity we now enjoy, we do certainly think the country has no reason to complain that Lord Melbourne fills the office of home secretary *vicé* Sir Robert Peel.









Painted by H. Hamilton.

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WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKET, D. C. L. BARON PLUNKET.

*Plunket.*

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## THE

## RIGHT HON. LORD PLUNKETT,

*Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.*

**WILLIAM CONYNTHAM PLUNKETT, D.C.L.**, the subject of this sketch, like the present lord chancellor of England, owes little to birth or fortune for his present elevated station. He is the son of a dissenting minister, and was born in 1765, in a small town in the county of Fermanagh, in the north of Ireland. The father died while Mr. Plunkett was yet young, leaving his son no heritage but poverty. His name, however, was respected by his congregation, and his offspring found little difficulty in obtaining the rudiments of a literary and classical education. In due time Mr. Plunkett quitted his native province, and, about the year 1780, he was entered an out-pensioner of Trinity College, Dublin. In the groves of the academy his progress was rapid, and, ere he was advanced in his teens, he obtained a scholarship. The mother and sisters of Mr. Plunkett followed the young man up to the metropolis, and, according to report, supported themselves by vending tea in a small shop in Jervis-street, Dublin.

Magee, the late archbishop of Dublin, was a fellow-student with Plunkett at the University. He was born in the same province as the latter, and of still more lowly parents, his father being a strolling pedlar. An intimacy commenced between the parties, which soon ripened into friendship. They had both been distinguished in their academic career—they were both of humble fortunes—and ‘the world was all before them where to choose.’ Without difficulty or delay, these young men jointly determined on embracing the bar as a profession; and, with a view to this, Mr. Plunkett made a journey to London, and entered his name on the Temple



books. Magee, however, remained in his native land, and a vacancy having occurred, he was elected to a fellowship in the Dublin University, after a most distinguished competition, in which he was allowed to have been fairly victor. Notwithstanding his fellowship, Magee still hankered after the bar—and only took orders by the almost compulsory and inexorable entreaties of the provost (Hutchinson.) Had he been left to the exercise of his own free choice, Ireland had escaped the affliction of a politico-theological bishop, who, at one period, set that unfortunate country in a flame.

Mr. Plunkett was called to the Irish bar about the year 1790. Though his fame at the university, and in the historical society, had preceded him, still, some years elapsed before he got into much practice ; but he persevered, undismayed and unbroken in spirit. After a time his success became almost unequivocal, and he secured it by his diligence, his aptitude, his learning, and his talents.

Mr. Plunkett first entered parliament, when the measure of the union between the two countries was in agitation, and he became a determined opposer of it.\* His speech in reference to it is no less remarkable for its boldness than its eloquence. “Had I a son,” exclaimed the orator, “I would, like Hannibal, lead him to the altar, and make him swear eternal hostility to the enemies of his country. Can it be that this land, which has resisted open and covert oppression, shall fall a victim to such a green and limber twig as this ?” The reader must smile when he is told that ‘the green and limber twig’ was no other than the late Lord Castlereagh : but, as a proof of the evanescent and fleeting nature of all political declarations, and the little regard they are entitled to, the Mr. Plunkett of 1798 had become, in 1821, the fast and firm friend, and political ally, of the same ‘green and limber twig.’ This has been called ‘the most black and grained’ spot in Mr. Plunkett’s political life. In his early days, he had been a radical and republican—in

\* His lordship has lately tendered his apology for this—see a preceding page.



middle life he aspired to the praise of liberality—but who would have expected to find Lord Plunkett offering a pre-meditated defence of the Manchester massacre? This, however, was the price of his admission into the cabinet of Lord Castlereagh, and the deed was worthy of the man for whom it was done.

It was during the viceroyship of Lord Hardwicke, and subsequent to the Irish union, that Mr. Plunkett was made attorney-general for Ireland. In that capacity it became his duty to conduct the state prosecution against the highly gifted, but indiscreet and unfortunate, Robert Emmett. On this occasion he has been charged with unnecessary severity, and it would seem that the accused himself was under the impression, that Mr. Plunkett displayed a zeal beyond the bounds of discretion; for Emmett is said to have addressed the attorney-general to this effect. "That viper, whom my father nourished, was the first to teach me those principles which he has this day denounced." It should not, however, be concealed, that the friends of Lord Plunkett deny this charge, and for his lordship's sake we hope there is no foundation for it. But even could it be substantiated, what is there incredible in it? we all know that the "great statesman," William Pitt, when in the plenitude of power, sanctioned the prosecution of many on a charge of high treason, for urging those principles which himself had taught and advocated before he attained office.

During the administration of the Duke of Bedford, in 1806, Mr. Plunkett was continued in his high office, but he resigned it in 1807, when the Duke of Richmond succeeded his grace of Bedford as viceroy. Untrammelled by the duties of office, Mr. Plunkett now pursued his professional pursuits with zeal and industry, and in process of time became the most successful practitioner in the chancery of Ireland. But the time at length arrived, when the scene of Mr. Plunkett's exertions were to become more extended: for, shortly after this period, he was returned as a representative in parliament for the university of Dublin, in



opposition to the right honourable George Knox, after a severe and protracted contest.

When Mr. Plunkett entered the English House of Commons, the fame of Grattan was waxing old, and his mantle was destined to descend upon the shoulders of the member for the university of Dublin. Mr. Grattan had indeed long cherished the warmest esteem of the person, and highest admiration of the talents, of Mr. Plunkett. The latter had become, at this time, a powerful advocate of Catholic emancipation, and, like Grattan, made it, in some sort, a question of his own—much to the advantage of his fame, though to the marring of his fortune, and as certainly to the promotion of the cause of civil and religious liberty. It is in this point of view that we shall now examine his claims to public favour—and if the reader can overlook the past, making due allowance for the indiscretions of inexperienced youth, the temptations to sacrifice principle to place, and the weakness of human nature, he may be gratified by what is before him.

It is due to the subject of this memoir to state, *in limine*, that a large credit is certainly to be placed to his account for the decided stand which he made for several years in favour of the Catholic claims; his advocating of which, it cannot be denied, injured his fortune for the time, inasmuch as it stood in the way of his becoming lord chancellor of Ireland at a much earlier period than he did. But independently of this, Mr. Plunkett's career, during the government of Lord Wellesley, when he was again made attorney-general, is acknowledged by his own countrymen to have been above all praise. Though he did not kill the "snake" of Orangeism, he severely "scotched it," and this was doing the state no small service.

It would be a pleasure to the present writer to trace the steps of Lord Plunkett in his laborious exertions to procure the removal of the Catholic disabilities' enactments, and placing upon record in these pages those effusions of glowing eloquence with which, from time to time, he has



held the listening senate spell-bound, and at the end succeeded in carrying away *all but their votes!* The collections which have been made from his lordship's speeches with a view to this object, though the fruit of no inconsiderable labour and research, must, however, for the present, remain unused, since it is now found that to indulge our inclination to any extent in this matter, would unavoidably swell the present volume to an inconvenient size, and make it impossible to pay that attention to other servants of the crown, to which they are entitled.

Lord Plunkett's speech upon the reform bill, delivered on Thursday, October 6th, 1831, in the House of Peers, unquestionably ranks amongst the ablest of his parliamentary orations; but independent of that, the connection which it has with the leading design of the present volume evidently gives it a priority of claim to insertion in this place. It was on the third night of the debate, that the noble lord rose to reply to the Earls of Falmouth, Roseberry, and Carnarvon, who had all preceded him that evening—but no inconsiderable part of his lordship's speech was directed towards the Duke of Wellington, who had spoken on a preceding evening—and upon whose parliamentary fame he evidently placed the extinguisher! The gallant duke, perhaps, was never before exposed to so galling a fire; and if we may judge from appearances, even when Napoleon's guard poured down upon him from the heights of La Belle Alliance, at the battle of Waterloo, does his grace appear to have been so much annoyed. The nature of the assault and attack was indeed widely different in the two instances. In the one, his grace had to repel brute force—and in this line he came off victorious. But in the other, he had to encounter soft words, powerful arguments, irresistible reasoning; and the gallant Duke was compelled to succumb!

It may not be improper to remark in this place, that, probably, a finer opportunity never presented itself to Lord Plunkett of displaying himself in his full force, and the



plenitude of his might, than on the present occasion. It is in reply, that he demonstrates most palpably his superiority; for, as no man is more skilful in putting his own case, so no one is half so vigilant in detecting the fallacies and assaulting the weak point of his adversary. A logician by nature, by habit, and by education, he is possessed of a judgment equally refined, subtle, and penetrating; and, probably, no man of the present age is enabled to bring together, in so short a time, and with such effect, all that is necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate the question which he may have occasion to support. A master of luminous explanation, he is never trite or tedious, though always earnest and ardent, and sometimes, though rarely, impassioned. His lordship has no less skill than power, and though he is rarely playful, his sarcasm is perfect, and his sneer most successful. As a speaker, now that Canning is no more, Lord Plunkett may be regarded as one of the first, if not, on some accounts, the very first orator of the day. Though he has not the grace, the wit, the polish, or the playfulness of the late foreign secretary—though he stands confessedly inferior to Lord Brougham in range of information and general usefulness—yet he may be allowed to possess, in a greater degree than any other man living, the art of putting his case in the strongest and clearest light, in the fewest words, and the most select and nervous felicity of phrase. We ask no other evidence of the truth and justness of this sketch of Lord Plunkett's high attainments, than a careful attention to the following speech. It was cheered incessantly from beginning to end, but of these things we can take no cognizance in this place.

Lord Plunkett said, that he was induced to obtrude himself on the attention of the house, with the view of attempting a reply to the very able and powerful speech of the noble earl (Carnarvon) who had just addressed the house. He should in some respects differ from the course taken by the noble earl, for he would attempt to argue the principle



of the bill. With every respect for the noble earl, and paying the full tribute of admiration to the talents which he had displayed, he must assert, and, before he sat down, the house would be able to judge whether he was justified in making the assertion, that he had left the principle of the bill untouched. The noble earl said that he had reluctantly entered into a discussion in which he was opposed to those for whom he professed strong esteem and regard. The noble earl had also stated, that he had listened to the arguments in favour of the bill, with a strong desire to be convinced by them. Had it not been for these direct assertions of the noble earl, which he was bound to believe, and did believe, he should have supposed, from the tone of severity and the strain of sarcasm which pervaded his speech from the beginning to the end, that the noble earl's reluctance was not so very strong as he had led the house to imagine that it was, and that something more than a logical difference on the subject had animated him. He really could not recollect one observation which the noble earl had made upon the principle of the bill. The noble earl had said that ministers were building a new constitution. He had also said that the bill, if carried, was one which would render it impossible for his majesty's government to be carried on. These were positions which the noble earl had adopted, and not laid down himself for the first time. They had been reiterated from the commencement of the discussion up to that moment; and now that the noble earl had ceased to speak, they remained as they did before he began to speak, resting only on mere assertion. It had been stated of this measure, which had been brought forward by ministers, and sent up to their lordships, backed by the authority of the other house of parliament, that it was founded on fanciful theories, that the grievances which were complained of were ideal, and that the bill would destroy a system which was working well for all purposes of public utility, and endanger the constitution of the country. To every one of those assertions he would take upon himself to give a positive



denial. He would not rest on his mere denial, but would state further, that the theory which was opposed to the bill was improper, and at direct variance with the ancient established and acknowledged principles of the constitution.

The persons who complained of injustice being done to them were themselves the usurpers of the power of the realm. He believed that the rejection of this remedial constitutional measure, which had been sent up to their lordships from the commons of England, would be attended with dangers, not imaginary, remote, or trivial, but immediate, vital, and overwhelming. All considerations personal to himself were lost in the deep and anxious alarm which he felt upon this subject. There had been a degree of personal rancour accompanying the attacks which had been made upon the bill and its authors, which proved that something more than apprehension for the constitution influenced the opposition to the measure. Assertions and attacks, such as he alluded to, must not rest upon the authority of those who made them, or on the pertinacity and perseverance with which they were reiterated. They must be tried by the test of reason and argument. There was one circumstance to which he could advert with some degree of pleasure, namely, that the tone originally assumed by the opponents of the bill had been abandoned. He could not avoid observing, that the opposition to this measure had descended from that high tone which it had assumed at the commencement; and he found that this measure of parliamentary reform, which had been at first encountered as an audacious measure of corporation robbery, and as directly tending to overturn the state, was now met by an admission from every person who had spoken from the other side of the house, with one single exception, that reform, and in some considerable degree too, was necessary. He certainly thought that the only person who had denied that reform was necessary was a noble earl opposite. The noble earl was the only person, of all who had spoken on the subject, that entertained such an opinion. It was of course impos-



sible for him to conjecture what was passing in the minds of noble lords opposite ; but among the persons who had taken part in the present debate, or spoken on the presentation of petitions, the noble earl was the only person who had avowed himself the uncompromising foe to any kind of reform whatever. The noble earl to whom he alluded, and of whom he wished to speak with the greatest respect for his talents, had certainly taken a very whimsical course in establishing his position against all reform, and against this specific measure in particular ; for after joining in the general cry of its tendency to overturn the monarchy, and all the institutions of the state, he proceeded further, and said, that the present measure would have the effect of establishing the ministers in their places, and that by reform of parliament they would be enabled to carry on all their injurious measures against the interests of the country. The first use, said the noble earl, which ministers would make of their new power, would be to go to war with Portugal, and the next step to be taken by ministers was to commit the equal outrage, as he believed it would appear in the estimation of some noble lords—of not going to war with France. Then the ministers would proceed to put an end to all the rights of primogeniture, of hereditary property, and, in short, to adopt every one of those measures which were perpetuated in the wildest days of disturbance and folly that ever afflicted the French nation. This really appeared to him (Lord Plunkett) to be a sweeping course, and one which he was not quite prepared to follow. He was only prepared to meet this measure of reform on its own grounds and principles. With the exception of the noble earl, all the noble lords who had spoken on the other side of the house, had declared themselves friendly to some degree of parliamentary reform. He really thought that the noble lord had, in part of the speech which he had delivered that night, expressed himself in favour of some kind of reform ; but he found that he was mistaken, and he certainly had no wish to fix on the noble lord so odious an imputation.



The Earl of Falmouth explained. He admitted that he had said, that if any bill of reform was brought into the house, he would endeavour to give it due consideration; but he had said nothing which implied that he thought a measure of reform necessary.

Lord Plunkett continued.—He said that it certainly had caused him some surprise to find, that though so many noble lords had expressed themselves in favour of some measure of reform—their various tendencies being in different degrees—yet, some how or other, they all joined in an uniform declaration that they would vote against the present bill; and they all joined in the uniform cry which had been raised against it on principles and arguments which equally applied against every kind of reform. This somewhat abated the confidence he might have been disposed to place in the professions of the noble lords opposite, and disabled him from drawing those happy auguries from them which he otherwise should have done. One noble earl, who he regretted most exceedingly, was about to divide against this measure, and who had spoken with such powerful ability on the second night of the present debate, had argued this question in a way which the noble lord (Falmouth) alleged had not been answered by the noble marquis near him (the Marquis of Lansdown.) He certainly thought that the noble lord was correct in stating that the noble earl's arguments had not been answered by the noble marquis; and the reason was perfectly obvious: it was because the noble earl argued, with a powerful ability to which he could not pretend, in favour of most of the propositions which the noble marquis had to contend for. The noble earl had in fact stated that he would have supported a measure of reform founded on the destruction of nomination boroughs; he had also admitted the principle of enfranchising large towns and enlarging the county representation, and the necessity of some substantial measure of reform; and he had expressed his regret that some modified measure of that kind had not been introduced by the noble duke, late at the head of the



administration. The noble earl went farther, and admitted that the particular objections which he had to the machinery of the bill might be satisfactorily discussed in the committee. He therefore thought, that after these admissions of the noble earl, it would have been quite preposterous for the noble marquis to get up and meet arguments which might tend to induce the house to go into committee on the bill. He must say, that the way in which this bill came before the house did appear to him to entitle it to be received with more courtesy, calmness, and mildness than it had received. He must say, that there never was a set of persons less exposed to the imputation of having intruded themselves on the notice of the public, or of having sought for the situation which had imposed on them the necessity of bringing forward the present measure, than his noble friends behind him. He believed that it could not be out of the recollection of the house and of the country, with what a degree of self-devotion those noble persons, session after session, and year after year, sustained the administration of the noble duke opposite, and stood by him, as the supporters of those measures which they conceived to be for the public good. He called it a singular instance of self-devotion, though he thought that the noble duke was entitled to their support when he introduced the measure respecting the Roman Catholic claims. The noble duke on that occasion entitled himself to the lasting and interminable gratitude of the country. He had always entertained that opinion, and he now expressed it with perfect sincerity; and in any observations he should offer, or any reference he should make to words which had fallen from the noble duke, he hoped that he should not be considered as doing any thing inconsistent with a feeling of the greatest respect towards that distinguished individual.

In the month of November last, the noble duke found it necessary to retire from the situation which he then held at the head of this country's affairs. Undoubtedly, the retirement of the noble duke was connected with the subject of



parliamentary reform. ("No," from the Duke of Wellington, followed by loud cries of "hear," from the Marquis of Londonderry, and several other lords.) He thought that the negative had been uttered in so loud a tone, as not to require the echo of the noble marquis. He did not wish to misrepresent what the noble duke had said; but he understood the noble duke to have stated "that it was a great mistake to represent that he had retired from office on account of the question of parliamentary reform: he had said no such thing; what he had said was, that finding that he had not the confidence of the House of Commons, and apprehending that if the question of parliamentary reform were to be brought forward—"

The Duke of Wellington rose to explain what was the statement made by him on the occasion alluded to by the noble lord. What he had said was, that, finding that he did not possess the confidence of the House of Commons, he had determined to retire from his majesty's service, and he fixed on the day on which he retired as the period for offering his resignation to his majesty, on account of a motion having been made and carried in the House of Commons on that particular day. He had stated plainly over and over again, that he did not wish that persons being in his majesty's service, and possessing his majesty's confidence, should go into the House of Commons not possessing the confidence of the house, and be outvoted on the question of reform.

Lord Plunkett was at a loss to know the difference between his statement and that of the noble duke's.

The Duke of Wellington said, that the want of confidence of the House of Commons was the cause of his resignation.

Lord Plunkett knew that it was the want of confidence of the House of Commons; but he understood that that want of confidence was also accompanied with this circumstance—namely, that in consequence of that want of confidence, the noble duke thought it highly probable that he would be defeated on the question of parliamentary reform. He understood from the statement of the noble duke, that find-



ing he did not possess the confidence of the House of Commons, in consequence of the division on the civil list, and apprehending that he was liable to be defeated on the question of reform, he did not choose to expose the government to that risk.

The Duke of Wellington thought the case was simple enough. He certainly had no intention of resigning until after the division on the civil list; and fixed on Tuesday morning after the debate as the period of his resignation, because he did not choose to expose the government or the country to the inconvenience of a discussion on so important a question as parliamentary reform, that government not having at the time the confidence of the House of Commons. (Loud cries of "hear," from both sides of the house.)

Lord Plunkett expressed himself satisfied with the statement of the noble duke (laughter,) who had given an explanation of certain expressions which he had used, exactly in the way in which he (Lord Plunkett) had meant to state them. He would not say what were the precise words made use of by the noble duke, but the impression on his mind was, that the noble duke had resigned his situation in consequence of his apprehension, that, not possessing the confidence of the House of Commons, he might be liable to be defeated on the question of parliamentary reform. What he had stated, he had stated on the authority of the parliamentary reports, and he would refer to the same authority for a declaration made by the noble duke on another occasion. He there learned that the noble duke took an opportunity of declaring, that "With respect to reform, he not only was not prepared with any measure of reform, but that he could not form part of any administration which would propose that question to the consideration of parliament." He really wished, that if he was misrepresenting the noble duke, noble lords would allow him to reply to the misrepresentation himself. It was perfectly impossible for any person to proceed with his argument, if subject to such repeated interruption.



The Lord Chancellor rose, to speak to order. He had been indignantly taken to task, occupying, as he did, the place of speaker in their lordships' house, for not interposing with that which he alone had a right to tender—his suggestions and advice; and he now begged leave, for the sake of the order of their lordships' proceeding, to suggest that there was one, and but one, orderly mode of setting a noble lord right, if he should misrepresent the sentiment of another noble lord, either wilfully, which was not to be presumed possible, or from misunderstanding. The only time, according to the strict order of debate in parliament, for a noble lord so misrepresented to set himself right, if he chose so to do, was to explain after the speech was closed; but it was the constant and most convenient course, in order to prevent an argument being founded on an involuntary misrepresentation, to allow a slight interruption to be given for the purpose of correcting the error. But then this interruption must have a limit, or the consequence would be that the greatest confusion would be introduced into their lordships' proceedings. He was sure that the noble duke would see the disorder that must arise from these repeated interruptions, and would bear in mind that a time would arrive for him to explain, after his noble and learned friend had concluded his speech. But it was, above all things, contrary to order, and could not be endured, that for the purpose of setting right a supposed misrepresentation, the by-standers who had not been misrepresented, and who were no parties to the business, should interfere when the principal himself did not choose so to do.

The Duke of Wellington assured the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, that he felt the justness of his observations, and the necessity of adhering to the orders of the house. He had, however, thought that it would not be improper to correct the noble and learned lord opposite on a point of fact connected with his retiring from office last year; but he begged to assure the noble and learned lord, that he might go on without further interruption from him,



as he should have an opportunity to set himself, if necessary, right with their lordships ; and he only begged them, therefore, to suspend their judgment with respect to the circumstances which had just been alluded to.

Lord Plunkett said, that his only wish was to state clearly and correctly what had fallen from the noble duke ; and it would be much more painful to him to misrepresent the noble duke, than it need be to the noble duke himself. What he understood the noble duke to have said, and the thing was the more strongly fixed in his recollection by having remarked the different language used by the noble duke in that house, and his right honourable colleague in another place—was, that he was not only not prepared with a measure of parliamentary reform, but as long as he held any place in his majesty's councils, he must oppose any measure that might be proposed. As he had just stated, the observations of the noble duke were fixed in his memory by the different language made use of by a right honourable friend of his, who in another place did at first explicitly state, that certainly the question of parliamentary reform had something to do with the resignation of his majesty's late ministers ; and then went on to say, that the then cabinet, not being prepared with any measure on the subject, and not wishing, after their defeat on the question of the civil list, to go out on the question of reform, accordingly resigned their situations. There was a marked distinction between the expressions of his right honourable friend and those of the noble duke. His right honourable friend—

The Earl of Harrowby rose to order. He said that it had always been held disorderly to comment on words which had fallen from any peer in that house ; but the noble and learned lord went further, and proceeded to draw conclusions from a supposed difference between what was said in that house, which he might have heard, and what he imagined was said in another house of parliament by an individual who was not then present. He was satisfied that the noble and learned lord would, on reflection, see that this was



a mode of commenting, not on the conduct, but on the words of members of parliament, which must be attended with the greatest possible inconvenience, and was equally contrary to the rules of both houses of parliament. He really trusted that the noble and learned lord would feel that it was not necessary, in the discussion on the present measure of reform, to make a detailed comment on words, the authenticity of which it was impossible to ascertain.

Lord Wharncliffe confessed that he did not see any thing disorderly in the noble lord's referring to the words spoken by a right honourable gentleman in another place in a former session of parliament. Those words were now matter of history ; where the noble and learned lord found them, he knew not ; but they were matter of history, and it was the common practice of their lordships, and of the other house of parliament, to refer to debates which had taken place in former parliaments, and argue on particular expressions used in them.

Lord Plunkett said he referred to the language used by his right honourable friend, as to a matter of history. He was not going to make an inquiry into the conduct of the noble duke, or of his right honourable friend, but he wished to point out the difference between their expressions. It appeared to him that a studied mode of expression was adopted by the right honourable baronet ; for he said that the late cabinet were not then prepared with a measure of parliamentary reform, and ministers, under those circumstances, having been defeated on the question of the civil list, and apprehending what might be the result of meeting the House of Commons on the question of reform, did not choose to encounter the event. Their lordships would observe that the right honourable baronet said, "that the cabinet were not prepared with a measure of reform ;" while the noble duke said "they were not only not prepared with a measure, but that as long as he formed part of his majesty's cabinet, he should feel it his duty to oppose any proposition for reform." The result of this was, that the late admini-



stration was broken up under the impression that in the circumstances in which they were placed, they were not able to meet the question of parliamentary reform in the House of Commons. This was the inference which he drew from the declarations made by the late ministers, and he thought it a very important one. Upon the dissolution of the late government, the present administration came into office, avowedly on the principle that some measure of parliamentary reform was absolutely necessary; and that the government of the country could not go on without it. This was all he wanted to establish. The noble duke and his colleagues unanimously resigned office, because they could not meet parliament in the then state of feeling on the subject of parliamentary reform. The head of the government was determined to oppose all reform as long as he continued in the cabinet, but his right honourable colleague only said that he was not prepared with a measure of reform. They both, however, resigned, and it did not appear that any measure of reform, of however modified a nature, had been suggested to their sovereign, in the possession of whose confidence they at that time stood. Therefore he had a right to say that their retirement from office, and the coming in of their successors, were connected with the question of parliamentary reform. Was it any ground of attack on his noble friend at the head of the government, that when called upon by his sovereign—whom his former servants he would not say had abandoned, but had declared their inability to serve any longer, to form a government—he did not refuse to obey that call, and did undertake to carry on in that difficult crisis the public business of the state, on the known and avowed principles on which he had been in the habit of acting? his noble friend had in the first instance explained the principles on which he accepted office, and amongst them were, the principles of economy, of non-interference, and, primarily and particularly, of parliamentary reform. In consequence of the declarations made by the noble earl, a measure of reform was introduced to the consideration of



the late parliament. The noble lord who had just sat down had said, with respect to parliamentary reform, "that the breeze had been fanned into a hurricane by the noble earl," from whom he was so unwilling to differ. Did the noble lord conceive that the noble duke opposite was likely to be moved by such a breeze? He rather inferred from the change of government, that the breeze had already assumed the character of a hurricane, and if his noble friend, now at the head of affairs, in endeavouring to allay the hurricane, rode on the whirlwind, he could not be said to be directed by the storm.

A measure of reform, the same in substance, and for efficiency of purpose, as the one now before their lordships, was introduced into the late House of Commons. It was there canvassed in all its parts by friends and enemies. It underwent a most severe scrutiny, and the principle was adopted by what he could not call a very large majority, for it was carried by a majority of one only. His Majesty's ministers afterwards, finding they were about to be baffled, took his Majesty's pleasure on the subject, whether, for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the people, not with respect to that particular measure, (but still it so happened that that measure was in the singular position which he had stated,) the parliament should not be dissolved. The people, thus appealed to, expressed their opinions with a degree of assent amounting almost to unanimity, and though the entire subject of parliamentary reform had been opened, their opinions applied to that particular measure which had been so rigidly canvassed in parliament, and they exercised their suffrages so directly in reference to that measure, that their representatives had been termed delegates. He appealed to those noble lords who recollected what had passed in the country, whether they ever recollected elections to have been conducted with a greater degree of order and regularity? With respect to Ireland, he was sorry to say it was difficult to mention at random any period of the history of that country, during which a



state of perfect tranquillity might be found; but still there had been no disturbance there since the dissolution, connected with the elections. The same thing might be said with respect to England. He mentioned this circumstance, because attacks had been made in connexion with this measure of reform, not merely on the government, but also on the people of the country, who had been accused of unfitness to form the basis of free representation. The elections having been conducted with such tranquillity and propriety, the discussions in the House of Commons having been conducted, on the part of those who introduced this bill, with as much deliberation as any debate in the history of parliament, and the bill having passed, after some amendments, by an overwhelming majority, it certainly did surprise him to hear a noble baron (Wharncliffe) take upon himself to say, that after this specific measure had been submitted to parliament, and the opinion of the people taken on it, when petitions were presented declaring their approbation of this measure, those petitions only meant to convey approval of reform generally. On what authority the noble baron made such a statement, he did not know; but he was sure that if the petitions referred to any measure, it could be no other than the one before the house.

This measure having been brought forward under the sanction of government, and under the sanction of his Majesty, as implied in his authorizing the government to propose it, and having passed through the House of Commons, certainly was entitled to be treated with a great degree of courtesy by their lordships. He did admit that their lordships were fully entitled to canvass the measure in all its parts, freely and fearlessly, in the exercise of their duty. But although their lordships were in the exercise of their undoubted privilege in the present circumstances, they were to recollect that they were sitting in judgment on the people of England, and on a subject peculiarly—and so far as any subject that could come before their lordships could be, exclusively—relating to the privileges of the other



house of parliament. He, therefore, could not too anxiously implore their lordships to consider well, before they adopted the desperate experiment of rejecting this measure, what were the consequences which might result from that rejection. He was satisfied their lordships would think, that whatever might be the ultimate fate of the measure, it was entitled to receive the most respectful attention of that house. A good deal of sarcasm had been thrown out in that place against the people of England. He again said, that there had been some smart sarcasms and polished epigrams thrown out against the people of England; but the noble lord opposite had got up a great deal of pointed irony and polished epigram, though he had omitted to touch any real part of the subject—at the expense of the people of England. But he (Lord Plunkett) would say, that that people, whose petitions had been sent up in such numbers to their lordships, and whose rights were involved in this question, were no light, giddy, and fantastic multitude—no rabble labouring under a temporary delusion, but a great nation, intelligent, moral, instructed, wealthy—a nation as much entitled to respect, and with as many claims to favourable consideration, as any nation in ancient or modern times. Therefore, when noble lords attacked this measure, and said that, if it was carried, it would give the people of England the means of overthrowing the throne and the church, and abolishing all our venerable institutions, he would ask those noble lords, if such were the effects to be apprehended from the measure if it were carried, what would be the effects if it were not carried? But he affirmed that the charge was totally untrue. The people of England had no such objects. They were too sensible to indulge any such rash schemes. But if our institutions were such that they could not be sustained without repressing the just complaints of the people, why, he would say, they were not worth the tax we paid for them. But he again said, that the charge was a libel upon the people of England; it was an attack upon the charac-



ter of the country which was as dangerous as it was untrue. Then the matter for their lordships' consideration was, whether they had reason to think that this was a mere popular burst, which would soon die away, and that all would become calm again in (as a noble lord said the other night) about two years; that they were consulting the interest, and the tranquillity, and the safety of the country by rejecting this measure; that the Commons House of parliament, which had passed this bill by a large majority, was ready to recede from the measure, and that the people of England were disposed to abandon it. If their lordships rejected the measure, and they got locked in the wheels of the other house of parliament, so that they could not go on, what would be the consequence?

The noble lord (Wharncliffe) had said that the only consideration for their lordships was, whether this was, or was not, a right measure, and that they were not to look at consequences. This was a doctrine almost too monstrous, he should have thought, for a sane man. If the wheels of the government were to be stopped in the way he had mentioned, how could the government go on? The noble baron did not argue the principle of the measure, but he went into the details, and contended that the inconveniences of the measure being certain, their lordships were bound to shut their eyes against the consequences of rejecting it, and to stand secure amidst the rack of elements—

“Should the whole frame of nature round them break,  
In ruin and confusion hurled,  
He, unconcerned, would hear the mighty crack.”

Those lines of Addison exactly described the feelings of the noble lord. But he (Lord Plunkett) would affirm, that they were bound to consider consequences; and he would call the attention of their lordships to what the consequences were, if they rejected this bill, under circumstances which would prevent the introduction of a measure of equal efficacy. Where, he would ask their lordships, were



they to look for strength, on the dissolution of the present government? The noble duke opposite was one of the first persons to whom the eyes of the public would be directed in such a case. It was with reference to this that he had been so particular in endeavouring to ascertain the exact words used by the noble duke on a certain occasion. But if the noble duke was then unable to go on with the government of the country, because at that period he had lost the confidence of the House of Commons, and was apprehensive of what might be the result of that loss of confidence, did the noble duke conceive that he was now restored to the confidence of the House of Commons, and that he had a better chance now than before, of parrying the question of reform? He (Lord Plunkett) did not think so; and great as might be the misfortune to the country, that the noble duke should be prevented from carrying on the business of the country, he did not conceive how the noble duke could join other members of his own party who had declared for partial reform. As to the noble earl (Carnarvon,) the noble duke could not calculate on him, because he had got to the kitchen. He would ask their lordships whether they seriously thought there was any chance of safety to the country, if this measure was rejected? When noble lords made violent appeals, and called upon the reverend bench to attest their solemn appeal to Providence, he hoped they would task their own consciences, at that retired hour, when the still small voice of nature was heard, and then consider whether they were satisfied with their own conduct, and were convinced they were pursuing a course which was likely to be productive of safety and benefit to their country. Let him (Lord Plunkett) not be accused of offering a threat; it would be presumptuous in him to hold such language. No threats were likely to influence their lordships; no threats of popular violence or insurrection should have, or ought to have, any effect upon noble lords in that house. He trusted that any one there would be ready to join heart and hand in giving assistance



to the government of the country, in resisting every thing tending to insurrection. But the danger was, that things might come to such a pass that the government could not go on—that we should be reduced to a state of utter anarchy. There were questions which noble lords, who made those appeals to the reverend bench, should put to their own minds; for though they might withstand a sudden explosion of popular fury, there was a deeply-seated sense of wrong, ready to burst forth in the hour of danger, which impressed minds of most fortitude with a sense of terror.

Many of their lordships, he thought, might be reconciled to the measure, if he could find arguments to shew that it was necessary to the security of the institutions of the country. He should, therefore, in pursuance of the promise he had made, now proceed to call to attention of their lordships to the nature of the case before them. What was their lordships' place in the constitution? They were invested with noble and high privileges as a branch of the legislature; they were the hereditary councillors of the crown; they were the highest judicial court of appeal in civil and criminal cases, and from their character, growing out of their station, rank, and place in the country, they were entitled to the respect and reverence of the country. Their lordships must not believe that he flattered them, when he assured them that they stood as high in the opinion of the country as any branch of the legislature. Then, were any of these high privileges assailed? No; but what they claimed was a share in the representation of the country. There might be cases in which, for the sake of avoiding mischief, and in discharge of their duty to themselves and to the crown, to resist the demands of the people. But was this one of those cases? If a struggle took place, could their lordships resist the right of the people to a full and fair representation in parliament? "Do as you would be done by," was a simple and sublime maxim which vindicated its divine origin. "Do as you



would be done by ;” and he would ask their lordships if the people claimed any of the privileges of the crown, or of the House of Lords ; if they interfered with their lordships’ hereditary titles, would their lordships be disposed to submit quietly to the invasion ? Suppose they had got possession of those privileges, and an act of parliament was introduced for restoring them to their rightful owners, would their lordships think themselves fairly treated, if the House of Commons, standing on no other plea than their power to do so, threw out the bill ? Their lordships in such a case must submit ; but would it be a sincere, a cheerful submission ? They would submit, but it would be only because they could not help submitting. Then the two cases ran exactly parallel : the people of England were as much entitled by law to a full and fair representation as their lordships to their seats in that house. The principle contended for by noble lords was an unintelligible principle ; it was a claim on the part of an oligarchy—to what ? to a right to return a part of the democracy. The principle was wholly unintelligible, and he defied any phrenologist to point out an organ which could comprehend such an anomaly. He did not think that the accidental circumstance of some members of that house having got possession of a few places in the other house of parliament was any reason why their lordships should consider it unjust to restore them. He had thus got rid of the objection as to any operation of this measure against the privileges of that house.

Lord Plunkett now came to the rights of the throne. All knew what the rights of the throne were. This measure did not interfere with any of the rights of the throne. He was not aware that any language had been used to deny the rights of the throne, the prerogative of dissolving parliament, or calling up to that house those in whose favour it might think fit to exercise that prerogative. There was no doubt, that the King had the right and prerogative of making himself known to his people, and erecting a throne



in their hearts. He thought that what had been said upon this subject was unconstitutional trash. The King's name was not to be used to impute personal blame and responsibility. The King could do no wrong; but to say that the King of England, the representative of the house of Brunswick, which had been invited to this country to protect its rights and liberties, had not a right to make himself known to his subjects as their father and protector, was trash. The King of England was not like an Eastern monarch; we were not to look at a king as an abstract idea; he was entitled to make himself known, and to shew that a king of England could be the father of his people. He had said more than was necessary on this point, because so much had been said respecting the dangers which threatened the rights of the crown, and history had been resorted to for no other purpose than to pervert facts. Our kings in former times had issued their writs, calling on certain inhabitants of counties to return members to parliament, in order to advise the King as to what taxes should be laid on. A right had been given to places to return members, and other places had ceased to have representatives. An instance of the latter had not occurred since Richard the Second, but the former practice continued till a much later period. All this, however, had no concern with the subject; and it was throwing away time to discuss it. But, although the prerogative of the King was not affected by the abolition of nomination boroughs, yet, it was said, if the government could not be carried on without them, what was to be done? He (Lord Plunkett) should like to know how the power of buying and selling seats, and the sellers putting the money in their pockets, could have any bearing on the King's government. Was it quite certain, that though one set of buyers of boroughs might be well disposed to the crown, and might combine together for the King's service and the public good, there might not be other combinations not quite so pure? If the King's government could only be carried on in



that manner, he thought it would be quite as well that the King should carry on his own government.

It was said, however, that these boroughs were not only a necessary protection against the King, but against the people; for that if the people were fairly and properly represented, the government could not go on, and the House of Commons would swallow up all power. This was a most extraordinary doctrine; it came to no more nor less than this—that this was not a representative government; and he would ask if that was a thing to be received by the people of England with acquiescence and satisfaction? It was a most mistaken notion to suppose this to be necessary in a representative government. In such a government, the people had no right to intervene in the duties of the executive government; that would be a democracy; but they had a right to be fully and fairly represented.

It had been said by noble lords opposite, that this was a new constitution—that we were unmaking the constitution; and they were indeed doing so, if the doctrine he had referred to was correct. Unless the people were fairly represented, the King was not safe on his throne. But the doctrine was too monstrous to be maintained. It was not at that period of enlarged knowledge and reflection that such a doctrine could be promulgated without the danger of arousing in the country, from one end to the other, the deepest excitement. So far from innovation, they were reverting to the old and established, and acknowledged theory of the constitution, and those who opposed the change were hostile to that established theory. When the noble lord (Falmouth) called on the reverend bench to defend the present system, he called upon Christian prelates to defend a system of hypocrisy; but he (Lord Plunkett) called on that bench, by the same strong and sacred obligations, to join him in supporting that which was the real constitution. If their theory was the true one, where was it proved to be so? For it was not one of



those truths which lie upon the surface. None of our own writers, some foreigner, had discovered it. How the noble lord had come by it, it was not possible to imagine. Here were gentlemen buying and selling places in parliament for £5,000 or £12,000, which enabled them to come in there, and move on the axis of their own particular interests. They revolved in cycles and epicycles, with more satellites about them than any planet discovered by Copernicus, or any one else; and when it was intended to deprive the favoured inhabitants of A and B of the light of those luminaries, it was supposed that the laws of nature were about to be repealed. These were the men who, in defiance of the king and of the country, would uphold this system for the exclusive benefit of themselves, and to oppose a measure which had received the sanction of the House of Commons and of the country.

And now one word with respect to the allegations—for to call them arguments would be bitter irony—of noble lords, founded on the great changes which the bill, according to them, would introduce into the established institutions of the country. “These institutions,” say they, “have been framed by our wise and venerated ancestors, to last for ever—the country has flourished under their influence, and oh! beware, you puny moderns, and do not touch with your rash hands what has received the sanction of time, and been formed in the spirit of the wisdom of antiquity.” Now let him ask these sapient expounders of the wisdom of our ancestors, whether the world had grown older or younger since our ancestors followed their ancestors to the tomb? To believe these noble lords, the world was every day growing younger, and the old age of the world was its infancy. With them, groping in the dark was light, and wisdom and experience but another name for youthful ignorance. Indeed, he was sure that if he divided the house on the question, whether the world was not actually younger and less experienced in the year 1, than in 1831, he was sure that many noble lords opposite would vote in the affirmative. What if



our ancestors were as blind worshippers of their ancestors as noble lords, wise in their generation, would fain just now persuade us to be of theirs, was no advantage to be taken of increased knowledge—of increased experience—of the relations of society being better understood because contemplated under a greater variety of aspects? Were circumstances the growth of time, and change the growth of both, in the habits of thought and action in the people—and the increased and increasing diffusion of knowledge—and, above all, time, the great innovator—of no influence? And, what was the change? why, that change should be effected in the machinery of a branch of the constitution. Pray what was the history of the constitution? were noble lords, who objected to all change, read in that history? it should seem not, for otherwise they must know that the history of the constitution was nothing but the history of its changes, and the English constitution might be shortly denominated a succession of legislative changes. Such it would be found by any man who went about writing its history. But of all these changes, the most numerous and most extensive—that is, the chapter of the history of change which would be found to be most various and diversified—would be that of the change of the constitution of parliament. Why, the very peerage, as at present constituted, was a change from its original character under our infallible ancestors. Were noble lords aware that their original right to sit in that house was derived from a species of tenure, of which the whole peerage now contains but one instance—that from the possession of certain lands or tenements? If so, must they not admit that their right to sit there, being different from the original one, their actual constitution was a great departure from the wisdom of our ancestors? Was not, he repeated, the whole history of parliament a history of change? Was not the sweeping away some thirty mitred abbots from that house by Henry VIII., a great change? Then, was not the addition of sixteen representative Scotch peers by the union with Scotland, and of twenty-eight representative



Irish peers by the union with Ireland, great changes?—the rather, as the nature of their tenures of seats in that house were wholly different, not only from that by which the English peers exercised their functions, but also from each other. The English peers were hereditary, that is, they sat there by descent and possession; the Scotch peers sat there by neither descent nor possession, nor for life, but for a single parliament; while the Irish peers were elected to sit for life, but, as with their Scotch brethren, not from descent or possession. Look then again at the rotation system of the Irish bishops, so different from that which regulated the English bishops, with respect to the right to take a part in the proceedings in that house—in itself a great change from the original constitution of our ancestors. Again, let them consider the numberless changes which had been made in the oaths taken by members of parliament since its first constitution—all, all shewing that the history of the English constitution was the history of a succession of legislative changes.

But, say noble lords, “This is all very true; but these changes in the constitution were gradual and imperceptible, while that now proposed by the noble earl was of unparalleled rapidity.” The answer was simple; rapid was a term of degree that is relative to circumstances, and change was a term different in its meaning from restoration. The bill proposes no change not rendered imperative by circumstances, and only effects the removal of abuses which have been the growth of two centuries. The circumstances which at present justify the change explain the rapidity. But then again, say noble lords, “admitting the necessity of some change, and that it should even be a rapid one, why should it be so extensive? was not such extent fraught with danger to all existing institutions?” His answer was, that the safety was to be found only in the extent of the measure. For mark the reasoning of these noble objectors to an extensive measure of reform:—“We all,” say they, “admit the necessity of some measure of reform; not, be



it understood, because we conceive that justice or sound policy recommend it, but because the public demand is so pressing, that, judging by the signs of the times, we cannot help making some concession." Now, was it possible for the veriest enemy of the institutions of the country to teach a more dangerous lesson than was contained in this admission? does it not teach the people, that though nothing would be granted on the score of justice, much would be yielded to importunity? and was this the language befitting a British statesman? The duty of a statesman worthy of the name was of a far other character. He was not to be merely watching and veering about with every breeze of the popular will, to borrow a metaphorical illustration from the noble earl, and to merely shape his measures as the popular vane indicated. No; a statesman should take his stand upon an eminence, from which great general principles and lofty views revealed themselves at every step—from which he could, uninfluenced by mere temporary exigencies, clearly see the people's rights and his own duties, and, while seeing them, perform the one by granting the other. From this position he should only descend, to counsel and to decide—to see that the people should enjoy their right, and, if he found himself capable of effecting this good, he was bound not to await the bidding of the public voice, but to raise the standard of political improvement in the advance of the people. His duty it is to devise for the wants of the people, to advise them, to moderate them, to be their leader and conductor to freedom and happiness. This was the duty of a statesman, and he who was incapable of it, or who neglected it, however he might win favour with noble lords, so, if we took their own words for it, infallible, disinterested in their judgment, would be held in just contempt by an enlightened posterity. The statesman who had discharged his duties in the manner which he had just glanced at, alone could turn round to the people—in the case supposed by the noble earl (Harrowby) opposite—and say to them, should they unfortunately be induced by mischievous advisers to



exceed the limits of discretion, "I have been no ill-natured spy upon your actions, I have honestly endeavoured to execute the trust confided to me for your benefit. I stand here as your friendly adviser, and tell you, for your own sakes, to arrest yourselves in your progress, and thereby enjoy the blessings which Providence has bestowed upon you." Such an appeal would be irresistible. He felt confident in the good sense of the people of England, and was convinced that such seditious papers as those circulated at a Westminster meeting some years ago, would, so far from influencing the people to mischievous ends, recoil upon their promulgators.

And now he begged to touch upon one other topic before he sat down. It was an old argument with the opponents of reform, that the constitution worked well, and could not be bettered. This was partially true, so far as it applied to many of the institutions of the country—it was false as it applied to the subject matter of the present bill. It was true that the constitution worked well, if by the term was understood the several institutions of the country; it was equally true that it worked ill, so far as the representation of the people was concerned. He entirely subscribed to the several panegyrics which had been made upon the practical working of most of our institutions. Their laws were sound and admirably administered; their judges were learned and honest; their juries impartial; their magistrates upright; their clergy pious and well-informed; their finances judiciously managed; and their several offices of state ably filled; but this had nothing to say to the question before them, which was, whether the people were or were not duly represented? No man pretended to deny that our representative system required some amendment, so that it could not be said that the "work-well" eulogy could be predicated of it. It was true that a noble earl (Carnarvon) opposite maintained that it could; that the representative branch of the legislature did work well in practice, and he quoted passages from



speeches of Mr. Fox and his noble friend, (Grey,) delivered many years ago, in order to shew that they also had been of the same opinion. But the noble earl strangely overlooked the very important fact, that the speeches to which he referred, as containing eulogies on the British constitution, were actually made for reform in parliament, and that these eulogies were a part of the argument for that reform. It was plain then, that some of the institutions of the country might be, or they actually were, very good in principle and efficient in practice, while others, the representative one, might be neither one nor the other. It had been asked, but what, after all, would be gained by this bill? He answered, that the people would be satisfied, and that hardly a greater benefit could be conferred upon a nation than to remove all sources of dissatisfaction.

Need he add, that no dissatisfaction could be more dangerous than that of an enlightened and wealthy people with those who would deny them the means of a pure system of representation. The truth was, that no argument could be more fallacious than the work-well one, for it would be found that beneficial results had grown up under circumstances of a most baleful nature, to which it would be absurd to attribute them. For example, the Irish parliament, for thirty or forty years before its gross and scandalous profligacy led to the act of Union, was a mockery of the very name of representation, containing, as it did, two hundred members, over whose election the people of Ireland had as much control as the people of Siberia, and who had no occupation but venality, and sordid self-aggrandizement; and yet that parliament, perhaps he should say in spite of it, owing chiefly to the exertions of a band of patriots and orators, of whom Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan were the leaders, was instrumental in raising Ireland from barbarism to comparative civilization, from poverty to comparative wealth, and in enabling Ireland to make the most rapid strides towards commercial importance. That profligate parliament passed wholesome mea-



asures with respect to trade—repealed bigoted laws—removed several of the penal disabilities against the Catholics—and yet, surely, not even the noble marquis (Londonderry,) who was so eccentric in his political idiosyncrasies, would venture to say that the Irish parliament was a faithful representation of the people. The Union put an end to that monstrous system of profligacy, and, as completed by the admirable measure of Catholic emancipation, for which the friends of Ireland never could be too grateful to the noble duke (Wellington) opposite, had effected much towards improving the representation of the Irish people. But much remained to be done, which only a measure like the present could accomplish. The noble and learned lord proceeded to observe, that though he had, when early in his political career, raised his voice with vehemence against the measure of the Union, and though he was far from regretting his conduct on that occasion, he now, that the measure had been completed, would resist its repeal to the last moment of his existence. Notwithstanding its monstrous abuses, the Irish parliament effected some good, as, notwithstanding the monstrous absurdity of the present representation of Scotland, the people of that country had advanced in wealth, intelligence, and national prosperity. But would any man deny that the people of Scotland were dissatisfied with their mockery of a representative system? Could he deny that they would be thrown into a state of frenzy and fury by having their hopes of reform disappointed? It required no very minute acquaintance with that country, to be able to answer the question with confidence; all that was wanting was a knowledge of the ordinary workings of human nature. That knowledge shewed that the natural result of increased wealth and intelligence was an increased anxiety for the possession of that right, without which these advantages lose half their value, namely, political freedom.



THE RIGHT HON.

SIR THOMAS DENMAN,

*His Majesty's Attorney General.*

MR. DENMAN, like his two illustrious friends, Brougham and Plunkett, is not a scion of the aristocracy, but of plebeian origin—he sprang up from among “the people.” And to his praise be it recorded, that he seems never to have lost sight of the fact; for, amidst all the honours that have bloomed around his path—whether as a first-rate barrister, as raised to the rank of common-sergeant, as solicitor-general to Queen Caroline, attorney-general to the King, and, finally, as member of parliament, he has invariably been the eloquent advocate of the people’s rights, and their steady and consistent friend.

His father, Dr. Denman, was a physician of considerable eminence, but who, nevertheless, rose out of obscurity, and by the mere dint of talent and industry raised himself to enviable distinction. He was born at Bakewell, in Derbyshire, in 1733, and at the age of twenty-one came to London, where, in furtherance of his medical studies, into which he had been initiated under his father’s roof, he attended the lectures which were then delivering at St. George’s Hospital. Having availed himself of these, he entered the navy as surgeon’s mate, and in 1757 was made surgeon of a ship of war. In 1763 he quitted the navy, after having served in the expedition against Belleisle, and acquired much professional experience. On returning to London, he commenced business, and published an “Essay on Puerperal Fever,” which brought him into notice. But

“Slow rises worth, by poverty depressed.”



About 1770, he began to deliver lectures on midwifery, and became physician to the Middlesex Hospital. With these advantages, he gradually emerged from obscurity to the very extensive practice and great professional celebrity which he so long enjoyed. He was appointed licentiate in midwifery of the College of Physicians in 1783, and, six years after, elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. His obstetrical occupation and fame now increased rapidly; and from the death of Dr. William Hunter, he was considered as the most eminent of his profession. Several useful tracts proceeded from his pen, most of which have been incorporated in his great work. "The Introduction to the Practice of Midwifery." Towards the decline of life, Dr. Denman gradually relinquished the more laborious part of his practice to his son-in-law, Sir Richard Croft, and became a consulting physician. He died on the 26th of November, 1815, at the advanced age of eighty-three, leaving two daughters and a son, the present Attorney-General.

SIR THOMAS DENMAN was born at St. James's in 1779, and received his education at Eton, after which he was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he prosecuted his studies to the honour of the university, and the perfecting of his reputation as an elegant and accomplished scholar. Having determined on the profession of the law, he was entered of Lincoln's Inn, and called to the Bar in 1805. His practice soon became extensive, and he rose rapidly on the public as a sound constitutional lawyer, and able pleader. In 1815, he received, from Lord Holland, the appointment of deputy recorder of Nottingham, which he resigned in 1820; probably an unavoidable step, in consequence of his offering himself as a candidate to represent the town in parliament.

Mr. Denman's eloquence at the Bar was not likely to escape notice, and in 1818 he entered parliament as representative of the borough of Wareham, but he sat for this place only two sessions, when a dissolution took place, and



his connection with Wareham ceased, his parliamentary conduct having displeased the patron of the borough. In the month of February, 1820, he was appointed solicitor-general to her Majesty, Queen Caroline—an office of short duration, but long enough certainly to afford Mr. Denman an opportunity of displaying talents of the very highest order, and establishing his reputation on an immovable basis. In every part of that unfortunate lady's trial, he acquitted himself honourably, and received from the country a well-earned tribute of applause. But it was in his able and impressive summing up—an address which occupied two days—that he most particularly distinguished himself; and his comparison of the wife of Nero with his unfortunate client, will never be forgotten, where the history of these transactions is read.

Adverting to the moral quality of the witnesses that had been produced against the Queen of England, and the atrocities to which they had deposed, Mr. Denman observed, that “he should have thought no husband possessed of the slightest feeling would have permitted such to have been given in evidence against his wife, even if she had deserted his fond and affectionate embraces, much less if he had driven her into guilt by thrusting her from his dwelling: recollecting that the more depraved he shewed his wife to be, the more he established his own cruelty and profligacy; and the more imputations he cast upon her, the more he was to be despised for having deserted and abandoned her. He had heard examples, supposed to be similar to the present, quoted from English history; but he knew of no example in any history of a Christian king, who had thought himself at liberty to divorce his wife for any misconduct, when his own misconduct in the first instance was the occasion of her fall. He had, however, found in some degree a parallel in the history of imperial Rome, and it was the only case in the annals of any nation which appeared to bear a close resemblance to the present proceeding. Scarcely had Octavia become the wife of Nero, when,



almost on the day of marriage, she became also the object of his disgust and aversion. She was repudiated and dismissed on a false and frivolous pretext. A mistress was received into her place, and before long she was even banished from the dwelling of her husband. A conspiracy was set on foot against her honour, to impute to her a licentious amour with a slave; and it was stated by the great historian of corrupted Rome, that on that occasion some of her servants were induced, not by bribes, but by tortures, to depose to facts injurious to her reputation; but the greater number persisted in faithfully maintaining her innocence. It seemed that, though the people were convinced of her purity, the prosecutor persevered in asserting her guilt, and finally banished her from Rome. Her return was like a flood. The generous people received her with those feelings which ought to have existed in the heart of her husband. But a second conspiracy was afterwards attempted, and in the course of that inquiry she was convicted and condemned. She was banished to an island in the Mediterranean, where the only act of mercy shewn to her was putting an end to her sufferings by poison or the dagger. In the words of Tacitus, "*Non alia exsul visentium oculos majore misericordia affecit. Meminerant adhuc quidam Agrippinæ a Tiberio; recentior Juliæ memoria observabatur, Claudio pulsæ. Sed illis robur ætatis assuerat: læta aliqua viderant, et præsentem sævitiam melioris olim fortunæ recordatione allevabant. Huic primum nuptiarum dies loco funeris fuit, deductæ in domum, in qua nihil nisi luctuosum haberet.*"\* The death of her father and her brother had deprived her of her natural pro-

\* "The public mind was never so touched with compassion. The banishment of Agrippina by order of Tiberius, was remembered by many; and that of Julia in the reign of Claudius, was still more fresh in the memory of all; but these two unfortunate exiles had attained the vigour of their days, and were, by consequence, better enabled to endure the stroke of adversity. They had known scenes of happiness, and, in the recollection of better times, could lose, or at least assuage, the sense of present evils. To Octavia, the celebration of her nuptials was little different from a funeral ceremony."



tectors, who might have stood between her and misery, "Tum ancilla domina validior: et Poppæa nonnisi in perniciem uxoris nupta: postremo crimen omni exitio gravius."\*

The Princess of Wales had left this country, after the first conspiracy had been attempted and had failed: her illustrious friends—those who had basked in the splendour of her noon-tide rays—had then deserted her. Soon afterwards, rumours and reports of the most afflicting kind prevailed, and those rumours and reports at length assumed something of a tangible shape, and her Majesty had been called upon to grapple with them as substantial charges, and he hoped that he had shewn they were utterly unfounded. In that situation, however, she had been deprived of her only daughter; that unhappy child was removed from the means of longer protecting her afflicted mother. In that fatal month which blasted the hopes of England, November, 1817, it so happened that every one of the material witnesses in this case had been discharged from the service of the Princess. It was then that De Mont was sent away, with all her valued secrets; it was then that Majochi was turned away, with all his fearful proofs of he knew not how many kisses; and in the same month those two special gentlemen, Messrs. Sacchi and Rastelli, had been deprived of their situations. Thus this illustrious lady, who was supposed to have sinned with so much boldness, and to have loved with such extraordinary enthusiasm, had ventured to turn loose upon the world the four individuals most capable of proving the case against her, and of reducing her to the lowest stage of disgrace and misery. They were discarded servants, and he would say so, though in time all phrases became hackneyed in the mouths of men: yet, if after the lapse of six years such testimony

\* "She saw herself superseded by the allurements of a female slave; she saw the affections of her husband alienated from herself; and a marriage, by which her ruin was completed, openly celebrated with Poppæa. Above all, she underwent a cruel accusation, to an ingenuous mind worse than death."



was to be received, he would appeal to the house in what situation human society would be placed.

Reference had been made on former occasions to that bill, which had for its object to make adultery a crime. The draft of it was still preserved in the archives of parliament, and excluded from the right of complaining of every husband who had colluded with, connived at, or permitted the offence of his wife. In the debates on that measure, it was admitted on all hands, that it was fit that adultery should be considered a crime; but it was also held, that it was far more unfit that such an encouragement to perjury—such a premium to malignity—should be held out to discarded servants. Adultery was unquestionably criminal in various degrees, but most especially so when the conduct of the husband had been unimpeachable; but when he had been guilty of immoral practices—when he had committed some flagrant breach of his duty, the feelings of mankind would never accord with the condemnation of a wife. He (Mr. Denman) never could reflect upon the condition of discarded servants, with reference to the matter now before the house, without remembering the immortal words of Burke, where he directed the fire of his eloquence against spies in general, but especially against domestic spies: he said that by them “the seeds of destruction are sown in civil intercourse and happiness: the blood of wholesome kindred is affected; our tables and our beds are surrounded with snares; and all the means given by Providence to make life safe and comfortable, are converted into instruments of terror and alarm.” Discarded servants had it in their power at all times to depose to facts on which they could not be contradicted. If any man should dare to swear that the noble consort of one of their lordships had got out of her bed in the middle of the night, unseen but through the key-hole or the crevice of a door, and crept to the bed of a domestic; how was it possible to contradict such a witness, who had been dismissed, notwithstanding his possession of a secret so fatal, but by the general purity of the character of the illustrious



accused, and by the malice of the accuser betraying itself in the very foulness of his charge? One of the servants, in the case of the witness to whom he had already alluded, being questioned upon subjects of this foul and filthy description by one of the persons who had attempted to suborn her, had given him an answer full of female spirit and virtuous indignation—an answer which he preferred to give in the original, because he was unwilling to diminish its force, and because, being less known, the coarseness would be less understood :

Καθαρωτερον, ωΤι γελλινε το αιδοιον η' δεσποινα μη τω σε τοματος εχει.

In the same year, 1820, at the general election, Mr. Denman was returned for Nottingham, in connexion with Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Birch, and has continued to represent it ever since, with the exception of one parliament, namely, from 1826 to 1830, a period of four years, during which he did not sit for any place. In 1822 he was chosen to the office of common serjeant, which he continued to fill from that time to November, 1830, when, on the formation of Earl Grey's administration, he was appointed attorney-general to the crown.

Mr. Denman was returned for Nottingham at the general election of 1830, and being shortly afterwards appointed attorney-general, he was compelled to vacate his seat, but he was re-elected without opposition in November of that year. In the following year (1831) the parliament was suddenly dissolved, in consequence of the failure of the reform bill, and a new election took place, when Sir Thomas Denman was again returned without opposition.

The speeches of Sir Thomas Denman in the British senate, afford an ample field for selection, from which to glean the choicest flowers of oratory, did the limits of this publication admit of our roaming at large among them, and culling *ad libitum*, but that is denied us. He is unquestionably a highly gifted and accomplished orator, inferior to very few, if any, in the great council of the nation. His elocution is



graceful and winning, and his addresses sustained with classic elegance and allusions, which shew the educated gentleman, no less than the powerful pleader. He is always listened to with marked attention, and he seldom fails to recompense it by the information which he affords, and the pleasing manner in which it is communicated. We shall give, as a specimen of his parliamentary tactics, his speech delivered on the 2nd of March, 1831, in defence of the reform bill, in reply to the chivalrous knight of Boroughbridge, Sir Charles Wetherell: merely premising, that we select it not so much for its superiority to his ordinary efforts, as on account of the relation which it bears to the subject of our publication.

The attorney-general rose amid loud cries of "adjourn," which continued for some minutes, and prevented him from obtaining a hearing. Although he was unwilling to persevere in addressing the house after a wish had been expressed for an adjournment—he thought that the manner in which he had been personally called upon to come forward by his honourable and learned friend (Sir C. Wetherell,) who spoke last, would obtain him a hearing in any assembly of English gentlemen which had heard the challenge. They had heard of a tyrannical attorney-general who had been handed to the door by the serjeant-at-arms, and had been driven ignominiously from the House of Commons. He must own that he was much surprised that his honourable and learned friend, when he anticipated his own dying speech in that house, should choose to pair off with so detestable an officer, as that officer was to whom his honourable and learned friend had likened him (the attorney-general.) Really, if his honourable and learned friend had no closer analogy than this to produce—(reiterated cries of "adjourn.") He begged leave to ask honourable gentlemen whether it was intended that they should on all future occasions adjourn at half-past twelve o'clock? if that were to be made a rule, he would not persist in addressing the house at present; but if it were, he wished to know how many nights they intended



to sacrifice to the discussion of this question? were honourable members to be prevented from speaking, because the clock was then pointing to half-past twelve? he assured the house that he was consulting the best saving of its time by requesting to be permitted to speak at this stage of the discussion. He would beg leave to tell his honourable and learned friend, that no two cases could be more unlike than those which he had endeavoured to assimilate together. He admired the good humour with which his honourable and learned friend had compared the purification of the representative system, which this bill attempted to accomplish, to the two purges of the house which took place in Cromwell's time, and to the proceedings on the *quo warrantos* which took place in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., but he must remind his honourable friend, that though they might prove a contrast, they never could bear any analogy to each other. It was with astonishment that he heard his honourable and learned friend, who was well versed in the history of his country and of its laws, make so singular an assertion; and he could not account for it, even when he took into his consideration all the excitement under which his honourable and learned friend evidently laboured. His honourable and learned friend had said that this plan of reform was like Cromwell's purge. What his honourable and learned friend meant by venturing such an observation, he could not pretend to divine. Did he recollect an authority that had always had great weight in the university of Oxford, and that must be well known to his honourable and learned friend? Lord Clarendon, in describing the plan of reform which Cromwell brought forward, said that it was worthy of imitation by other parties. (Loud cries of "hear.") Surely his honourable and learned friend did not mean to say that Colonel Pride's purge had any thing to do with Cromwell's system of reform? The periods of time at which they occurred were very different. It was at a later period than Colonel Pride's purge, when, under the government of Cromwell, a conservative plan was offered to that house to



preserve the three estates of the realm—not to preserve the person of the protector, but to preserve the three estates of the realm as they exist at present—and that plan had no resemblance to the purge of Colonel Pride, when the soldiers stepped into the house, and carried the mace away from the table. Now, as to the *quo warrantos*.

The *quo warrantos* took away certain rights from corporate bodies ; but what rights did this bill deprive them of ? the power of voting is no municipal right. The power of selling a vote to a duke or a peer, or to a duke's nominee or to a peer's nominee, however palatable and delightful it might appear to honourable gentlemen opposite, was not a reason why a corporate jurisdiction was established in any borough. That certainly was not the primary object for which borough corporations were formed ; for his honourable and learned friend the member for Calne, had proved, in a speech which was yet tingling in their ears, and which would dwell in their memories so long as their memories lasted (loud cries of "hear,") that the principle on which the right of representation was originally granted to the people of England, was the very principle on which they were now going to extend it to that portion of the people which was at present without it.

He would now put a question to his honourable and learned friend, who had walked that evening with apparent great delight at his own legislative funeral. "Merrier tears laughter never shed" than those which his honourable and learned friend and his band of merry mourners had poured upon his bier. He was happy to see his honourable and learned friend disporting with such hilarity about his own grave. He and his friends must, one and all, be great philosophers, for they seemed overcome with joy in having an opportunity to make that sacrifice to the public which its welfare demanded. He would ask his honourable and learned friend, and those who were then acting with him, whether there was to be any reform at all ? There was not one argument which they had advanced that evening,



which had not gone to the extent that no reform at all was to be made in the constitution of the Commons house of parliament. He did not say that such was the object of the gentlemen who had used the arguments, but it was unquestionably the point to which all their arguments tended. His honourable and learned friend had said, that he was no enemy to representative improvement. When, where, how, in what shape, had his honourable and learned friend ever professed himself a friend to it? He (the attorney-general) had never heard such a sentiment from his honourable and learned friend before—it was brought forward on the present occasion to break with the public the force of the plan of reform which government had now brought forward: it certainly was not the practical view, which his honourable and learned friend and his habitual political friends were accustomed to take on the subject, and if it had recently become their view, it was because they had been driven to it by the force of public opinion. If they were advocates to any extent, would they inform him what their plan was, and how far it went?

If his honourable and learned friend had ever brought forward any plan of reform, or had expressed a desire to promote it before that night, it was a fact in his honourable and learned friend's history, which he had by some strange fatality completely overlooked. Unless his honourable and learned friend and his political associates meant to say that the miserable plan of disfranchising Evesham and East Retford was their plan of reform, and was one with which the public ought to be satisfied, he knew of no plan of reform which they had ever patronized. That because in Evesham money had been paid to the electors, and the payment of it had been discovered by a committee formed of members who had only not been found out in making such payments,—that because they were ready in such cases to make the most vigilant inquiry into the number of poor wretches who had contaminated their fingers with the bribes held out to them by their wealthy tempters,—that because they



were willing to do this, they were to represent themselves friendly to reform, was a project, against which he, as an honest man, felt bound to enter his protest. He looked upon a plan of reform so difficult, and distant of execution, to be a needless expense of money and of time, and an insulting hypocrisy to the people at large. Even the noble duke, who on the first day of this session had declared himself hostile to all reform, and had asserted that nothing could be devised better than the present system of representation—even he was anxious in the last session of parliament to have the bill for the disfranchisement of East Retford pressed through both houses, in the hope that it would be a reform which would satisfy the mind of the public. Since that time, the voice of the public had made itself heard in every part of the kingdom; and it now declared, in accents that could not be mistaken, that any such paltry equivocating species of reform would not give satisfaction.

It appeared to him that the argument which had been brought forward by the honourable member for Oxford on a former night, condemned the mode of proceeding which his honourable and learned friend wished to have applied to delinquent boroughs. His honourable and learned friend, as well as the honourable member for Oxford, had defended our present system of representation, on the ground that it worked well—that its results were beneficial—and that trade, and rank, and ability, obtained entrance into the house through the impure channel of corruption. Perhaps they might; but then, with what consistency could the advocates of such an argument disfranchise East Retford and Evesham, and such places, where the door into parliament was regularly opened to the highest bidder? It was as notorious as the sun at noon-day, that seats in that house were as purchasable as stalls in Smithfield? Why then should they disfranchise the poor man, who had some excuse at least in his poverty, for selling his individual vote, when they permitted the rich man, who had no excuse



of poverty to plead, not only to sell his vote, but also to sell the votes of all persons over whom he could exercise the slightest influence? Mr. Canning had staved off for a time the question of reform in the year 1822, by throwing into the back ground the abuses of the present system, and by stating that the public mind was not alive to them. But had he lived now, as unfortunately he did not, could he have used the same language? Certainly not—for the public mind was shocked at these things; it had taken a nausea at them—to use a term from the vocabulary of his honourable and learned friend—from which it could never again be freed by the administration of any quack nostrums. He would ask such honourable gentlemen as had not yet forgotten the preliminary steps to their late elections, and who recollected the applications which they had received from different electioneering agents, to fight the battle of corruption as the third men in the different boroughs, for which they were agents—whether it was possible for men to witness any thing more demoralizing or more disgusting than the processes by which the poor electors of those boroughs were to be corrupted by their opulent seducers?

The people of England had at length discovered that the evil to which such corruption gave birth was no longer to be tolerated. The House of Commons was called upon to redress it, and he was satisfied that the members of that house, as English gentlemen, would not hesitate to pursue their inquiries into the practicability of redressing it by passing the present bill. If honourable gentlemen were inclined to say, that no reform ought to be had, or only such reform as could be effected by an *ex post facto* law, or a detestable bill of pains and penalties, the country knew what it had to expect from them: but if they said that reform was necessary, but that this plan of reform was not satisfactory, then he would ask them to try their hands at producing a scheme which would give them less annoyance, and would prove more beneficial to the public. He



was willing to take his share of responsibility—and in saying so, he was taking upon himself a share of credit that did not rightly belong to him—for having assisted in carrying into effect, in his professional capacity, the benevolent intentions of his Majesty's government. A noble lord, in an eloquent speech which he had made last night, had said of the close boroughs, that although the portal which they afforded for entrance into that house might be comparatively low, honour and integrity might pass it without stooping. He would tell the noble lord, that honour and integrity did not wish to stoop at all—they only wished to find their way into parliament through that portal which the law made accessible to every subject of England. When he was told that Burke, and Pitt, and Fox, and other illustrious characters, had one and all owed their introduction into parliament to the defects in the constitution of it, which his noble friend's bill was intended to cure, he would reply, that it was not for the happiness or glory of those individuals, that they had found their way into that house by any other road than that of the free choice of the commons of England. It happened, strangely enough, that all the opinions of Mr. Fox, which the gentlemen opposite were so fond of quoting, were delivered by him at a time when he was sitting for a close borough—when he was a lord of admiralty—and, strange recommendation, when he was even by law incapacitated by his youth from voting in that house.

The Attorney-General then proceeded to reply to that part of Sir Charles Wetherell's speech in which he had accused the present government of having brought forward in their budget a measure which was a violation of public faith. He contended that the stamp which they had wished to place on the transfer of stock was not a violation of the acts of parliament sanctioning the contracts of the government with the loan contractors; but supposing, for the sake of argument, that it were, the charge of a violation of faith with the public creditor, came with a very bad



grace from those who had reduced the five per cents. to three per cents., and had left no option; for though there was a nominal, there was no real option, to the trustees of widows and orphans, but to accede to that reduction. Reverting to the subject of the nomination boroughs, he observed, that as the noble lord had now referred to his sitting in parliament for a close borough, he would say a few words on that subject. In the year 1818, he was given to understand that there was a wish that he should be in parliament. Having heard that there was at that time a vacancy in the town in which he had now the honour to represent, he determined to offer himself to the electors. It happened that there was no vacancy. A seat, however, was offered him for the borough of Wareham; and, to his shame be it spoken, he had not had virtue to resist it. He should have respected himself more than he then did, had he been in possession of virtue enough to refuse it. He wished it to be distinctly understood, that a seat for a close borough was not so desirable a place as an independent spirit would wish to obtain. Nothing could be more kind and liberal than the conduct of those who gave him a seat for that borough; but at the end of the two first sessions in which he sat in parliament, there was a dissolution, and then he found, that in the opinions of those who had given him his seat, he had been found wanting. There was then no nomination seat for him; and if the town of Nottingham had not sent a deputation to him to come forward, he should have been out of parliament. So far from such a seat being all joy, he could assure the house that it was quite the reverse. Could there, indeed, be any thing more unpleasant than the idea of having a secret council always sitting upon your conduct, and determining upon each vote, whether you ought to be permitted to retain your seat in parliament? He made no complaint against those who gave him his seat; but when he contrasted his situation as member for a close borough, with his situation as member for Nottingham, in which he enjoyed the confidence of thousands, he felt



that there was no more comparison to be made between them than between the crumbling walls of Aldborough and the most stately and magnificent palace in England. His honourable and learned friend was now absent from the house, or else he would have endeavoured to shew, that there were circumstances in his (Sir C. Wetherell's) history, which forcibly illustrated his argument on this point.

After some other observations, which our limits prevent us from reporting, the Attorney-General proceeded to say, that he had the authority of Burke, and Pitt, and Fox, and Lord Chatham in his best and proudest day, that reform in the House of Commons was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the internal quiet of the country. The observation of Lord Chatham had been alluded to already in the course of the debate. The remark of Mr. Pitt was equally well known. He had said that "without reform no honest man would be, or could be, a minister;" and at a subsequent period of Mr. Pitt's life, when Mr. Fox reminded him of that speech, he said "that he (Mr. Pitt,) had lived to carry his own prediction into effect." This occurred in the year 1797; and he recollected, that when he first heard of it, it made a strong impression on his mind. He could not help reflecting how whimsical it was, that Mr. Pitt should have gained the confidence of the House of Commons, after he had failed in all the propositions which he had made to it; and that he could not get the same house to give him credit, when he had lived to verify his own prediction. Every person who was acquainted with the works of Mr. Burke—and what man of education was not?—must be aware, that in his celebrated speech for the conciliation of our differences with the American colonies, he had quoted the preamble of the act of the 27th of Henry VIII., by which the power of sending two knights of the shire as their representatives to parliament, was given to the freeholders of the county of Chester. It was singular enough that Mr. Burke, who at the close of his life was the decided enemy to all innovation, should have referred to that preamble; and it



was, perhaps, if possible, still more singular, that Henry VIII., the most arbitrary and despotic monarch that ever sat on the throne of England, should have recognized the value of the representative system, and should have considered it of importance in attaching the affections of the people of England to the throne. Having quoted the preamble to the act, Sir Thomas Denman thus proceeded—The act then went on to state, that the inhabitants of the county palatine of Chester should for the future return members to parliament. It was in speaking of that act, that Mr. Burke quoted the well-known passage—

*"Simul alba nautis*

*"Stella refulsit,*

*"Defluit saxis agitatus humor :*

*"Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,*

*"Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto*

*"Unda recumbit."*

Which Mr. Burke translated in his own beautiful language thus—"The day-star of British liberty then rose in the hearts of the people, and all was harmony both within and without."

It had been thought necessary, however, by some, to contend that peers ought to have their interests represented in that house, and that it was not inconvenient that they should. If this were so—why, let him ask, had not every peer and prince of the blood his acknowledged representative there? They might have as many representatives in that house as they had domestic chaplains in their own houses, if the law allowed it them. But the law did not allow this; and it was the mere accident of peers having purchased boroughs, which made it worth while to consult them as to matters which ought to appertain only to members of that house, properly so called. He contended, that far from being unconstitutional, it was in strict accordance with the spirit of the constitution, to take the elective franchise from decayed and corrupted boroughs, and send them to more healthy places. By Mr. Pitt's plan of parliamen-



tary reform, as many as forty boroughs would have been got rid of. This had not been forgotten by the gentlemen on the other side of the house, but in recollecting it they had alluded to the compensation which it was then proposed to make to the owners of those boroughs. Still, however, there was one thing else to be remembered—namely, that that compensation was a compulsory compensation, and he thought that none of the parties concerned would have thought themselves very well treated in being forced to accept the proffered compensation. Now, he contended that such individuals had no right whatsoever to compensation; for there was no act of theirs which it could be pretended ought to be paid for, that was not illegal, and for which they might not be prosecuted under the election law. He knew that there were some gentlemen who thought that the attorney-general ought to be a kind of censor over the press; but let him tell those honourable gentlemen, that an attorney-general might find occupation much more advantageous to the country than proceeding against those whose very violence prevented their doing mischief, and only disgusted the people whom it was their object to excite and to exasperate. There were other violators of the law, who were much more dangerous to the public—there were other delinquencies, which were more deserving of being prosecuted to punishment. Let them, therefore, hear no more about vested rights; for if a peer chose to interfere, by bargaining and influence, to return members to the House of Commons, that peer was not only guilty of a gross breach of the privileges of the house, but subjected himself also to an indictment at law. They had been told that the people would remonstrate against the measure now proposed by the government. Was it possible that the gentlemen who told them this could be sincere?—that they could really believe what they said? If so, let them wait but a little while—let them see whether the Common-hall which was to meet to-morrow—let them see whether the people who might assemble in various parts of the country—would



re-echo the sentiments of the mourners at the funeral of the defunct member for Boroughbridge, and murmur and remonstrate that it was proposed to confer upon them a better system of representation.

A noble lord had told them that the proposed measure ought to be brought in, and that it ought to be widely circulated, in order that the people might deliberate and pronounce upon it. There could be no possible objection to this ; only let him express his hope that the noble lord, and all those who had cheered this sentiment of the noble lord's, would submit to the test for which they called. Let him express his hope, that when the people had considered and pronounced upon the measure, those who desired that the people should have the opportunity of doing so would submit to the decision of the people. Most willingly would he submit the proposed measure to the judgment of the people ; most ready would he be to agree that the decision of the people upon it ought to be final. The character of the people of England was well known, and it was not their character to approve and to applaud acts of spoliation and robbery ; but let him tell his honourable and learned friend, that it was not by his repeating over and over again the words robbery and spoliation, sometimes with violent and sometimes with humorous accompaniments, that the people of England would be led to reject a measure like the present. His honourable and learned friend had talked about the boroughs that were to be cashiered, about the right honourable the paymaster of the forces, and about military law and military measures ; but though his honourable and learned friend had rung the changes upon these expressions so frequently, to what did they amount in soberness, and reason, and argument, and when divested of the humour with which his honourable and learned friend had clothed them—except that the present government had brought forward a measure of reform which they thought necessary for the people, and that that measure had been introduced to the house in a very able speech by a noble



lord, who had been always a steady and distinguished advocate for reform, and who happened now to fill the situation of paymaster of the forces. It was not consistent with the fact, to say that the people of this country had been a happy people for the last century; for, on the contrary, it was true, that during that time, they had suffered much and severely from measures of that house, which could never have passed into laws if the people had been fairly represented in parliament. Again, let him say that peers had no right whatsoever to send members into that house, and that if they did so, they did it as the nabob of Arcot formerly had his representatives there, to attend to his interests; and as any prince, or noble, or other person, in any part of the world, might have representatives there, if moderate caution and secrecy were exercised.

Then, as to the question which his honourable and learned friend had so chivalrously and triumphantly challenged him to answer—namely, where any lawyer could find a precedent in support of the measure now proposed. He would tell his honourable and learned friend, in a word, where he found a precedent. He proved it in the measure which passed only two years ago, and which disfranchised half the voters in Ireland. That measure passed through this house with only a very small minority against it, and among that minority he had not been able to find the name of his honourable and learned friend. His honourable and learned friend required that his questions should be replied to, and called for answers to his arguments; but how had his honourable and learned friend treated the arguments which had been furnished him by preceding speakers? His honourable and learned friend had given no other answer to the arguments contained in the brilliant speech of the honourable member for Calne, except that they were nonsense, and that he would only nail them to the table, as a baker nailed a bad shilling to his counter. Now he must say, that this, though it might be a very lordly and a very humorous mode of proceeding, was neither a very con-



vincing nor a very sensible one. Much had been said by his honourable and learned friend, and by others, about producing a revolution, and about revolutionary measures. Now, if he thought that this measure was calculated to lead to a revolution, or to produce a convulsion, no man would struggle against it with more zeal and determination than he would. In his conscience, however, he did believe that it was a measure in strict accordance with the spirit of the constitution; and in his conscience also he did believe that it was almost the only mode of preventing a revolution. They had been told to look at the proceedings which had lately occurred in France; but did any sane man suppose it possible that the expelled dynasty could last one single moment, after having fired upon and shed the blood of the people? Instead of looking at the proceedings of the French people with horror, he could consider what they had done only as an act of justice, and as an act committed in self-defence. He would at once admit, with as much sincerity as he lamented, the fact, that the French people appeared more competent to gain a victory than to improve one; and he was sorry that they had not imitated the example which had been set them by his own countrymen, when they effected their permanent, and glorious, and bloodless revolution of 1688. It was, however, idle to compare the proceedings of the French people with those of the Belgians. The revolution which had taken place in Belgium, he believed to be a wanton and a useless revolution. They all knew that it had this defect—namely, that it had been polluted by plunder, and it had not prospered.

He would not detain the house with dwelling upon these topics, which he should not have touched upon, had they not been brought forward by others. In taking leave of them, however, he must observe, that, in his opinion, nothing could be more senseless, nothing more irrational, nothing more absolutely absurd, than to compare the measure now submitted to the house on the subject of reform, either to the revolution in France, or to the revolution in



Belgium. One observation which had fallen from his honourable and learned friend had, he must say, struck him as being singularly unfair—but that had been answered by speakers who had preceded him, as, indeed, all his other arguments had been answered—only the sentences of his honourable and learned friend seemed to have been prepared and moulded for the purpose of delivery, and so they were delivered without reference to the arguments, which had answered them by anticipation. The observation of his honourable and learned friend to which he alluded, was that which regarded the boroughs which it was not proposed to disfranchise. His honourable and learned friend had asked why Calne, and Tavistock, and other boroughs, were to be allowed to detain their franchise? The answer was plain and obvious, and had already been given to his honourable and learned friend, and it was this—namely, that it was necessary to draw some line of distinction; that if Calne and Tavistock had been on one side that line, they would have been disfranchised; but that, being on the other side the line, they were allowed to retain their franchise. But to retain it how? Not as a close corporation, but under a system of fair election. The only other argument which he felt it necessary to advert to, was the argument founded on the fact, that boroughs had returned many great and eminent men to parliament. True it was that such men had sat for boroughs; but let him ask, had not the borough system excluded others?—and, above all, let him put it to any reasoning being, whether the people of England ought to remain satisfied to depend upon such accidents as these, for the chance of finding men who would represent their interests in parliament? He knew that he had risen under great disadvantage, in coming after so luminous a speech as that which had been delivered by his honourable and learned friend—a speech, however, which he had no doubt was indebted, for much of the popularity it had acquired, to the sympathy of honourable gentlemen, who felt themselves to be much in the same situation with



the about-to-be-defunct member for Boroughbridge, as his honourable and learned friend called himself.

According to the view of his honourable and learned friend, he (Sir Charles Wetherell) would go out of the house a victim of injustice, while he (the attorney-general) was to leave it the tyrannical attorney-general, who had been employed by a profligate and disgraceful government to revolutionize the country. Probably his honourable and learned friend would recall this flattering character which he had bestowed upon him. Be that, however, as it might, he cheerfully threw himself upon the judgment of the house and of the country. And although Boroughbridge might disappear, and he might go out of the house as well as his honourable and learned friend, he had very little doubt that they should both of them find constituents who would send them back to that house, there to fight in friendly contest those battles which he was sure that he and his honourable and learned friend were equally desirous should terminate in advantage to the country.

\* \* We would now express a hope, that the time is fast approaching, when the industrious bees of the state, and those who fill its revenue pockets, will not have their honest gains forced from them by paltry, foolish, harassing, and vexatious taxes, enforced by the name and office of the attorney-general. The period is arrived, when the people of this great empire must be dealt with as the *subjects of a paternal King*.

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Here, then, we terminate these "Biographical Sketches," in order that we may devote the remainder of the volume to the proposed historical department; and as there is much to be narrated in a comparatively small compass, we shall have recourse to a less type, for the reader's benefit. The present state of Europe, and of our own country in particular, is replete with intense interest. To glance at the causes which have led to such stupendous results, and narrate with fidelity the events that have recently transpired, is the task to which we shall now address ourselves.



## HISTORICAL REGISTER.

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### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE year 1832 will ever be memorable in the annals of this country, for having brought to an issue the long-pending contest between the two great rival factions, or parties, in the state, namely, the WHIGS and the TORIES; and for having, in the overthrow of the latter, established the liberties of Britons on an immoveable basis. This conflict had been in progression, with scarcely any intermission, from the glorious Revolution in 1688, to the present time, a period of one hundred and fifty years; during almost the whole of which, the Tories had maintained the ascendancy, and, by the tendency of their counsels, and predominating influence, brought the country to the verge of a second revolution, which, had it not been timely averted by a reform in the House of Commons, must inevitably have deluged the land with the best blood of its inhabitants; and, in all probability, have swept away those invaluable institutions which we owe to the wisdom, experience, and virtue of our forefathers. To record events so deeply interesting to posterity, is worthy the pen of the historian; and that we may place the subject in a somewhat luminous point of view, we shall revert back to the beginning of the reign of George the Third, and take a rapid glance of the measures which have led to the present fearful but glorious result.

It was about the middle of the last century, and towards the close of the reign of George the Second, that a war broke out on the continent of Europe, which raged for a period of seven years, namely, from 1756 to 1763. In this sanguinary contest, Prussia, Austria, Russia, France, and England, were the leading powers engaged; but Denmark and Sweden, Saxony and Sardinia, and even the Ottoman Porte, or Turks, were drawn into the contest. This war cost Prussia 180,000 men—Austria and Russia an equal number—France and England, respectively, a still greater number.



But the loss of men was not the only sacrifice which England paid for meddling in this dispute. She granted yearly subsidies in money to his Prussian majesty; and though eventually on the victorious side, she was half ruined by the war; while France, then her implacable enemy, was reduced to the necessity of stopping payment of the interest of its enormous debts, and of prolonging for the term of ten years its oppressive and arbitrary taxes. Here, then, we find the origin of the various evils which have subsequently afflicted the two last-mentioned countries, and drawn in their train the loss, to England, of her American colonies, and, to France, the horrors of anarchy and revolution. Of the manner in which this occurred, it may be useful to enter upon a short explanation, beginning with our own country.

The peace of 1763 left most of the nations of Europe under the pressure of an enormous taxation; one of the many and never-failing results of a protracted war. Great Britain, in particular, was drained of its men and treasures, and for a few years reduced so low, as to excite admiration only by its constancy under an adverse state of affairs occasioned by the evil genius of its rulers. Nevertheless, a considerable booty had been procured in war, to enrich individuals; the treasures of the East Indies were annually imported; fortunes were rapidly accumulated from the plantations of the West Indies; and a thousand instances of successful enterprise and good fortune, which the chance of war had thrown in their way—all these concurred to multiply the wants of life; and the capricious claims of luxury in Great Britain had increased in an incredible degree.

The conquests which the British arms had achieved, added to the policy of the government, ever fond of increasing its patronage, had greatly augmented the number of lucrative offices; and as the desire for obtaining such places could only be gratified at the pleasure of the court, a much larger portion than usual of country gentlemen and landed proprietors took up their residence in the metropolis, committing their estates to the care of their stewards; and, as they thereby unavoidably enlarged their expenses, and involved themselves in debt, they were reduced to the necessity of raising their rents. The consequence of this was, that the oppressed people were soon driven to discontent and despair, while their superiors were deaf to their complaints.



SECTION I.—*The American Revolution.*

It was at this time that America began to look up; and it is worth while to glance at some of the circumstances which concurred to bring that country into notice. The reduction of the armies, at the conclusion of the seven years' war, dispersed a number of men whose military habits had now rendered them but little calculated for the employments of honest industry, and thus America became the receptacle of a numerous class of emigrants. More than twenty thousand Irishmen, in a short time, transported themselves to America, and many thousands from the Highlands of Scotland and the Western Isles, besides great numbers from various parts of England, sought an asylum where they might perpetuate the customs of their ancestors, and obtain the means of subsistence. This multitude of recent emigrants to the western world, contributed much to the cultivation of the lands; and, in various other respects, helped by their influence to accelerate that disruption with Great Britain which was now rapidly approaching.

During the progress of the war in Europe, France had used her utmost efforts to wrest the American colonies from England, but had failed in the attempt, and the latter had established a permanent military force there, under the order of a commander-in-chief. This army supported the executive power, which had reduced the judges to a state of dependence on itself, by means of their salaries. and on that account appeared, to the friends of freedom, to possess more than the influence to which it was entitled by the constitution. Thus in process of time many of the American governors became disagreeable to the people, and were, justly or unjustly, considered as arbitrary and tyrannical. When complaints were made to the ministers at home, little attention was paid to them, or, if they deigned to reply at all, it was done in a tone of severity. About this time, party leaders began to appear among themselves, who excited, in the minds of their countrymen, the deepest resentment of the haughtiness of the British government.

It would carry us too far from the point in hand, were we to pursue in detail the various subjects of dispute which successively arose between the colonies and the mother country, until the former were driven, by the imprudence of their adversaries, from a timid



opposition to particular proceedings, to the declaration of their independence. The British government attempted to impose a stamp act upon them; but the Americans resisted the imposition, alleging, that the territory which was under their own regulations, defended by twenty thousand of their own troops, and sufficiently productive of taxes to defray the expenses of that force, belonged of right to them, and that they would suffer no arbitrary taxes to be imposed. After much violent discussion on the impolicy of the measure, the English parliament rescinded the stamp act. This was an ill-fated omen; and when the intelligence reached across the Atlantic, the Americans fixed upon a day for the purpose of celebrating the event as an annual festival.

While the minds of the colonists were in a state of fermentation, the British parliament imposed a duty on tea, but the Americans refused to pay the duty on its importation into their harbours; and the popular leaders among them did not fail to avail themselves of this also, to promote their own designs. A general congress of the Americans was convened—obedience to the governors appointed by the king of England was disallowed, and those gentlemen saved themselves by a precipitate flight. Representations were nevertheless made from time to time to the mother country; but they were invariably rejected by the parliament, because they were signed “by order of congress.”

Lord North was at this time prime minister of Great Britain, and swayed the destinies of the empire. Deaf to the warning voice of the Earl of Chatham and his associates, in the opposition, he plunged the two countries into a war, and seemed to have as little apprehension of interference on the part of France, as if the house of Bourbon had been our natural ally, or as if the cause of a government against its subjects was the common cause of all governments. But scarcely had the Americans and England got fairly into the contest, when a treaty was signed at Paris between France and America; and this was speedily followed by a similar treaty between the latter country and Spain. Thus supported by their European allies, the Americans sustained the contest from 1778 to 1783, when, on the 20th of January, preliminaries of peace were signed between England and the United States, guaranteeing to the latter their independence, and putting an end to hostilities also between England, France, and Spain.



The war with the colonies was commenced under Tory counsels, and uniformly opposed by the Whigs; and we may learn the melancholy result from a single paragraph in a speech of the celebrated Edmund Burke: "The war," he said, "had teemed with calamities; but this speech of the king's was the greatest calamity of all." The speech had spoken of the war as a vindication of "parliamentary rights," on which Mr. Burke exclaimed—"Most excellent rights! which have cost Great Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, a hundred thousand men, and seventy millions of money, her empire over the ocean, her rank among nations, her dignity and commerce abroad, her happiness at home—rights which have deprived us of all this, and yet threaten to spoil us of what remains."

To sum up in few words what has been said on this topic. The first note in the march of liberty was sounded at Lexington, in America. There the first volley of musketry was fired at the bosoms of the colonists; there the first blood flowed, in a contest which had its origin in the assertion of a great principle of public liberty, namely, that taxation without representation is tyranny and oppression. America was emancipated; and, happily for herself, she found a Washington to consolidate, by popular institutions, planted on the broadest basis, that freedom and independence which he had so nobly conquered for his country. The conquest thus achieved, by the wisdom of Franklin and the virtue of Washington, gave a new impulse to the human mind throughout the whole civilized world. Men every where became roused from the lethargy into which despotism had sunk them. They began to think, to inquire, and discuss. For the first time, there began to be public opinion. Parliament resounded with denunciations uttered in strains of eloquence worthy of the best days of Greece and Rome. In the fierce collision of parties, and the discussion of passing topics, great principles were evolved. Light gleamed from the western sky, and was reflected in a concentrated and dazzling radiance, by the great mirrors of parliament. The press, too, became animated; and, obscurely conscious of its power, began to minister to that new-born appetite which was destined to grow by what it fed on. A change had already come over the spirit of the age, and afforded an auspicious prognostication of progressive expansion in the time to come. America is, therefore, to be



regarded as the cradle of freedom, and father-land of liberty, in these modern days.

SECTION II.—*The French Revolution.*

To have a proper view of the immediate and proximate causes of the French revolution—that tremendous volcano in the political world, which convulsed all Europe, and, by necessary consequence, produced in its train the calamities which have since afflicted the nations—it is necessary to take a short review of the state of matters in that country from the early part of the last century.

Louis the Fourteenth died on the 1st of September, 1715, after a reign of seventy-two years, during which period, those evils had been accumulating, which came to a crisis in 1789, and produced the revolution above mentioned. He has been generally celebrated as a great king, and his own subjects flattered him with the title of *Grand Monarque*; but if his reign be scrutinized on the grounds of wisdom and utility, his claim to such high honour would be found very questionable. His talents did not rise above mediocrity, and they had never been duly cultivated. He was early and greatly indulged, accustomed to the almost unrestrained gratification of his imagination and passions, and unavoidably impressed with the belief that he had no equal, that he was born to rule, and to be implicitly and universally obeyed. He was ambitious, to excess, of fame and glory; and this, with the idea of his being at the head of a powerful nation, rendered his thirst of conquest and dominion insatiable. Addicted to voluptuousness and sensual gratification, he was not only unprincipled, dissolute, and expensive in these pleasures, but the influence of his example was most pernicious. Though himself married, he had numerous mistresses, by some of which he had children, whom he raised to the rank of princes of the blood-royal, though the fruit of double adultery! The court and the kingdom were generally corrupted by his example, and a dissoluteness of manners almost universally characterized the people of France. One of their own historians thus indignantly sums up his character. “Such was the penitence, (alluding to the codicil to his will, in favour of one of his illegitimate sons, the Duke de Maine,) such the reparation of a double adultery, so atrocious, so long



continued, so scandalous in the eyes of all Europe; and such was the last sentiments of a soul, about to appear before God, loaded with the guilt of a reign of seventy-two years! His pride, luxury, buildings, profusion of every kind, continual wars and ambition, which was the source and support of them, had shed the blood of many millions, and spread fire and desolation over Europe. He had counteracted and confounded all orders, rules, rights, and laws, the most ancient and sacred, and had reduced the kingdom to a state of irremediable misery—a state so ruinous, that its preservation seems miraculous.”\*

At the demise of this monarch, a regency took place, of which the Duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis the Fourteenth, was the head, the heir to the throne (Louis the Fifteenth) being a minor. In 1723, the Duke died, and Louis, having just entered upon the fourteenth year of his age, took the reins of government, nominally, into his own hands, and continued to reign till the 10th of May, 1774. This was a reign of favouritism; and the monarch contributed much, by his instability, indolence, and arbitrary measures, to the increase of disorder, and the decline of kingly government. His favourite mistress, Madame du Barry, acquired a complete influence over him; and between her and his ministers, this weak, irresolute, sensual, and indolent prince was moved as a puppet, according as their caprice and passions, or their selfish and political views, dictated. He occasionally consulted with his ministers; but his mistress was his great and constant favourite, whom he scarcely ever contradicted, and to whom he permitted the most unbecoming familiarities. Such was her influence, that she was courted, not only by ministers, whom, indeed, she directed, but by foreign powers. She gave audience to foreign ambassadors; and she dictated the answers which they were to report to their respective sovereigns. Her toilet was gold; her palaces were most magnificent, and sumptuously furnished. She was allowed to draw when she chose on the public treasury, and to gratify her creatures, and those who paid her court, with liberal pensions. The death of the king, which put an end to her extravagances, was, therefore, a benefit to the nation. He died of the small-pox at the age of sixty-four, leaving

\* *Memoires de St. Simon*, tom. vi. p. 215.



the throne to his grandson, Louis the Sixteenth, in whose reign the revolution took place.

The character of Louis the Fifteenth may be gathered from what has been now said of him. He was a weak and indolent prince, constitutionally feeble; and he indulged his natural listlessness and inactivity. In the earlier period of his reign he acquired a little reputation, and his subjects pronounced him "the well-beloved;" but he long outlived any reputation which he had ever acquired, and became finally despised and detested, both as a monarch and a man. He abandoned his queen, an amiable woman, and attached himself to women the most unprincipled and profligate. He exposed his subjects to the caprice and oppression of his nobles and tax-gatherers, and to imprison them on the slightest suspicion of offence given to him or his mistress. His exactions were enormous. In one day, eleven money edicts were laid before his obsequious parliament for registration. Neither public nor private property was respected; the princes and nobles were silenced; and the people stood aloof with indifference or fear. After a severe punishment inflicted on near seven hundred refractory judges and lawyers, no one in the kingdom ventured to utter the semblance of a complaint against the government. Such were the struggles of expiring liberty, during the latter part of the reign of this infatuated monarch.

This was the condition of France when Louis the Sixteenth ascended the throne, in 1774. The finances were in a most deplorable state, and, to retrieve them, a change of ministry took place, and the controllership of finance was committed to Mons. Turgot, a man of ability and decision. This minister set himself most assiduously to devise and mature plans of amelioration—and he effected wonders in the course of twenty months, when he found himself compelled to retire from office, unable to stem the torrent of clamour which was raised by his plans of reformation. Another succeeded him, who soon sunk under the burden, and died! To him succeeded Necker, who, for a while, was popular, and the financial department flourished in his hands. In a little time, however, he fell under the displeasure of the court and the nobles, by the publication of the *compte rendu*, a thing altogether unusual in France, where all state affairs were studiously concealed from the people, and he was dismissed from



the ministry. To him succeeded Calonne, a man daring, acute, and eloquent, of accomplished manners, and of a fertile but superficial genius. Instead of following up the economical plans of Turgot and Necker, he took an opposite course, and boasted of his prodigality. He speedily exhausted the credit of the country; and, to prolong his power, he resorted to imposts. But to whom should he address himself? The people could pay nothing, and the privileged orders offered nothing. It presently appeared that the measures of this profligate minister had plunged the country into an abyss from which it could not be extricated. Within a few years, loans had been raised to the amount of one thousand six hundred and forty-six millions of francs, and that there was in the revenue an *annual* deficit of one hundred and forty millions! This discovery was the signal for the fall of Calonne, who retired, and was succeeded by the Archbishop of Toulouse—a state empiric, who attempted every thing, and succeeded in nothing. Harassed by the want of money, he convoked an extraordinary assembly of the clergy, which instantly voted an address to the king, requiring from him the abolition of his *cour plénière*, and the prompt convocation of the states-general, who, it was said, could alone repair the disorder of the finances, reassure the public creditor, and put an end to these conflicts of authority. The king complied—the opening of the states-general took place on the 5th of May, 1789, and the revolution commenced from that period.

The history of France from that date would fill volumes: let it suffice, in this place, to say, that Austria and Prussia lost no time in marching their armies into the country, to counteract the prevalence of democratic principles; and that, in 1793, Great Britain, under the predominating influence of Tory counsels, joined the grand confederacy, and, by means of British gold and British valour, contrived to fan the flames of war, until every corner of the continent of Europe was desolated by its ravages, and the sword became weary of slaughter. Had Earl Grey been prime minister at that period, this country would have proudly stood aloof from that war, holding in her hands the destinies of Europe. But “a slippery sycophant of the court,” supported by a powerful oligarchy, madly plunged the country into the war, and, by subsidizing most of the continental governments, kept it



alive for more than twenty years, at an expense of six hundred millions of debt, and a corresponding amount of taxation, which remains as a millstone hung around the neck of the country, from which it would require the skill of an Œdipus to extricate it.

In the spirit of national hatred, not in any generous sympathy with a people struggling for all that is dear to man, France had aided the American colonists in throwing off the yoke of the mother country : she had sent her Fayettees and her Rochambeaus to command her auxiliary battalions, and fight by the side of Washington against the forces of that great country, which she considered as her natural enemy. Deeply committed in the contest, therefore, she became insensibly identified with its results, and bound, by every tie of honour, to uphold that independence which she had helped to establish. A connexion was thus formed, and an interchange of feelings and opinions produced, of which the consequences were not yet foreseen. A very few years, however, sufficed to bring on the crisis to which so many causes were now contributing ; and which sooner or later overtakes every system, civil or religious, that is essentially adverse to the interests of mankind. The liberal principles imported from America found a congenial soil in France. There, oppression and misrule had reached that point where endurance ends and resistance begins. Religion had been corrupted into gross superstition among the bulk of the people—and utter infidelity prevailed among the few ; while the privileges, the power, the wealth, and the profligacy of an overgrown hierarchy, were viewed with indignation and distrust. The government was in keeping with the church—without energy in its councils, or virtue in its measures, despised abroad, oppressive at home ; beggared in means, notwithstanding the abominable extortions systematically practised under its sanctions ; corrupt in principle, and still more depraved in practice ; allied to, and identified with, all that had grown most odious to the expanding intellect of the nation, and gradually losing its last hold on these hereditary prepossessions and prejudices to which alone it could look for support. The people had continually before their eyes the example of that young and vigorous country, whose standards of independence they had helped to rear, and the sickening experience of their own. In America they saw nothing but freedom and happi-



ness—in France, nothing but slavery and misery. Such a state of things was not likely to endure long—that a degenerate nobility, a corrupt ecclesiastical establishment, and a worthless contemptible government should continue to riot in the spoils of their industry. Certainly not; the time for all this was past; the spirit of feudalism was laid, and the era of sense and reason was begun.

The inferior officers of the French army who went to serve in America were chiefly men of birth, and belonged most of them to the class of country nobles; those of superior rank, who derived their descent from the high noblesse, were mostly young men of ambitious enterprise and warm imaginations, whom not only a love of honour, but an enthusiastic feeling of devotion to the new philosophy recently promulgated in their celebrated *Encyclopædie*, and the political principles which it inculcated, had called to arms. Amongst these were La Fayette, Rochambeau, the Lameths, Chastellux, Ségur, and others of exalted rank, but of no less exalted feelings for the popular cause. In the full current of their enthusiasm, they forgot that their own rank in society was endangered by the progress of popular opinions; or if they at all remembered that their interest was thus implicated, it was with the generous disinterestedness of youth, prompt to sacrifice to the public advantage whatever of selfish immunities was attached to their own condition.

The return of the French army from America thus brought a strong body of auxiliaries to the popular and now prevalent opinions; and the French love of military glory, thus became intimately identified with that distinguished portion of the army which had been so lately and so successfully engaged in defending the claims of the people against what was considered the arbitrary proceedings of the British government. Their laurels were green and newly gathered; while those which had been obtained in the cause of monarchy were of an ancient date, and tarnished by the reverses of the seven-years' war. The reception of the returned soldiery and their leaders was proportionally enthusiastic among the people of France; and it soon became evident, that when the eventful struggle between the existing monarchy and its adversaries should commence, the latter were to have the support in sentiment, and probably in action, of that distinguished part of the army which had recently maintained and recovered the military



character of France. It was, accordingly, from its ranks that the revolution derived many of its most formidable champions, and it was their example which detached a great proportion of the French soldiers from their allegiance to the monarchy. These hints will serve to assist the reader in tracing the connection that exists between the American and French revolutions, which is all that we shall attempt in this place. The events of the revolution are familiar to most readers, and the subject is too extensive to admit of even an abridged account in this sketch. We shall, however, in a subsequent section, resume the consideration of the state of France, from the return of the Bourbons, which will give us occasion to notice *a second revolution* in that country. A due regard to the chronological order of events seems to render this division of the subject necessary.

### SECTION III.—*The Affairs of Poland.*

The present wretched state of Poland, and the interest which Great Britain is now taking in its affairs, seem to require that a glance should be had, in this place, at the treatment which that country has received from certain of the powers of Europe.

The calamities of Poland commenced almost immediately after the termination of the seven-years' war. The three great neighbouring powers, namely, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, had exhausted their internal resources by that war, and no better method of recruiting them suggested itself, than by plundering Poland, for which her intestine divisions unhappily lent but too plausible a pretext. The demise of Augustus the Third, king of Poland, who was of the family of Saxony, occurred soon after the empress Catharine had been raised to the throne of Russia. The character of this woman is now too well known to require explanation. She had entered into a treaty of alliance for eight years with Frederick the Great, king of Prussia—a treaty which obliged each party to assist the other in any war in which either of them might be engaged, with at least ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and not to make peace except by mutual concurrence. This treaty made it the interest of Austria to have a Saxon prince on the throne of Poland, who might not be entirely dependent on Russia and Prussia. To determine upon a



successor to the vacant throne, a diet was convened—it proved tumultuous, and this afforded a pretext to the Empress Catharine, as a *neighbour* and a *friend* of Poland, to send some troops to Warsaw, the capital of the country; and, as to what regarded the election, the King of Prussia left the entire management of the affair in the hands of the Empress of Russia! It is needless to pursue minutely the distractions which agitated the Polish dominions for the space of seven years, during which, the three royal vultures sat in state, eager to pounce upon their prey. At length, on the 26th of September, 1772, thirteen hundred years from the period when a system of co-existent states began, after the destruction of the Western empire, to be formed in Europe, the first important blow was given to the maxims and compacts on which their existence and the balance of their power had been gradually established. The ambassadors of the Empress of Austria, (Maria Theresa,) of the Empress of Russia, (Catharine the Second,) and of the King of Prussia, in the name of their respective courts, informed the King and the republic of Poland, that the three powers, *in order to prevent further bloodshed, and to restore peace to Poland*, had agreed among themselves to insist upon their indisputable claims to some of the provinces of that country; and, therefore, demanded, that a diet be held for the purpose of settling the new boundaries in concert with them.

It pleased the great Governor of the universe, at this time, to allow the crowned heads of the north of Europe to afford the world a striking exhibition of their courtly morality. The various pleas and pretexts to which they had recourse for the purpose of varnishing over their monstrous and unprincipled aggressions, would, if the mind were not too much shocked at their atrocity, be highly amusing; and never, perhaps, was the fable of the wolf and the lamb more strikingly exemplified than in the present instance. But instead of enlarging upon the subject ourselves, it will be better to submit to the reader an address of the Polish refugees in France, to the British House of Commons, which has just now made its appearance; and the rather, as it skilfully embodies an outline of their grievances from the period we have been speaking of, to the present moment, when the cup of their calamities is filled to the brim, and overflowing. It is a document which no Englishman can peruse unmoved. It is one so founded in reason, as well



as inspired by patriotism and virtue, that no European statesman will withhold from it his deliberate consideration. It is here presented in an entire and unmutilated state.

*Address of the Polish Refugees in France to the House of Commons of Great Britain, dated May 29th, 1832.*

“The Poles, driven from their country, and dispersed all over the continent of Europe, appeal to the representatives of the people of Great Britain, not to crave their pity, but to claim their rights—the rights of nations and of humanity, which Europe suffered despots for the last sixty years to violate with impunity, and which Poland struggled sixty years to vindicate, protesting all the while against a political crime, and against every attempt having for its object to annihilate the independence of a population of 20,000,000 of souls. When Napoleon’s sway extended over Europe, Mackintosh said, that ‘England was the last refuge of liberty.’ We maintain that it is so still. Driven towards the west, exposed every where to persecution, we call upon the representatives of the British nation to decide whether the crime of the partition of Poland shall ever remain unexpiated, and whether free Europe shall sanction the power in despots to cancel from the map of Europe such a country, to annihilate its independence, and even to deprive it of existence, after it has held during ten centuries a distinguished rank among nations.

“Poland, at its admission into the family of Christian powers, was formed by the union of neighbouring nations. Neither compulsion nor conquest presided at their organization into a republic; it was the result of their own free will. Moreover, that republic, free from ambition, never waged war but to defend its own existence, and to shield Europe against the irruption of despots and their savage hordes. In 1241, Polish valour crushed the power of the Tartars, at the memorable battle near Lignitz. In 1683 John Sobieski destroyed the Osmanlis, who threatened Vienna, and were preparing chains for the whole of Europe. The same Poland maintained incessant conflicts, for the purpose of driving back or stopping the Muscovites, who have at last accomplished their projects of invasion, and pitched their tents in the very heart of Europe.



“ Thus did the Polish nation, in all its wars, merely confine itself to the defence of its territory and unprotected frontiers, and never attempted to encroach upon the rights of others. The stranger, setting his foot upon Polish ground, was protected in his person and property, and enjoyed the free exercise of his religious worship. The produce of the rich soil of Poland was sent in profusion to all parts of civilized Europe, with which she lived in peace and harmony. Poland was the first nation in northern Europe which possessed political rights—the liberty of the press, religious freedom, and security of persons and property. Her institutions rested on the great principle of the sovereignty of the people; and the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the state were conferred by popular election. Poland never kept up permanent armies; her kings were not allowed to levy or raise taxes; and the people had secured to themselves the right of resisting usurpation and oppression.

“ But the neighbours of Poland envied her prosperity. They rested their rights on rapine and conquest, and supported their authority by violence. They coalesced to sap the foundation of every principle different from their own; and in order to overthrow the Polish republic, they had recourse to all sorts of intrigue, treachery, and corruption. Poland soon became aware of the infamous machinations of her neighbours; but the confederates of Bar, after a long and memorable struggle, were worsted in their efforts to defeat them. The three co-invading powers deluged the country with their troops, insisted on obtaining an indemnity for their unjust aggression, and, alleging the most wily pretences, they allowed to each other a portion of Poland, and gave the world an example unheard of until then, by the first partition of 1772. This political crime was, moreover, accompanied by cruelties and barbarities of the most shocking nature; and, finally, the representatives of the diet of 1773 were compelled to sign the treaty of partition.

“ Poland, thus curtailed and oppressed, was unremitting in her efforts to recover her independence and reform her institutions. Encouraged at the time by Great Britain, she undertook with redoubled confidence the work of her regeneration. In the course of the first four years, her legislature framed the constitution of the 3d of May, 1791, which was grounded on the principles of her



former institutions, and obtained the approbation of the enlightened political writers of Great Britain, who praised its moderation and wisdom. Poland naturally prided herself on the interest taken by England in her cause; and now that she is abandoned to her own fate, she renews her expectations from Great Britain. The neighbours of our republic, uniting violence to treason, had the audacity to assert that our institutions were anarchical, jacobinical, and contagious; and seeing no better mode of remedying those evils, and restoring happiness and tranquillity to her people, than by straitening the limits of the republic, they then jointly invaded it a second time, and perpetrated the partition of 1793.

“The liberty of discussion was violated in the most revolting manner at Grodno, in 1793, in order to silence the members of the assembly, and to extort their consent to this second partition. Poland, indignant at so much shame and atrocity, took up arms under the immortal Kosciuszko; but her noble efforts again proved unsuccessful: the last crime of the three neighbouring powers was then committed, and the ancient republic, torn to pieces, disappeared from the map of Europe. Those successive partitions of Poland subverted the system of the European states; they checked the progress of the emancipation of the people, by considerably increasing the material force of the despotic powers; they were the cause of a long, difficult, and bloody struggle for independence and political liberty in the west; they gave birth to a new system, contrary to public right and justice; they afforded additional power to despots to turn to their own profit the annihilation of the independence and existence of nations; they enabled them to interfere in the domestic affairs of other states; and, under the pretence of benefiting the people, and curbing the spirit of rebellion, they overturned and destroyed the liberty of 20,000,000 of Poles. It was then that the struggle between the two principles began—a struggle, which, after having brought on the dismemberment of Poland, ought to end by her complete re-establishment, which is the only measure capable of securing liberty against the violence of despotism.

“The very day of the fall of Poland, the nation began to vindicate its rights. In her anxiety to profit, in every part of the globe, of all possible means to recover her independence, she joined her fate with that of France, which she supposed to be engaged in a



struggle for liberty. Polish emigrants have fallen in the four parts of the world, fighting the battles of the French; and the death of 200,000 of them proved to France and to the world their inviolable attachment to their national cause. They imagined that the hero of the age, who so often led his eagles to victory, was the messiah who was to accomplish their patriotic hopes. He conducted them triumphantly, in 1807, to their country; established the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was a mere shadow of ancient Poland; secured to Lithuania and Volhynia the enjoyment of a momentary independence (1812;) and at the same time that he refused to sanction the late partitions, he perpetrated and signed new ones. Thus he yielded to Russia, in 1807 and 1809, the province of Bialystock and the circle of Tarnopol, allowed Prussia and Austria to preserve some of their usurped provinces in Poland, and even wrested from the Poles those which they had conquered at the expense of their blood, in the glorious campaign of 1809.

“The sixth partition of Poland was decreed seventeen years ago, by the Congress of Vienna. Austria and Prussia took possession of a part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and the remainder passed under the Russian yoke, with the title of kingdom. It was natural that this should have been the case, since the fate of Poland was left to the decision of the three powers, who had joined during many years for its annihilation. What other result but a new dismemberment of a fallen nation, could be expected from their deliberations? Nevertheless, in the language of diplomacy, it was called the restoration of Poland, and said to be fully calculated to satisfy the wants of the Polish nation. But the Pole who fought for his country could not be induced to think so.

“The republic formerly contained about 12,000 Polish square miles, and 20,000,000 of inhabitants. Poland, as it was formed by the treaty of Vienna, separated, and removed from the seas and mountains which once constituted its natural limits, scarcely consisted of one-fifth of ancient Poland. Prussia now owns 1,000 square miles, and 2,000,000 of her inhabitants; Austria 1,500 square miles, and 4,000,000 of her inhabitants; Russia, 8,000 square miles, and 9,400,000 inhabitants; the free city of Cracow 120,000 inhabitants. The late kingdom merely comprised 2,300 square miles, with less than 4,000,000 of souls; and even this was annexed to Russia.



“We shall not attempt to draw the picture of the sufferings which the nation has had to endure in that new condition. The manifesto of the diet, dated December 20, 1830, has proclaimed them to the world. It shewed how the Russian autocrat, so far from having fulfilled the conditions of the treaty, to the observance of which he was strictly bound, has shamelessly violated them all; and the same manifesto held up to the world the inalienable rights of a nation which has never ceased to vindicate them. The recorded sentiments of Pitt and Fox, on the subject of Poland, are in perfect accordance with our wishes and with our rights. “Rely on your patriotism,” said Fox, “on your energy, and on the spirit of the times, and you will succeed in establishing your liberty and independence.” “You cannot prevent their swallowing you,” hinted the Geneva philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “but contrive at least that they shall not digest you.” The revolution of the 29th of November clearly shewed that the nation relied on its own strength, and was able to burst its fetters. Though 6,000,000 of Poles, placed under the dominion of Russia and Austria, were compelled by an unfortunate policy to remain quiet, yet thousands of them overcame every obstacle, to join their brothers in their struggle for liberty. The insurrection which manifested itself on the banks of the Vistula, in the kingdom permitted by the congress, was an appeal to the whole nation to take part for the common cause. This appeal was responded to in Lithuania, as well as in the distant provinces of Old Poland, where thousands simultaneously rose without arms and ammunition; they being one and the same nation, protesting against a partition renewed at the Congress of Vienna, and calling for the entire re-establishment at Poland. The sacred fire, which it was long forbidden to kindle on the altars of the country, burnt secretly in the hearts of virtuous men, united in one common sentiment. The nation only awaited a favourable opportunity to rise and shake off the yoke: and even in this disastrous period, ready again to fly to arms, they trust, representatives of Great Britain, that you will afford them that opportunity.

“To you we appeal in our misfortune: a free nation may reasonably found its hopes on the support and alliance of another free nation. Great Britain has carried to the remotest parts of



the globe the blessings of civilization, which she knows how to defend. In her legislature, men are always found disposed to plead the cause of humanity: to England belongs the glory of having abolished the odious man-trade; it behoves her to-day to put an end to the far more odious traffic of nations.

“Killing a man—loading him with irons—is a crime in our social institutions. Can there be a greater outrage against humanity than that of attempting the liberty and independence of a whole nation, dismembering it, annexing it to other nations different from it in manners, language, and government, loading it with chains, and dooming it to extermination? The vocabulary of human institutions does not contain an appropriate expression to qualify so atrocious a crime. Poland fell, nevertheless, a victim to such a crime, which is not likely to satiate Russian despotism.

“The cabinet of St. Petersburg extends its views much farther. Faithful to its system of conquest, it places itself at the head of every alliance which has for its object the extinction of the liberty and independence of mankind. Triumphant on the banks of the Danube, Russia could easily overthrow the Ottoman empire; victorious in Persia, and the countries bordering on the Caspian Sea, she will extend her left to the East Indies, and threaten the colonies of Great Britain; once Poland annihilated, she commands, we may say, the rest of the continent of Europe. The preponderancy which Russia has acquired in the Baltic and the Black Sea, will enable her to exclude the produce of British manufactures from the countries bathed by those seas. Exercising all over the continent, through her embassies and legations, the same power she possessed in Poland at the time of its decline, her despotism and pernicious influence are felt in all the states of Europe, both large and small. She sows discord and disaffection every where, debases in the eyes of the people the governments too subservient to her wishes, destroys their liberal institutions, and disposes at pleasure of the liberty of individuals. Great Britain, in interfering on behalf of Poland, twice met with an insulting refusal from the ambitious cabinet of St. Petersburg, —in 1789, as well as in 1815, when Russia scornfully rejected the energetic demand made by England for the absolute independence of Poland, which Great Britain considered as the only means of



checking the progressive encroachments of the power of Russia. On this occasion, the autocrat again showed how little he valued British interference. The Congress of Vienna disposed of the fate of nations in favour of the three despotic courts. The people who contributed so strenuously to Napoleon's downfall, derived no real benefit from their decisions. Great Britain wasted her blood and treasures for the sole advantage of the Holy Alliance. States and dominions were allotted to kings, who were dispossessed of their thrones, but the rights of the people were openly disregarded. The treaty of the Congress of Vienna is not binding on the outraged people, neither did it bind the oppressed and persecuted Polish nation. The high mission of Great Britain at this moment, is to plead the cause of nations.

“The revolution of July in France—the establishment of the kingdom of Belgium—the insurrection of Greece—the conquests of Russia over the Turks—the conduct of the Russian emperors towards Poland, both before and after the revolution of the 29th of November, 1830, have, *de jure et de facto*, annulled the treaty of 1815. The Polish revolution was the commencement of the bloody contest between despotism and liberty. “Every good Pole,” says the manifesto of the diet, ‘who shall fall in the field, will have the consolation of having saved for a moment the liberties of Europe, if Heaven does not grant him the satisfaction of rescuing his own country from bondage.

“When commencing a struggle which lasted during ten months, the Poles were persuaded that policy and humanity would induce the powers of Europe to interfere in their behalf. Nevertheless, those powers remained silent. The three neighbouring monarchs, acting in concert, succeeded, either by open war, or by secret and hostile manœuvres and intrigues, in paralyzing and defeating our efforts, and nobody has since thought of paying the debt contracted towards Poland. In vain did the national government endeavour to unravel, through its diplomatic agents, the mysteries of the cabinets; a profound silence, or deceitful promises, stifled the sympathy of the people: the time went by, and we were overpowered. We alone entertain a hope, a certainty, ‘that Poland shall not perish as long as we live,’ and that ere long it shall be restored to its ancient state of power, liberty, and independence. Our motto, from Shakspeare, ‘To be, or not



to be,' shews our firm determination to accomplish the object we have proposed to ourselves. It is with that intention we now claim the protection of the people of Great Britain, and their representatives. We are ready to undergo the most trying hardships and sufferings, and to make the greatest sacrifices, to reconquer our independence, and restore our country to its primitive state. The efforts we have made for the last sixty years, we set forth as our title to the interest of the representatives of Great Britain, at a moment when the liberty of mankind is in danger, and requires their attention and particular solicitude.

"Signed by 1,622 Senators, Deputies, Generals, and  
other public functionaries of Poland.

"Conformably to the original—

"The Secretary of the Polish national Committee,

"VALERIAN PIETKIWICZ."

Poland, then—heroic Poland! has fallen, but not fallen in vain. No pitying friend stretched out a hand to help her; no generous foe is that which, by impelling its irresistible masses of disciplined barbarism, triumphed in the struggle. But the blood of her brave defenders has not been unavailingly shed; it cries from the earth for vengeance, and its cry will one day be heard. Renovated France and reformed Britain will not always lend a deaf ear to the supplications of men who have shewn that they deserve liberty, by consenting to pay such a price for even a faint chance of obtaining it. We are upon the confines of a new era, "A change has come over the spirit of the age—mighty questions have been stirred—deep interests have been created—vast masses of men, formerly inert and passive, have suddenly begun to heave to and fro with the force of a newly-inspired animation—the old order of things is passing away, and all things are becoming new." Meanwhile let the word be, "Fraternization among freemen all over the world."

#### SECTION IV.—*The Affairs of Belgium.*

It has been already remarked in a former volume,\* that the revolutionary flame spread its contagious influence from France

\* Life and Times of William the Fourth, p. 630.



into other countries, and that Belgium caught the infection in 1830, when an explosion took place at Brussels, which ended in the separation of the two countries, Holland and Flanders, after a union of fifteen years, under William of Nassau, by the title of King of the Netherlands. On the 4th of June, 1831, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg was offered the crown of Belgium, which he accepted, leaving it to the great leading powers of Europe to guarantee the limits of his kingdom, and the tranquillity of his reign.

The adjustment of the various matters connected with this affair has occupied the deliberations of the accredited ministers belonging to England, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, at intervals, for the last eighteen months, during which time between sixty and seventy protocols, or interlocutory conventions, have been drawn up and subscribed—the result of the labours of the London conference. The declared and ostensible effect of their industry has been the dissolution of the kingdom of the Netherlands, after an uneasy existence of fifteen years, and the erection of one of its fragments into the little monarchy of Belgium. Against the terms of this dissolution, and of this creation, the King of Holland has constantly and loudly protested. On the part of the old United Provinces, he objected, 1st, to the navigation of the Belgic flag within the Dutch waters on the same conditions as that of Holland; and 2nd, to the responsibility of Dutch credit for so large a portion of the common debt as was assigned to it by the acts of the allied ministers. In the mean time, there were two other parties, reluctant co-operators in the general work of congress. The German, Russian, and British courts would, if they could, have prevented the dismemberment of the Dutch-Flemish kingdom; and France must have seen with deep, though suppressed vexation, the separate establishment of a new state, out of materials which all ranks and parties of Frenchmen, from Larmarque to Polignac, have agreed (however differing on every other point of policy) that it was a French object of the highest necessity to incorporate with the dominions of that great country.

Both classes of negociators—those of France, and those of the other powers of Europe—were induced reciprocally, by a dread of the incalculable evils of a general war, each to surrender its



favourite project; Germany, Russia, and England, to acquiesce in the dismemberment of the kingdom of 1815, and France to forego the appropriation of the Belgic portion to her own territory. In consequence of this mutual harmony, or fear, the existence of the new kingdom has been decreed unanimously, and confirmed, defined, and provided for by protocols almost innumerable. That, so far as the separation went, it was a wise decision of the powers in congress, is attested by the judgments of all sober-minded men, amongst others by the Duke of Wellington, (on that side of the question, an arbitrator beyond dispute,) who declared that it was politically impossible for Holland and the Netherlands to remain any longer incorporated.

The King of Holland, seeming to concur in the abstract necessity of a separation, has to the last persisted in rejecting the terms attached to it by the congress, and upon the two grounds above referred to, namely, the internal navigation, and the unjust distribution of the debt. Instead of yielding gradually to the urgent counsels or remonstrances of the allied powers, his Dutch majesty appears to have become more fixed and stubborn in opposition, as the general dissatisfaction of the members of the congress at the delay of a final arrangement was more manifest. He has submitted a counter-project to the treaty of the allied powers, and it is of such a cast as would seem almost to render an appeal to the sword inevitable. Thus the case at the present moment stands, after two years' palavering between his Dutch majesty and the five great powers of Europe.

The treaty of the 15th of November, called the Treaty of the 24 Articles, and which has been already ratified, (subject to some arrangements of detail,) by the five great powers, called upon King William to make concessions and enter into stipulations with Belgium by a certain day then named, but which has been from time to time enlarged, so as to bring it down to almost the present moment. His majesty appears to have always regarded the conditions so proposed as galling and mortifying in the last degree, and has accordingly resorted to every possible expedient, in the first place, to relieve him from the necessity of submission at all; and then, finding that course impracticable, to put off as long as possible the day of final account. These manœuvres, principally through the firmness of the English and French



governments, and some portion of plain-dealing on the part of their absolute allies, have now all failed, and the time appeared to have come at last when he was to signify his final resolves, or abide unpleasant consequences. The first he had had the boldness to do, supported, it is thought at Brussels, by secret assurances from Prussia, by flying in the face of almost every material enactment of the treaty in question.

The king now declares—first, that he refuses to recognize the political, though he is willing to admit the administrative separation of Belgium from Holland; but he says he is not wholly indisposed to treat hereafter for the recognition of King Leopold, provided his other terms are acceded to by the conference:—secondly, he insists, in the teeth of article 9 in the treaty, upon the closing of the Scheldt against the Belgians, and repudiates their acknowledged right of fishing in its waters, &c.: thirdly, he claims the re-union of Limburg to Holland, and protests against any canal or rail-road across the province, so as to connect Antwerp with the Rhine: fourthly, he seeks the retention of Luxemburg: and fifthly, he contends for a great increase to the portion of the common debt, which is to fall to the share of his opponents; an increase which, according to the *Courrier Belge*, will swell the Belgian portion from 8,400,000fl. to 50,000,000fl. This latter demand seems the more unreasonable, because, in fact, two-thirds of the sum originally apportioned by the conference to Belgium, was by way of fine for the opening of the Scheldt; but the king of Holland insists upon the price of the privilege, whilst he exclaims against conceding any part of it. It appears to be taken for granted that these qualifications of adhesion on the part of Holland to the treaty of the 24 articles, will be rejected by the conference; and war between the rival states begins to be again, notwithstanding late delusive reports to the contrary, considered inevitable.

We shall have occasion to resume this article in a subsequent part of the volume.

#### SECTION V.—*Italy, and the States of Germany.*

IN the beginning the year 1831, the spirit of revolutionary reform began to manifest itself in Italy, and a simultaneous



movement took place at Modena, Bologna, and Parma; in consequence of which, addresses were issued by the propagandist party, calling upon all the inhabitants of northern Italy to rally round their standard, and give their aid in suppressing the insurrection. On this occasion, an Austrian army passed the Po, and rescued the Legations from the hands of the revolutionists. At this time France appeared to hesitate as to what part she should act,—whether she should join the insurgents, to oppose the inroad of the Austrians; or renounce her power of interference in concerns which did not immediately affect her own interests; and, determining on the latter, she was enabled to achieve more as an umpire than she could do as a party. In consideration of her permission to the Austrians to settle unmolested, in conjunction with the supreme pontiff, the affairs of the northern part of Italy, the French government acquired an ascendancy in the councils of the Vatican, which was employed for the most beneficial purpose of procuring an extension of rights, privileges, and immunities to the vanquished. It was principally through French influence that the Pope's consent was obtained to those political ameliorations which were to confer on the papal provinces in the north, a new judicial administration, together with provincial and municipal assemblies under a species of popular control.

The people of the Legations being left to be self-governed till these new institutions were established, availed themselves of the interval to organize a resistance to the papal government, should the projected improvements prove insufficient in their extent, doubtful in their character, or less popular than they had been taught to anticipate. When at last they were promulgated in papal edicts, they were almost universally condemned, and were soon generally resisted. The natural result of this was, that in January, 1832, insurrectionary movements again made their appearance, in a more formidable shape. The first explosion took place on the 20th of January, at Cesena, where a battle ensued between the Italian refugee liberals, and the papal troops, under the command of Cardinal Albani; when numbers of the former were massacred with atrocious cruelty, and several made prisoners. On the following day (January 21,) a similar event took place at Forli, of which these are said to be the exact details. The *Ave Maria* had scarcely been sounded a quarter of an hour, when



a quarrel arose between two individuals, and a gun was fired in the square. It appears that this was a signal agreed upon, for the whole pontifical troops immediately cried out "Treason," and a general discharge of shots took place simultaneously at all points. Forty-four persons were killed, and more than double the number wounded; the firing lasted till half past one o'clock in the morning. Shops were plundered, the coffee-houses and private houses sacked; patrols and picquets called out to the citizens, "*Qui vive?*" and when the latter answered "*Ami,*" they received a musket shot. The magistrates proceeded to meet Cardinal Albani, who presented himself, during the night, before the town, soon after the firing had ceased, and issued a proclamation, dated the 22nd of January. It was soon evident, however, that the papal forces would have been insufficient to establish the Pope's authority in the Legations, notwithstanding all the sanctity of the Roman purple with which his army was accompanied, in having Cardinal Albani at its head. The inhabitants of Bologna and Romagna had crying oppressions to avenge, and flagrant abuses to correct; and, aware of the magnitude of the tempest that was brewing against him, the Pope lost no time in flying to the Emperor of Austria for succour, which was promptly afforded. From the following proclamation, dated as it was on the 19th of January, it would even appear that the occupation was a thing settled before the papal troops commenced their movement; for it was antecedent to the battle of Cesena.

"People of Bologna,—The Imperial and Royal troops under my command, by agreement with the high powers who guaranteed to the Holy Apostolic See the integrity of its states, enter these states at the request of his Holiness, your legitimate sovereign.

"His majesty the emperor, my most august sovereign, in affording the protection of his arms to the sovereign pontiff, has no other object than to maintain good order and legitimate authority.

"Experience, which is doubtless present to your recollection, must teach you what you have a right to expect from the troops of my sovereign; that is to say, the strictest discipline, the maintenance of public tranquillity, and the protection of all persons who pay to legitimate authority the respect and obedience due to it.

"COUNT RADETZKI,

"Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial and Royal army in Italy.

"Head-quarters at Milan, Jan. 19, 1832."



On the present occasion, the French government did not chuse to remain altogether passive : they fitted out an expedition, which sailed from the port of Toulon. On the 21st of February, a line-of-battle ship and two frigates, forming the first division, arrived before the port of Ancona ; on the night of the 22d, a thousand men were landed, and at three o'clock next morning they proceeded to take possession of the fortress, to which they procured access by breaking down the gates, which it appears the papal troops would neither defend nor open. This gentle violence excepted, the troops of the two powers seem to have displayed a reasonably accommodating spirit ; for the fort was subsequently agreed to be kept possession of by guards equally selected from each. The whole French force amounted only to fifteen hundred men, while that of the Austrians was computed at twenty thousand ; but the former could easily communicate, if necessary, with their countrymen in Greece. It does not, however, appear that there was any disposition on the part of either the Austrians or the French to molest each other ; and as to the poor Pope, he was quite unequal to cope with either. When the arrival of the French was announced to him, he is said to have put himself in a very towering passion. The French ambassador demanded an audience for M. Cubieres, the commander of the expedition, but the " holy father" met it by a flat refusal, and Cardinal Bernetti exclaimed, that, since the times of the Saracens, nothing like the French invasion had been attempted against the sovereign pontiff. A formal protest against the landing of the French troops was issued by the Pope on the 25th ; and a formal demand was made of their instant departure, and also of compensation for the damage they had occasioned. In days of yore, the Roman Pontiff was wont to carry on his wars with paper pellets, but the time for such weapons is now gone by.

The day previous to the arrival of the French fleet at Ancona, Cardinal Albani issued a decree, which was worthy of Don Miguel himself. It established at Bologna a temporary tribunal, for the trial of offences against the state. The tribunal was to be composed of a president and two judges, chosen by the judiciary power, and of three other military judges (captains or lieutenants,) a fiscal attorney, an advocate, a chancellor, and a convenient number of judges, *instructeurs*, solicitor-generals, and substitutes,



“every one of them *named by us!*” The following is a specimen of the articles :—A conspiracy begun or only manifest, a project with or without an oath, between two or a greater number of persons, to rebel against the sovereign of the state, or to oblige, either to concession, or to suspend or disarm the police force, shall be *punished by death*.—The authors and printers of writings exciting to rebellion shall be punished by being sent to the galleys for life.—Any person or persons who shall suffer themselves to be seduced or enticed into a conspiracy or rebellion, or who shall distribute seditious writings, shall be punished by the galleys from ten to fifteen years, or from fifteen to twenty years, according to the importance of the case, and the concurrence of circumstances.—Any person who shall devote himself to the distribution of a single print, paper, or writing, which, though it was in fact directed toward the said end of sedition or conspiracy, had produced no effect, to be punished by five to ten years’ galleys, and a fine of from 100 to 500 Roman crowns.—Any one who shall possess any writing, or printed paper, capable of provoking sedition or other attempt against the sovereign or the government, to be punished by from one to five years’ imprisonment, and a fine of from 50 to 100 crowns.—All secret societies, whatever may be their denomination, are proclaimed associations in a state of rebellion, permanent against the sovereign and the state, even if their name is not determined; consequently, any person belonging to the aforesaid societies shall be punished according to the preceding articles, for all the doings and acts stipulated in the laws. Any person or persons, who, willing to favour a secret society, shall hide or receive an associate who is not a member of his family, or shall favour his escape, shall incur the penalty of the galleys for life.—Any person who, by any means, shall be aware of a re-union or other operations of a secret society, and shall not declare it to the authority, shall be punished by from five to ten years’ galleys.

Such is the edict of this saintly personage—and it is difficult, in reading it, to divest the mind of an impression that we are not reverting back to the times of the inquisition, of which it surely is worthy, for the sanguinary spirit which it breathes throughout. By way of completing the mockery of justice, this “consecrated ruffian,” Cardinal Albani, nominated his council of three—and appointed not merely a prosecuting, but a defending pleader,



whose services alone would be available for the unhappy persons who might be dragged before his tribunal. To what extent this sanguinary edict has been carried into effect, has not yet transpired. It is one thing to threaten, and another to execute; and probably the presence of a French force, especially if backed by a word of remonstrance, might operate in the way of salutary check on the pontifical government.

The conduct of the papal brigands on this occasion, is described as most infamous, by those who had the opportunity of witnessing them, as the following extracts of letters will shew.

“Every moment new proofs are discovered of the atrocities committed by these brigands, who kill for the mere pleasure of killing. Among the slain are three ecclesiastics, several women, and many children. In order to withdraw the dead bodies from the observation of the people, they have been removed, stripped of their clothes, to the cemetery, where they have been heaped together. It was among these that the headless body of Count Gnorchì was recognized by a mark on one of his stockings. The bodies of the young Counts Gaddi and Saule have not yet been discovered, although several searches were made in the canal of the city, in which it was believed they had been thrown.

“These horrible excesses are principally attributed to assassins from Frosenone, and the galley-slaves, embodied in the troops. The massacres of Cesena were not, any more than those of Forlì, provoked by the inhabitants. No punishment has been inflicted on the troops who committed these excesses: their officers have quite enough to do to keep them under their orders. To-day the soldiers continue to make use of the most horrible language. They say that they will wash their hands in blood, and announce that they will massacre all the young men who wear a beard and mustachios.

“Already the Austrians are scattered over the Legations; and it must be admitted that their presence bodes more good to the inhabitants than that of the papal brigands. What could be the muster of a French division, which they could disembark at Civita-Vecchia? Is it wished that they should join their colours to those of the assassins of Cesena and Forlì? that, under the supreme command of the Cardinal Albani, or of some other Roman general as worthy of having the French under his orders, our



troops should contribute to the establishment of that pontifical legality, which devastates, massacres, and violates with impunity? Can there be, as it has been said, the hope of keeping the Austrians from Ancona? But Civita-Vecchia is on one side, and Ancona on another. It would be necessary to traverse the peninsula to its whole extent, and the Austrians would be at Ancona before our soldiers could be disembarked at Civita-Vecchia. They will not see, let us hope, the tri-coloured flag take the last of the Austrian colours, and bring up the rear-guard of the holy massacres of Forli and Cesena. Rather would we see a new Austrian occupation, than find ourselves mixed in such horrors."

January 27. "We are now completely surrounded by the Austrians, who have already taken possession of nearly the whole of Romagna. General Geppart has pushed forward 6,000 men into the country on different points. Yesterday they arrived at Forli, where they halted for six days, being afraid lest a general insurrection would take place. Wherever the Austrians present themselves, they begin by disarming the civic guards, and declaring those corps dissolved; but, a few hours after, they deliver to the citizens the arms they had taken from them, under an engagement to re-organize themselves under the title of Rural Guards, and to watch over the maintenance of order. The town of Bologna is surrounded on all sides. Cardinal Albani is preparing to advance with his troops, to make his triumphal entrance into Bologna, escorted by the Austrians.

"Amidst the general exasperation, the Modenese, who had found an asylum amongst us, excite a lively interest. Subscriptions have been opened, and spontaneously filled, to afford them the means of flight. They intend to go to France, Corsica, or Greece. Many of our people will soon follow them."

The following extracts may serve to shew something of the present posture of affairs in that quarter, and go far to satisfy us, that though the flame may smoulder for the present, it is only that it may gain strength, and burst out at no distant period with redoubled violence.

"The *Augsburg Gazette* of the 19th instant brings intelligence from Ancona to April 11th, which confirms the news of an encounter between the French and some armed countrymen, excited by their curate. In consequence of these disorders, Gene-



ral Cubieres published the following order of the day on the 9th: 'Some brigands, who, for the most part, do not belong to the town of Ancona, and assume the name of patriots, endeavour to excite *emeutes* (insurrection) for the purpose of plunder. As they found it impossible to do so at Ancona, in the presence of the French troops, they sought to execute their criminal project in the country. The village Della Grazie was yesterday exposed to their attacks. The inhabitants were forced to take up arms in defence of their property. A patrol of the 66th regiment, who was sent to the spot, was slightly wounded by a musket-shot. This incident, which happened in the night, cannot be considered as an hostile act against the French troops. Orders have been given that no one leave the town with arms. The commanding officers enjoin their subordinates not to extend their walks beyond the suburbs. The guards will redouble their vigilance, and permit no assemblages in the streets. They are to arrest all such persons as disturb the public tranquillity by acts or menaces.'

In Italy, the power of the Austrians was every day more strongly manifesting itself. The Pope had issued a bull of excommunication of the citizens of Ancona, for their declaration of independence, which was read with universal disgust, and threatened to lead to serious consequences. Another revolt might, it was feared, demand Austrian interference, and possibly render the intervention of the French absolutely necessary.

Letters from Umbria and Romagna say that tranquillity prevails in the provinces; but the people are every where impatiently expecting reforms and laws. The Roman court has at length given its consent to the holding of the fair at Senigaglia, which is to commence on the 25th of July, and end on the 13th of August.

So much for the Italian States: let us now look to Germany, and there the flame of liberty seems to be spreading.

The private and public accounts, received from Germany, represent the ferment in that country as on the increase, and we may reckon safely on an uninterrupted series of similar announcements from the same quarter, until concessions to their subjects be made by, or extorted from, the arbitrary governments of the various states comprised under the general title of "Germany;" after which, adieu to despotism in Europe. A public dinner took place



in Paris, on Sunday, the 27th May, of "the friends of liberty all over the world," general La Fayette in the chair. The majority of those present (there were 400 in all,) were Germans, and the fête had particular reference to Germany, having been, in fact, only one of a vast number of meetings of the friends of German liberty, appointed to be held at various places on the same day. Should any doubt suggest itself of the correctness of this averment, it may be removed by an article in the *Courier du Bas Rhin*, published at Strasburg, which, under date so remote as the 23rd April, states that the mayors of all the (French) frontier communes had received orders from Paris, directing, that should any Germans present themselves for admission into France (an occurrence very probable after the 27th ult.,) they, the mayors, should receive and treat them in the same way in which the Poles and other refugees were received and treated; but on condition that they should lay aside their uniforms. The meaning of this was, that the 27th was fixed for simultaneous public meetings, with political objects, throughout Germany—that one of them, to be holden at Hambach, would, it was calculated, consist of 30,000 men—that a conflict with the armed force was not unlikely—that the defeat of the people in the first instance was, at least, equally possible—and that hence some of those who should so commit themselves might be expected to seek refuge in France. The most remarkable part of this circular direction to the mayors is, however, the inference that men "in uniform" might possibly be found among those who should so look for an asylum on this side of the Rhine. Prince Metternich has his hands full. We shall have a warm summer on the Continent, in all probability; but war between nations is not likely."

"The news from Germany becomes more interesting, if not more important, every day. From all quarters we learn from the papers, that the restlessness of the people, under their present institutions, begins to display itself more apparently, and that their impatience has latterly been vented in terms which really denote a serious determination to improve their condition, and hazard every thing in the experiment. The recent fête at Hambach, which was, in fact, intended as a grand "aggregate" meeting of the reformers of Germany, though it ended in disappointment, was still marked by features which have given to it a fearful importance in the eyes of the petty tyrants of that extensive country. Some of the prin-



cial actors upon that occasion have been since, for the violence of their language, obliged to fly; but the spirit which their harangues conjured up has not been laid, and, though at present quiet, it seems to be feared that it will soon revive, and again manifest itself more strongly than ever. In connexion with this subject, the proceedings which have very recently taken place in the legislative assembly at Hanover cannot fail to be appreciated with great interest. We have already stated that the king, at the opening of the session, caused a communication to be made to the chamber, that a constitution was in preparation, the basis of which was to be a more extended system of popular representation, and some other approximations to a state of national freedom. Upon the address, in answer to this speech, a discussion arose, the tenour and tone of which would do credit to the most free deliberative assembly known to modern times. Several speakers gave their opinions with firmness, but moderation; and the various topics proper to be introduced into the address appear to have been suggested and supported with a talent which rendered their introduction almost unanswerable. Amongst other topics, we find the Hanoverian reformers stoutly standing out for better terms for their country, from that body which calls itself the "Germanic Confederation," and whose business it seems to be merely to apportion the amount of military burden upon each component state of that association, without considering at all the inter-relations of the several parts, political or commercial—an improvement of the institutions for the distribution of justice—an inquiry into the distresses of the country—publicity to the debates in the chambers—freedom of the press—abolition of the grinding feudal German tenures—a remission of punishment to certain unfortunate political prisoners—and, lastly, an inquiry into that utter disgrace of the Duke of Cambridge's government, the recent violation of all the duties of hospitality (singular in all Germany) towards the unfortunate refugee Poles at Gottingen.

The following letter from a gentleman at Hamburgh, under date of the 8th of June, of the present year, furnishes a still more detailed account of the recent proceedings in that quarter.

On the 27th May, a great public assembly was held at the castle of Hambach, near Newstadt, on the Haardit, (not far west of Speyer,) in Rhenish Bavaria. It was called a May festival, (which was



formerly customary in Germany,) and was at this time in celebration of the Bavarian constitution, which was granted on this day by the late king Maximilian. It is said, that from 40 to 50,000 persons, from all parts of Germany, viz. Baden, Wirtemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, &c., from Frankfort on the Maine, &c. &c., Prussians, Poles, Frenchmen, &c., attended. All wore the German cockade, *red, black, and gold*. As many of the more well-inclined liberals were not present, the revolutionists, such as Drs. Wirth, Siebenpfeiffer, and Borne, (who had come from Paris,) had nearly the management of the whole. No excesses took place; but the persons just mentioned made speeches, in which they exhorted their friends to do all they could to unite Germany into one republic; employing the most opprobrious names, in speaking of the reigning houses in Germany. According to Wirth's proposal, a general revolution is to take place in all the different parts of Germany, at one and the same time, in order to expel and punish the tyrants, &c. A committee to bring about all this was elected on the following day; and the things they demand are, 1. Universal liberty of the press. 2. The king of Prussia to be only elector of Brandenburg; and 3. the Emperor, elector of Austria. The other princes and kings were not even thought worthy to be mentioned. Harro-Harring also attended the meeting, but, hearing that they were going to arrest him, he returned to Weissenburg in France; but after he had got there, he was ordered to return to Germany immediately, as they had (and, it is said, by the telegraph) orders, if necessary, to bring him over the frontiers by an armed force. In St. Wendel, beyond the Rhine, but belonging to Coburg, a tree of liberty has again been erected, and the vicar Juch again made a speech. Since then, 300 Prussians have entered there, and 2000 more are to follow. A letter from Karlsratic in the *Stuttgardt Allgemuru Zeitung*, says, that the 8th corps of the army of the German Diet, consisting of the contingents of Baden, Wurtemberg, and Hesse-Cassel, and amounting to 30,000 men, are to occupy Baden, because there are 30,000 Frenchmen in Huningen, close to the frontiers. But the *Freisimige* denies the latter, and says these measures are only directed against the free press in Baden, where however all are going to offer resistance to any measure that would deprive them of this. In Worms, excesses have taken place on account of the high price of bread; and blood has



flowed. Festivals of a like nature to that of Hambach have been kept on a smaller scale in different parts of the states of Germany. Trees of liberty have been erected in various places, and one even in the vicinity of Munich. In consequence of the requisitions of the Prussian and Austrian ambassadors at Dresden, all the Polish refugees are to leave Saxony. The present fair at Leipsig is said to be the best for the last twenty-five years.

Hamburgh papers to the 5th May announce the opening of the session of the states on the 30th ultimo, by a speech from the Duke of Cambridge, in which his royal highness explained the gracious intentions of his Majesty as to the improvement of the constitution, conformably to the wishes and request of the preceding assembly. The principles laid down as the basis of the reformed constitutions were, "the faithful fulfilment of duties towards the country, the strict maintenance of the king's prerogatives, and the full and entire recognition of the rights and liberties of his subjects." One of the improvements adopted—and a great one it will be acknowledged to be—is the admission of land-owners, for the first time, as members of the states. A readiness is also expressed in the speech, to sanction the consolidation of the domainal funds with the ordinary civil revenue of the country; the conditions to be stated hereafter by communication with his majesty. The reduction of taxation, the retrenchment of expense, and the encouragement of industry, form the remaining topics, and are each strongly insisted on, as necessary to the welfare of the country, and the preservation of mutual confidence between the government and its subjects. Upon the whole, a prospect is held out, of a general amelioration of system within the Hanoverian dominions.

These accounts are sufficiently indicative of the agitation that prevails in Germany, and as the "holy alliance" are pleased to attribute the whole to the public press, we cannot wonder that their indignation is roused to the highest pitch against it. Accordingly, private advices from Vienna represent the "allied sovereigns" as determined on a common campaign against the press: and declare that no reference by any other power to the principle of non-intervention, shall be allowed to interfere between the allied sovereigns and their object. It is one which they will conjointly prosecute hand and heart; one in which they will support



each other by arms, should the liberals, in their respective dominions, revolt. The plain meaning is, say the letters referred to, "the German press has become troublesome, the German people excited; that the one is to be placed in shackles, and the others dragooned to obedience; and, moreover, that Russia, Austria, and Prussia will assist each other by their armies, should any portion of their vassals attempt resistance, notwithstanding the protests or representations of France on the principle of non-intervention." In this crusade, the crowned heads will find enough to do, and the crisis is at hand. Almost every arrival from the continent demonstrates this, especially from the districts near the Rhine. The following paragraph will give the existing state of things about the middle of June.

"There exists an apprehension that the Diet of the Confederacy is about to adopt, under the influence of Austria and Prussia, some very arbitrary measures, with the view of counteracting the present popular spirit; and this apprehension, it may be presumed, tends not a little to augment the public discontent. The Count Von Munch-Bellinghausen, who is the Austrian envoy to the Diet, and also the president of that body, has arrived at Frankfort from Vienna. This diplomatist passed through Munich, where he arrived on the 19th, and spent two or three days in deliberation with the Bavarian government, which is suspected to have entered into the views of the other two powers. The count, it is understood, brings with him propositions for controlling the press, and suppressing popular meetings in Germany; of the adoption of which, by that assembly, we are afraid there can be but little doubt. But, notwithstanding this menacing state of things, the activity of the popular party is not abated; and such of the representative assemblies of the small states as are in session, display an independent spirit. Even in the very seat of the Diet, a strong opposition is manifested. The *Suabian Mercury* says, that, in spite of the warning given by the senate of Frankfort, in compliance with the decree of the Diet, the Frankfort Union for supporting the liberty of the press had a meeting on the 14th, and transacted its business undisturbed. On the same day, an interesting sitting of the states of Electoral Hesse took place. The subject to be decided on was the law for the formation of a burgher or national guard, the mode of



organizing which has been long a subject of dispute between the assembly and the government. All the galleries overflowed with auditors at an early hour, and the different questions which arose were warmly debated. It seems, however, that the government party had thought it advisable to yield most of the points in dispute; for the *Hanover Zeitung* says, that the law, as modified by the report of the committee, to which it had been referred, was carried by thirty-nine to two, and that it would receive the assent of the government. A law of the press, equivalent to that framed for the Grand Duchy of Baden, is the next measure claimed by the Hessians; and that, the papers of the electorate say, will soon be obtained. It remains to be seen how far the authority of the Diet will be able to disappoint this expectation."

Accounts of a still more recent date furnish us with additional proofs of the determination of the German governments to put down the liberal spirit which has begun to animate the people within their respective dominions. An article from Spire, dated the 29th of June, contains a speech made by Prince Wrede, a commissioner of the court of Bavaria, on the installation of M. de Stengel in his functions as commissioner of the Rhine; and of Lieutenant-General de la Motte, in his duties as commander of the troops stationed in Rhenish Bavaria. In the course of this singular speech, the prince read an ordinance of government, which, from its outrageous rigour and severity, must contribute not a little to bring matters to an issue in that quarter. The ordinance is divided into sixteen articles, among which the following are to be found:—

"The agents of government are to have all trees of liberty removed within twenty-four hours, and are to cause all tri-coloured cockades and party badges to be laid aside, so that none but the Bavarian national colours are worn.

"Illegal associations are prohibited; and those who lend their houses for such meetings, shall be punished according to law.

"Ecclesiastics *who shall blame the laws or the actions of government* in public assemblies, or in the exercise of their functions, shall be punished according to the article, 200 *et. seq.* of the penal code, independently of the penalty that may be inflicted on them by their superiors.



“Should the measures taken by virtue of the laws not suffice, the ordinance proceeds to state the cases, in which, according to the constitution, the armed force may be called upon to act; and in such cases the prince will feel himself authorized to the military occupation at the expense of the communes of the places which shall be in a state of armed rebellion. He will give over the local police wholly, or in part, according to circumstances, to the military commander, and will declare them first in a state of war, and then in a state of siege, with all the serious consequences which must follow such a measure.”

In addition to what has been now stated, we have to remark, that the Frankfort paper, entitled the *Ober Postamts Zeitung*, of the 10th inst. (July) contains an official protocol of measures adopted by the Diet of the confederacy, the chief object of which seems to be to render the representative bodies of the several states useless, by relieving the respective princes from the embarrassments which the efficient control of such assemblies is calculated to create to arbitrary governments, and to protect Austria and Prussia against the dangerous example of the beneficial operation of popular institutions. This extraordinary document, intended to crush the spirit of freedom in Germany, is entitled “Public Protocol of the 22d Sitting of the Diet of the German Confederacy, holden on the 28th June, 1832.” It commences with a list of all the ministers present, from the Austrian, who is the president of the Diet, to the envoys of the Hanse Towns; and then follow “the measures for maintaining legal order and tranquillity within the German Confederacy.” We have not room for the details, which are prolix, and lengthened by repetitions; but we must be allowed to say of it, in few words, that it exhibits one of the most frightful attempts upon the liberty and social happiness of mankind recorded in the annals of Europe.

In one word, the whole transaction may be described as a “holy alliance” of all despotic governments throughout the German territory, to crush the very first seeds of freedom in every individual state. Under it, no such thing can henceforth exist, as an honest effort of enlightened citizens or subjects, to obtain any solid improvement of their institutions, however barbarous. Under it, no well-disposed prince or liberal chamber, whether of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hanover, Baden, or Hesse Cassel, can



dare to countenance, encourage, or indulge, the slightest approach to political reformation, or departure from despotic principles, at the peril of provoking an attack by Austrian and Prussian bayonets, for the undisguised purpose of vindicating the indefeasible right of arbitrary government over the actions, enjoyments, and even the thoughts of men.

We shall state a few of the points insisted on by these persecutors of the German race. The "Confederation" is assumed to be a legitimate authority, exercising a sway no less than absolute, over the reciprocal conduct of governments and subjects throughout the whole extent of Germany. No franchise can be granted, no freedom exercised, no offence forgiven, no writing published within the limits of any given state, save under the cognizance and by the consent of the "Federation,"—that is, of an assembly of humble slaves to the will of Austria and Prussia.

The arrangements for the restraint of the press must be "uniform" throughout the states of the federation, or, in other words, Prince Metternich prohibits any greater liberty of speech or writing, from the shores of the Baltic to the mountains of Switzerland, than is suffered to exist at Prague, or Berlin, or Vienna. The "Chambers of the States," in those countries where "chambers" have been instituted, are denounced in conjunction with the "abuses of the press," as attacking "the rights of the confederation;" and a distinct and unequivocal threat is held out, that if the resolutions of the Diet, (dictated of course by Austrian and Prussian autocrats) be not implicitly adopted by the internal governments of the several states, or, in the wild insolence of the official phraseology, "incur the risk of being disavowed by them—then their majesties the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia, in their solicitude for the destiny of the states united in the confederation, *which they do not separate from the care they bestow on their own*," and in their anxiety for the social system of Europe, &c., will employ all the means at their disposal—to wit, grenadiers, cuirassiers, Hulans, Pandours, and so forth—to enforce the resolutions of the Diet, that is, the resolutions of Metternich and Co., and to put down all attempts and institutions in any manner at variance with them. Happy would it be for mankind, if the instruments of power were to turn their arms against tyranny and oppression, wherever found.



Then we are edified by the assurance that, according to a certain act of the Federation, "all the powers of the state must remain *united in the head of the state!*" Whence it follows as a necessary consequence, that no one act of independent or sovereign power can take place in any individual state of the federation, without a liability to be overhauled, annulled, or punished, at the discretion of an Austrian agent.

The granting of taxes is no where to be dependent on the will of the (so called *legislative*) assemblies—that is, whatever Austria chooses to ordain, in the way of squeezing the subjects of the several states of Germany, must be executed, without a murmur, on pain of a visitation from the Croats.

There is further, by virtue of this atrocious edict, a committee of superintendence, or corps, combining the two-fold attributes of viceroys and spies, to be appointed by the Prussic-Austrian Diet, for "the purpose of making itself constantly acquainted *with the proceedings of the estates* within the confederated states," to watch over and canvass all their proposals and resolutions, and report upon them to the Diet!

So, even in those states where freedom of speech within the legislative assemblies forms part of the recognized constitution of the country, and where the freedom of the press is the common privilege of society, no legislator will be *allowed to speak*, and no journalist to report that which the censors of the Diet may disapprove.

Surely this is the most horrible attempt, in the nature of a grave proceeding, ever known, to crush the well-being of any political community! If the Germans submit, they are utterly ruined, undone, and disgraced for ever. If they cower before this gigantic villany, they will not merely rouse the indignation of the world, but its wonder. They have hitherto borne, and justly, the reputation of a reflecting, high-principled, virtuous, brave, and manly people. Too great for tyranny, though suffering under it, eminently fitted for the highest order of liberty, though by a course of fatal accidents denied all access to it; never despised, in the depth of misfortune and misery; nor in the midst of error, once forgetting the esteem and pity of mankind. Such a people cannot fall prostrate before the obscene idol of despotic power. They must and will stand upright. It is



the manifest purpose of the courts of Austria and Prussia to begin by putting down all spirit of resistance among the Germans, taken in their separate and smaller states, and next to swallow and incorporate them with their own vast monarchies. This monstrous crime can only be averted by a seasonable coalition of the minor powers, for mutual defence against the common peril; a scheme of protection, in the success of which Great Britain and France, nay, Prussia herself, and Austria, if alive to their true interests, are substantially, and not less deeply, interested than the people and princes who are called upon to execute that noble measure. The means, the easy means, exist, of consolidating one great state out of a heap of feeble ones; and of converting the union into the most certain instrument of preserving the peace of continental Europe.

SECTION VI. — *Affairs of Spain and Portugal.*

The first spark of constitutional liberty in Spain, made its appearance in the year 1808, when an explosion, which had secretly and silently been collecting its forces, took place. Charles IV., who then swayed the sceptre, had formed the design of removing the seat of government to Mexico; and no sooner had the intended emigration of the royal family transpired, than the Spanish capital presented a scene of anarchy and confusion. On the 17th of March, a report was in circulation that the guards had received orders to march to Aranjuez, where the court then resided, and the inhabitants of Madrid rushed in crowds to the roads, to prevent their departure. At the same time, several of the ministers and grandees who disapproved of the project, circulated hand-bills in the surrounding country, stating the designs of the court, and the danger to which the kingdom was exposed. The night was a scene of tumult, and on the following day immense crowds of people hurried to Aranjuez. The first victim of the popular indignation was Emanuel Godoy, the prince of peace, whose palace was attacked, the furniture destroyed, and himself made prisoner. A proclamation was immediately issued, announcing that the king had dismissed this obnoxious minister from all his employments. In the midst of this popular effervescence, the king resolved to withdraw from this tumultuous scene, and on the 19th of March



issued a royal decree, by which he abdicated the throne in favour of his son, the prince of Asturias. At this moment the French army under the command of the Duke of Berg, entered Madrid and took possession of the capital.

This was succeeded by the artful trepanning of the royal family, and conveying them to Bayonne, under the deceitful pretext of having an interview with the emperor Napoleon, who no sooner got them into his toils, than, on the 25th of May, he issued an imperial decree, declaring the throne of Spain vacant, by the abdication of the reigning family, and convening an assembly of notables, consisting of grandees and prelates, &c., to be held at Bayonne for the purpose of fixing the basis of a new government. In the mean time, the French armies poured into Spain, which, in a little time, was overrun by a hundred thousand Frenchmen, besides twenty thousand sent into Portugal, from whence they drove the Braganza family to seek an asylum at Rio Janeiro, beyond the Atlantic.

Such was the state of matters, when the spirit of patriotism burst forth into a blaze in that kingdom. Provincial assemblies were formed in most of the principal towns, and depôts established in the most suitable situations. Orders were every where issued for raising volunteers, and every effort exerted for organizing the armies. An application was made to England for assistance, and it was promptly afforded. Napoleon had appointed his own brother, Joseph Buonaparte, to fill the vacant throne, and on the 20th of July the new king made his public entrance into Madrid; but, unfortunately for him, on that very day, the French army under the command of general Dumont, was doomed to sustain a signal defeat, and even a surrender to the patriots. His accession was solemnized with illuminations and other external demonstrations of joy, such as power may always extort, but which would not have given the new monarch much pleasure, had he been apprized at the moment of what was passing in the vicinity of Andujar. The splendid illusion, however, was not of long duration. Successive accounts of the disasters of the French armies in Spain, and of the approach of the patriots towards Madrid, indicated that his crown was likely to prove a crown of thorns, and warned him of the propriety of a timely flight. After a short stay of seven days, on the 27th of July he began his retreat from Madrid, carrying off



with him the crown jewels, and all that was most valuable, from the palace of the ancient sovereigns, and retired precipitately towards France, while the patriots took possession of the capital.

From this time Great Britain made the cause of Spain her own ; and, by the skill and valour of her armies assisting the patriots, the French were ultimately driven from the Peninsula, and Ferdinand VII., reinstated on the throne of his ancestors. Instead, however, of selecting able ministers, and adopting a regular system of government, he disgusted his subjects by various acts of cruelty and oppression, while he totally neglected the exercise of that vigour which would have secured the safety of the persons and properties of his subjects from the outrages of the numerous banditti which every where infested the country. This relaxation of his authority naturally encouraged the disaffected, and the state of the kingdom became every day more and more critical. The patriots again had recourse to arms—the popular standard was once more erected—the royal authority was annihilated in Galicia, and Mina, in the province of Navarre, proclaimed the constitution of 1812. The flame now spread through other provinces ; and Ferdinand was so intimidated by the progress of disaffection, that he promised to convoke the Cortes, and bound himself by an oath, on the 10th of March, 1820, to the observance of the constitution.

On the 9th of July, after an interval marked with considerable agitation and excitement, the Cortes assembled, and proceeded in good earnest to promote the regeneration of the kingdom. The exclusive privileges of the nobles were suppressed or diminished ; the administration of justice was purified ; abuses in the various departments of the state were corrected ; the lands of the church were partly appropriated to the public service ; arrangements were made for the reduction of the national debt ; and due attention was also paid to the necessary means of insuring a revival of commerce, and the encouragement of general industry. The king occasionally evinced tokens of jealousy and displeasure, and secret advisers did not fail to recommend it to him to shake off the yoke ; but no opportunity of a counter-revolution presented itself to his anxious wishes.

In this state matters progressed from the year 1820 to 1823, during which time, the “ holy alliance ” were deeply occupied in their deliberations how to counteract the progress of liberal opinions



in Spain. The Cortes, who were in possession of the reins of government, did all they could to keep the imbecile Ferdinand in check. At length came the *denouement*! The emperor of Russia could not behold without disgust and indignation the proceedings in Spain: a congress was convened at Verona, at which the three despotic sovereigns resolved that their ministers at the court of Madrid should remonstrate with the rulers of that country, and insist on such arrangements as might preclude the necessity of the interference of other powers. Ferdinand himself was also tutored to address the Cortes in a high tone, and to insist upon the relinquishment of those revolutionary measures *which menaced France with serious danger*. The British minister at the court of Madrid protested against the right of foreign states to control an independent nation, or of dictating the system which it should adopt. The crowned despots, however, persisted in their unjustifiable course, and found no difficulty in prevailing upon Louis the Eighteenth to become the instrument of carrying their determination into effect.

Under the specious pretext of forming a *cordon sanataire*, an army of seventy thousand men was put in a state of requisition by the French government, and marched to the foot of the Pyrenees. The command of the army was given to the Duke of Angouleme, who without much difficulty marched to Madrid. The Cortes were still sitting, and when informed of the advance of the French armies to the capital, they removed their sittings from Seville to Cadiz. Ferdinand at first expressed an unwillingness to accompany the deputies in their flight; but, flushed with the expectation of a speedy rescue, he acquiesced in the measure.

A most unaccountable *paralysis* at this critical moment seems to have seized the constitutionalists. Morillo and other distinguished officers were seduced from the patriotic cause through the influence of French intrigue. Corunna and other towns were so feebly defended, that they were easily reduced. Balasteros was so harassed, that he was glad to submit. Riego was pursued and taken, and Mina driven into exile. Cadiz was besieged by the French forces; and, to induce them to raise the siege, Ferdinand was restored to his liberty. Before he obtained this, however, he pledged himself to consign to oblivion the whole conduct of the constitutionalists, and pardon every offence of which the courtiers



might accuse them. But no sooner had he emancipated himself, than he basely forgot all his promises, and, not content with annulling all their acts and proceedings, he threw many of them into prison, and put the brave Riego to death. Adverting to this base and abominable conduct, Mr. Brougham, at the opening of the session of parliament, indignantly held him up as an active agent for all the purposes of the holy alliance, insisting, and he defied any man to deny it, that he was more the object of contempt, disgust, and abhorrence of civilized Europe, than any other individual now living. "There he is," continued the learned gentleman, "a fit companion for the unholy band of kings who have restored him to the power which he has so often abused, in order to give him an opportunity of abusing it once more: there he is, with the blood of Riego yet dripping on his head, seeking fresh victims for the scaffold, and ready to proceed on the first summons to the torture of the helpless women and unoffending children whom fortune may have placed in his power."

The cause of constitutional liberty in Spain, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of her patriotic sons, is still in a very discouraging state. The demon of superstition still sits enthroned throughout the Peninsula, maintaining his leaden reign, and cursing with relentless fury every attempt to disturb his repose. It may be fairly questioned, however, whether the character of Ferdinand the Seventh, and the manners of the court of Madrid are well understood among us; and as this is a subject of some little interest in the present day, and as without it we cannot form a proper estimate of the actual state of the country, and the probability of its emancipation from the shackles of despotism, a few pages shall here be appropriated to the purpose of placing it in a proper light.

From a very intelligent traveller, who passed nearly the whole of the year 1830 in Spain,\* we learn that the present king of Spain, in person, is like a lusty country gentleman, large almost to corpulency. His countenance is fat and heavy, but good-natured, with nothing of *hauteur*, still less of ferocity, in it; it

\* See a very interesting publication entitled "Spain in 1830," by Henry David Inglis, Esq., in 2 Vols. 8vo., dedicated to his cousin, the Earl of Buchan; a book which every one should read who would know the present state of Spain.



betrays, in fact, a total want of character of any kind. The queen is remarkably pleasing, and, indeed, a remarkably pretty woman; and the charm of affability, which is universally granted to her by those who have had the honour to approach her person, shines conspicuously in her countenance. It is a general belief in England, that the king of Spain seldom trusts himself out of his palace, without a formidable guard; but this idea is quite erroneous—no monarch in Europe is oftener seen without guards than the king of Spain. He is often to be seen walking the Retiro with none but his valet, and in the public garden, of which some of the walks are extremely secluded, and where he would be in the power of any individual who might have harboured a design against him. But the fact is, that the king has not many enemies—many despise him, but few would injure him. “I have heard men of all parties,” says the author above referred to, “the warmest Carlists, the most decided liberals, speak of him without reserve; and all speak of him as a man whose greatest fault is want of character, as a man not naturally bad, good-tempered, and who might do better were he better advised. But an honest adviser, a lover of his monarch, and a lover of his country, Ferdinand has never had the good fortune to possess: on the contrary, he has been always counselled by men who desire only to enrich themselves, and to maintain their power—the consequence is, that he is constantly led to commit acts both of injustice and despotism, which have earned for him the character of a tyrant.”

The man who possesses most of the king's ear is Don Francisco Tudeo Calomarde, minister of justice, as he is called in Spain. The private opinions of Calomarde are decidedly apostolical, or, as we should say in England, those of an ultra Tory; but the opinions of his colleagues being more moderate, he is obliged to conceal his sentiments, and to pretend an accordance with theirs. The ministers who are reputed to be moderate in sentiment are Don Luis Ballasteros, minister of finance; Don Luis Maria Salagar, minister of marine, and generally considered the most able in the cabinet; and Don Manuel Gonsalez Salmon, secretary of state, and nominally prime minister. To these must be added two especial favourites of the king—namely, the Duque de Alegon, and Salsedo. The former was appointed, in the



autumn of 1829, to the office of captain-general of the guard; an office that keeps him much about the king's person. This Alegon is a dissipated old man, long known to the king, and who, in former days, used to pander to his pleasures; and though the doting fondness which the king bestows upon his present youthful queen supersedes any call upon the services of Alegon, the royal master does not forget the convenient friend of his former days, and has now thought of rewarding him. The other individual, who is justly considered the royal favourite *par excellence*, is Salsedo, who holds the office of private secretary. A dishonourable link formerly bound him to his sovereign, and he still retains his influence. It is generally known, that, previous to the marriage of the king with his present queen, the wife of Salsedo was in royal favour. Salsedo has held his present office for fifteen years or more, and is decidedly a man of tact, if not of talent; his principles are understood to be moderate—at all events his advice is so, for he has sense to perceive that an opposite policy would probably accelerate the ruin of both his master and himself. So much for favouritism in the court of Madrid.

But the prevailing opinion in Spain now is, that the rising influence of the Queen will in due time discard every other influence about court. No king and queen ever lived more happily together than the present king and queen of Spain. The king is passionately attached to his royal consort, and it is said she is perfectly satisfied with her lot. He spends the greater part of the day in her apartments, and, when engaged in council, leaves it half a dozen times, in the course of an hour or two, to visit his queen. The habits of the court are extremely simple: the king rises at six, and breakfasts at seven; at half-past two he dines, always in company with the queen. Dinner occupies not more than an hour, and, shortly after, he and the queen drive out together. There is scarcely any gaiety at court: the queen is fond of retirement, and, excepting now and then a private concert, there are no court diversions.

The great rival to the monarch's popularity is to be found in his brother Don Carlos, who is a mighty favourite among the lower orders. To ingratiate himself with them, he affects an appearance of simplicity and Spanish usage; and for the same reason his wife generally appears in her mantilla. "One cannot look at the



spouse of Don Carlos, without perceiving that she covets a crown ; while, in the countenance of the queen, we read indifference to it."\* This spirit of rivalry cannot fail to be productive of much evil to the country ; it is a fruitful source of plots and conspiracies, which are ever and anon on foot, and, were it not for the vigilance of the police, would lead to scenes of blood, perhaps to revolution.

Independent, however, of this unhappy state of internal discord, it is well known that there have been, for several years past, a considerable number of Spanish patriots, now in a state of exile in our own and other countries, anxiously watching the current of events at home, and ready to lend their aid in liberating Spain from her degrading thralldom. In the month of January 1832, about sixty of these brave fellows fell victims to a most cruel and malignant conspiracy, whereby they were entrapped to their utter ruin ; and the subject is of sufficient interest to claim to be here recorded. We refer to the case of General Torrijos, who with his companions was treacherously slaughtered at Malaga.

Torrijos was descended from one of the most distinguished families of Madrid. He received his education at the college of the king's pages : upon leaving this establishment, each student has his choice of becoming a canon or a captain, and Torrijos preferred the army to the church. This was about the period of the French invasion, when all Spanish patriots were called to take arms for the defence of the country. He continued in the army as long as the war of independence lasted. He obtained the different grades with honour to himself, until he at last attained the rank of colonel on the field of battle. The regiment in which he served was called " Ferdinand VII." After the restoration, in 1814, Torrijos shared in the disgrace incurred by all those whose lives and exertions had rescued Ferdinand from captivity. Emulating the fame of Lacy and Porlier, who had fallen victims, and of Riego who had succeeded, Torrijos thought of nothing but the emancipation of his native country. His plans, however, were betrayed, and he was thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition at Murcia, where he languished for more than a year, when the revolution of 1820 effected his liberation. In recompense of his services, the Cortes appointed him to the rank of Field-marshal, and Chief-commandant of Navarre and the Basque provinces. He took a most active part

\* Spain in 1830, Vol. I. p. 128.



in all the political movements during the constitutional régime. When, upon an order from the congress of Verona, Louis the Eighteenth sent a hundred thousand Frenchmen to extinguish the infancy of liberty in Spain, Torrijos did not despair, until the last moment, of making a successful resistance. He signed a capitulation at Carthagená, after Cadiz had opened its gates, and would at last only allow General Mina the honour of forcing him to give up his arms. He lived in exile from the year 1823, until the glorious days of July, when a glimmering of hope shot across his mind, and the chance of saving his country from thralldom again excited all its energies.

Torrijos and his companions were at Gibraltar in the latter part of the year 1831; and it was at first said, that they were compelled to quit that place by the severe police exercised in the fortress against refugees from Spain. The statement, however, is utterly unfounded: so far were the constitutionalists from having been driven from Gibraltar by the harsh proceedings of the governor of that place, they were repeatedly assured by him, that they might have passports and protection from the English government to any ports, except a Spanish one. The unfortunate party quitted the bay of Gibraltar without the knowledge of the governor, and sailed for Malaga. Their first intention was to have sailed for Algiers, when two Spanish officers came to them from Malaga, with assurances, that the troops quartered in that neighbourhood were so much dissatisfied with the government of Ferdinand, that they were ready to join the constitutional party. It has been further said, that Torrijos and Manoel declared with their dying breath, that they had been seduced into the attempt for which they suffered, by letters from the minister Sambrano himself! But, whatever may be in this, a place of rendezvous was appointed, to which the emigrants were to repair, and to be then joined by the soldiers. Trusting to these assurances, Torrijos and his companions embarked in the night, and sailed to the place of their destination, on approaching which they were pursued by a Spanish *garda-costa*, and compelled to disembark at some distance from the place appointed. On landing, they proceeded to the farm-house where they were to be joined by the soldiers, after having made a tour round the town. They found the place, as they suspected, uninhabited; and when they saw troops advancing towards them, they conceived it was the



regiments that were to join them, nor had they any suspicion of the fraud practised against them till they were surrounded and made prisoners. They were immediately tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot ; but the execution of the sentence was suspended until a messenger returned from Madrid, who was sent with an account of what had happened. The king confirmed the sentence, and it was carried into execution on the following Sunday, at 10 o'clock.

The noble prisoners were kept without food for fifty-four hours previous to their execution ! When Calderon, one of their number, was brought out, he exclaimed—"The day will come, when, on the spot where this convent now stands, a monument will be raised to eternize the memory of those who are about to die, and those lands will become the patrimony of our posterity."

When Torrijos finally left England, he considered it advisable that his wife should proceed to Paris ; to which arrangement she most reluctantly consented—and she never saw him more. On hearing of his death, she addressed a letter to a friend in London, of which the following is a copy : a more affecting document has rarely been published.

"Paris, 19 June, 1832.

"I received your affectionate letter ; and, though little capable of writing, I cannot leave you without an answer, if it be only to tell you that I am much better than I wish to be, or thought I ever should be. You understand the loss that I have sustained ; for you know how we lived together. You can also judge of my grief, and that I deserve not to survive the man who formed my only happiness.

"I am here in a foreign land, and without the means of subsistence, but that is the last thing that occupies my thoughts ; and although my friends are much alarmed for my future situation, I am indifferent about the matter, since nothing henceforth can make the least impression upon me, after having lost my beloved Pepe and my country.

"What I have now to beg of you is—that you will forward to the editor of the —, the accompanying letter from M. M—r, and, if you do not find it inconvenient, that you will also translate it, with a view to its being inserted as soon as possible.



“ My sole object, during the sad remnant of life which I have still  
“ to endure, is, to prevent any misrepresentation which might darken  
“ the fame of my adorable husband ; and that, indeed, is the only  
“ motive which compels me to answer the article in the above-men-  
“ tioned journal. My bodily constitution, though strong, begins to  
“ sink—a change which I rejoice at ; for the solitary hope, which  
“ now supports me is, to follow to the grave him for whose sake  
“ alone life was once dear to me.

“ Return my best thanks to all the members of your amiable  
“ family, and particularly to my dear Charlotte—and pity, and pray  
“ to God for your unhappy friend,

“ LUISA DE TORRIJOS.”

The following account of this amiable lady appeared in the  
“ Spectator,” No. 188 ; and as the editor of that journal pledges  
himself for its correctness, we shall here insert it.

“ Madame Torrijos, whose maiden name was Luisa Saenz de  
Viniegra, is the daughter of the late Don Manuel Saenz de  
Viniegra, the representative of a distinguished family of Andalusia.  
Her mother, who was of the house of Velasco, Dukes of Frias,  
was in her early youth a favourite attendant on the queen of  
Charles the Fourth ; and the queens of Spain, it is well known,  
are attended by those only of noble birth. On her marriage she  
left the court, and accompanied her husband to the province,  
where he held a high command, and devoted herself to the care  
of her family. After she had become the mother of five children,  
she happened to be travelling with them and her husband, escorted  
by a troop of soldiers, when, on stopping to make some arrange-  
ment about the carriage, one of the escort rested his musket  
against the back of it ; the piece went off by accident, and shot  
Donna Manuel through the body, and she expired almost imme-  
diately. At that time, Luisa was about six years old ; so early  
did the misfortunes of her eventful life begin. The king and  
queen had been her sponsors, and the queen wished to take  
charge of her on her mother’s melancholy death ; but Don  
Manuel preferred taking the education of his children upon him-  
self. Far from growing up in the ignorance which we are accus-  
tomed to attribute to Spanish ladies, Madame Torrijos acquired,  
under the care of her excellent parent, a degree of mental cul-



tivation which would be accounted remarkable in an English-woman. The great qualities of her mind, in which were combined true heroism with the most feminine tenderness, were amply called forth by the trying circumstances in which almost the whole of her after life was passed.

“In 1808, when she was about fifteen years of age, her royal protectors claimed her from her father, who consented to her removing to court. Every preparation had been made for her departure from her native province, when the revolution of Aranjuez broke out, which deprived Charles of his throne. Soon after that event, considering that the disturbed state of Spain rendered it an unsafe abode for his daughters, Don Manuel placed them at Gibraltar under the care of his friend, Admiral Valdez (the elder.) These ladies were there known to many of the English, and with not a few of them Madame Torrijos passed for the daughter of Admiral Valdez. Don Manuel was himself prevented leaving Spain with his children, by his official duties. He held at that time a situation which is nearly equivalent to that of judge-advocate-general; and it obliged him to be at the headquarters of the army. At a later period, he was governor of Seville. At the first dawn of comparative tranquillity, the young ladies returned to their father's protection; and, soon after, the eldest became the wife of Torrijos, who then commanded Doyle's Legion, and whom she never after quitted—in danger, in victory, in prison, and in exile. One of the winters of her married life she spent in the highest inhabited spot of the Pyrenees; and in that neighbourhood her only child (which lived but a few months) was born. At the battle of Vittoria, she was within hearing of the guns; and on other occasions she has been within reach of them.

“On Ferdinand's first overthrow of the constitutional government, in 1817, Torrijos was confined for three months in the castle of Alicant. During the whole of that time, this delicate and tenderly nurtured woman was in the habit of visiting the castle nightly on foot, in the dress of the lowest class of the people, to carry succour and consolation to her husband: she was admitted by the connivance of the soldiers, who were then devoted to Torrijos. After his removal to the prison of the Inquisition at Murcia, his wife was only allowed to see him once



during three years' confinement, though she entreated to be allowed to share his dungeon. But she took up her abode hard by the prison, where she occupied herself entirely in providing such comforts as she was permitted to send him.

"The triumph of the constitution, in 1820, restored Torrijos to liberty, and gave him the command of Murcia. This seems to have been the most prosperous part of the life of Madame Torrijos; and she, no doubt, enjoyed the more, for her previous calamities, the high distinction which her husband now attained. She was with him during his glorious but almost hopeless defence of Carthagená; and, in 1824, after the capitulation, she came with him to England; where the absolute retirement in which this high-minded pair continued to live, prevented their being known except to a very limited circle. During their residence in England, Madame Torrijos endured, with her husband, many privations, but she endured them cheerfully. Educated, as she had been, in splendour and luxury, she thought no occupation too menial, no labour too great, which could add to the comfort, or cheer the mind, of her dear lord."

The claims of Torrijos on the French government, under the shamefully violated treaty of Alicant and Carthagená, must have been great; but he never urged them for himself, though he did for his companions in arms. His private fortune he had sacrificed in the cause of constitutional liberty; nor did he recover either pay or allowance for many months before the occupation of his country by the French, as he devoted all that he might justly have claimed, to the payment of his troops, in order to keep together as long as possible that army which was the last hope of freedom in Spain. To the cause of Spain, Torrijos had devoted himself; and for that cause, what has he not attempted, in his short life of thirty-nine years, seven of them spent in exile, and three in a dungeon!

No sooner was the fate of Torrijos known in England, than a subscription was set on foot for the relief of his widow, towards which the Duke of Bedford, Sir Francis Burdett, and many others liberally contributed; and among them Sir Edward Codrington, who addressed the following letter to the editor of the *Times*, enclosing five pounds.



“ Sir,

“ During some years of the late war, it became a principal part of my professional duty to encourage and promote the patriotic resistance to oppression, which it was then the policy of our government to excite in the Spanish nation. This has given me the opportunity of bearing testimony to the sacrifices and the meritorious services of many of those with whom I acted in concert for the common good : and I cannot but deplore the cruel persecutions which their constancy and devotion to the principles they then imbibed, have subsequently brought down upon them. In this feeling, I gladly tender the enclosed trifle, in aid of the subscription which you have so laudably undertaken for the widow of the unfortunate Torrijos ; and I lament that my pecuniary means of alleviating her distress bear so small a proportion to my sympathy with her sufferings.

“ I remain, Sir, your very obedient servant,

“ EDWARD CODRINGTON, Vice-Admiral.

“ Brighton, Feb. 3.”

Turning our view from Spain to Portugal, a deeply interesting scene presents itself to our contemplation. That unhappy country has for several years past been the theatre of atrocities which are sufficiently laid open in the following state-paper, to render it unnecessary to go into any more ample detail.

The following manifesto was issued by Don Pedro, previously to his departure to join the patriots at Terceira :—

“ Called by those fundamental laws of the monarchy, quoted in the charter and perpetual edict of the 15th of November, 1825, to ascend the throne of Portugal, as the eldest son and successor of the king, my august father, I was formally acknowledged King of Portugal by all the foreign Powers, as well as by the Portuguese nation, who, on this occasion, sent me a deputation to the court of Rio Janeiro, composed of individuals representing the three different branches of the state : thinking, at the same time, no sacrifices on my part too great which might tend to insure the welfare of my loyal subjects in both hemispheres ; unwilling, also, that the mutual relations of friendship, so fortunately established between the two countries by the independence of both, should in any manner be subjected to interruption by the fortuitous accumulation of two



different crowns on the same head, I resolved to abdicate the crown of Portugal in favour of my very dear and beloved daughter, Donna Maria de Gloria, who was in like manner acknowledged by the foreign Powers, and by the Portuguese nation.

“ At the time of my abdication, both my duty and my private feelings towards the country which gave me birth, and the noble Portuguese nation, induced me to imitate my illustrious ancestor, Don John IV., by availing myself of the short duration of my reign, to restore to the Portuguese nation, as he had done, the possession of its ancient rights and privileges ; thus fulfilling, at the same time, the promises made by my august father, of glorious memory, in his proclamation of the 31st of May, 1823, and charter of the 4th of June, 1824.

“ To further this object, I promulgated the constitutional charter of the 29th of April, 1826, in which the ancient forms of the Portuguese government, and the constitution of the state, are virtually confirmed ; and that this charter might truly be considered a confirmation and sequence of the fundamental law of the monarchy, I, in the first place, guaranteed the most solemn protection, and most profound respect, to the sacred religion of our ancestors ; I confirmed the law of succession with all the clauses of the Cortes of Lamego ; I determined the periods for the convocation of the Cortes, in the same manner as it had already formerly been practised in the reigns of their majesties Don Alfonzo V., and Don John III. I acknowledge two fundamental maxims of the ancient Portuguese government—viz., that laws could only be framed by the Cortes, and that in this assembly alone, and no where else out of it, should any matters be discussed relating to the imposts and administration of the public revenue and property ; and, lastly, I determined that the two branches of the state, nobility and clergy, should be united, so as to form one chamber, composed of the great dignitaries of the kingdom, ecclesiastic and secular, experience having demonstrated the disadvantages arising from the separate deliberation of these two branches.

“ I added some other provisions, all tending to consolidate the national independency, royal dignity and authority, the liberty and prosperity of the people ; and anxious to preserve these blessings from the hazards and inconveniency generally attending the minority of a sovereign, I thought that the best means of securing so



desirable an object would be to unite my august daughter to a Portuguese prince, naturally supposing, that, both in consequence of the identity of religion and birth, no one could feel a greater interest for the complete realization of all those benefits with which it was my intention to felicitate the Portuguese nation; persuaded also, that the good examples of my virtuous relation, the monarch in whose court he had resided, must have rendered him worthy of estimating the great confidence placed in him by a brother who did not hesitate to intrust to him the destinies of his beloved daughter.

“This was the origin of the choice I made of the Infante Don Miguel. Fatal choice, indeed, which has made so many innocent victims join their sighs to my lamentations, and which will hereafter be looked upon as one of the most disastrous epochs of Portuguese history!

“The Infante Don Miguel, after having tendered to me the oath of allegiance, as his natural sovereign, and to the constitutional charter, in the capacity of a Portuguese subject—after having solicited me to invest him with the regency of the kingdom of Portugal and Algarves, and its dominions, which I effectively conferred upon him, with the title of my lieutenant, by the decree of the 3d July, 1827,—after having commenced the discharge of such important functions, tendered his free and spontaneous oath to maintain the constitutional charter, such as I had bestowed it, on the Portuguese nation, and to deliver up the crown to her majesty Donna Maria II., as soon as she should become of age—dared to commit a crime unparalleled in history, from the circumstances with which it was attended.

“Pretending to decide a case which neither *de facto* nor *de jure* was contentious, violating the constitutional charter, which he had just sworn to maintain, he convoked the three states of the kingdom in the most illegal and illusory manner, thus abusing the authority with which I had entrusted him, and, treading under foot the respect due to all the sovereigns of Europe, who had acknowledged her majesty Donna Maria II., as queen of Portugal, he had it awarded by the mock representatives of the nation, who had assembled under his authority and influence, that to him, and not to me, the crown of Portugal ought to have passed at the death of his majesty Don John VI. Thus it was that Don Miguel usurped for himself that throne with which I had entrusted him.



“The foreign powers stigmatized this act of rebellion by immediately withdrawing their diplomatic agents from the court of Lisbon, and my ministers plenipotentiary, as emperor of Brazil, at the courts of Vienna and London, entered their two solemn protests, of the 24th of May, and the 8th of August, 1828, against all and every violation of my hereditary rights, and those of my daughter; against the abolition of the institutions spontaneously granted by me, and lawfully established in Portugal; against the illegal and insidious convocation of those ancient states of the kingdom which had become obsolete, and ceased to exist, in consequence both of long prescription, and of the new institutions above-mentioned; against the aforesaid decision of the mock three estates of the kingdom, and the arguments on which they grounded it; expressly against the false interpretation of an ancient law framed by the Cortes of Lamego, and of another passed on the 12th of September, 1642, by his majesty Don John IV., at the request of the three states, and in confirmation of the said law of the Cortes of Lamego.

“All these protests have been sealed with the blood which since has almost daily been shed by so many thousand victims of the most spotless fidelity; and, in truth, this treacherous usurpation, placing the perpetrator in the path of illegality and violence, has brought upon the unfortunate Portuguese an accumulation of misfortunes greater than any nation every suffered.

“In order to continue a government, boastingly said to emanate from the national wish, it has been necessary to erect scaffolds, on which have perished a great many of those who attempted to resist the atrocious yoke of the usurper. The dungeons throughout the kingdom have been crowded with victims; thus inflicting the punishments reserved for malefactors on those who had preserved their loyalty, and known the sacredness of an oath. Innumerable victims have been banished to the horrible deserts of Africa; others have ended their days in loathsome prisons, worn out by cares and sufferings; and, lastly, foreign countries have been overrun with Portuguese emigrants, who have abandoned their country, compelled to endure, far from their homes, the sorrows of an unmerited exile.

“Thus it was that the land of my birth was overwhelmed with all the horrors that human perverseness can excite. The people oppressed by the outrages of their rulers—the pages of Portuguese



history defiled by the lowering apologies with which the frantic government of the usurper has been compelled to atone for some of its acts of wanton atrocity against foreigners, in spite of their respective governments—all diplomatic and commercial intercourse with all Europe totally interrupted—in short, tyranny polluting the throne—misery and oppression stifling the most noble feelings of the nation. This is the pitiful picture of unhappy Portugal for the last four years. Nevertheless, afflicted as I am at the existence of so many dreadful evils, I still feel a consolation in discerning the visible protection which God, the dispenser of thrones, grants to the noble and just cause which we defend.

“When I cast my eyes on Terceira, (the refuge and bulwark of Portuguese liberty, already illustrious in other periods of our history,) and see how, in spite of every obstacle, Portuguese loyalty was enabled to preserve in that island the slender means with which her noble defenders not only have procured the obedience of the other islands to my august daughter, but also to gather together the forces on which we now depend, I cannot help acknowledging in all this the special protection of Divine Providence.

“Trusting on its aid, and the present regency, in the name of her most faithful majesty the queen, having represented to me, by means of a deputation sent to the presence of her said majesty and of myself, the ardent wishes of the inhabitants of the Azores, and other faithful subjects of her majesty residing in those islands, that ostensibly taking upon myself the part which belongs to me in the affairs of her most faithful majesty, as her father, guardian, and natural defender, and as the head of the House of Braganza, I should take on so important a crisis those prompt and efficacious measures which the circumstances imperiously call for; and, lastly, moved by the duties imposed on me by the fundamental law of Portugal, I resolve to abandon that retirement to which my present circumstances would lead me; and, leaving on the continent those objects which are dearest to my heart, I depart to join those Portuguese who, by the greatest sacrifices, have made their valour triumph over all the efforts of the usurper.

“When, after my arrival in the Azores, I shall have returned my sincere thanks to those individuals who composed the regency, (which I had appointed in consequence of my absence,) for the patriotism with which, in such arduous circumstances, they dis-



charged their functions, I shall re-assume (for the reasons already mentioned) the authority with which the said regency was invested, which I shall preserve until the period when, the lawful government of my august daughter having been established in Portugal, the general Cortes of the Portuguese nation (which I shall immediately convoke) shall have decided whether it is convenient that I should continue in the exercise of those rights, expressed in the 92d article of the constitutional charter; and when resolved affirmatively, I shall take the oath prescribed by the same charter for the permanent exercise of the regency.

“ It will be then that the oppressed Portuguese shall see the end of those misfortunes which so long have weighed upon them: they shall not have to fear any re-actions or acts of revenge from those of their fellow-countrymen who hasten to deliver them from bondage. At the moment of their meeting, those who for so many years have been far away from their native soil, will deplore with them the calamities which they have endured, and will bury them in eternal oblivion. With respect to those miserable beings whose guilty conscience makes them shudder for the overthrow of that usurpation of which they were the instigators and abettors, they may rest assured, that, if the law can punish them by depriving them of those political rights which they so shamefully misused for the perdition of their country, no one of them shall be deprived either of his life, or his civil rights, or of his property (without prejudice to the rights of others,) as so many honest men have been, whose only crime was to have defended the laws of their country.

“ I shall publish an amnesty clearly defining the limits of this act of oblivion, declaring, in the mean while, that no impeachment will be received respecting past events or opinions, avoiding, by appropriate measures, that no one may in future be molested under such a plea.

“ On these bases, I shall apply myself with the most unremitting zeal to the furtherance of many other no less important objects for the honour and welfare of the Portuguese nation, one of the uppermost in my thoughts being the re-establishment of the political and commercial relations which existed between Portugal and other states; religiously respecting their rights, and scrupulously avoiding any compromise in matters of foreign policy, which may in future disquiet the allied and neighbouring nations.



“ Portugal shall enjoy all the advantages resulting from internal peace and consideration abroad. Public credit shall be re-established by the acknowledgment of all public debts, whether national or foreign, legally contracted ; and, together with this, means shall be provided for their payment, which must necessarily have their due share of influence on public prosperity.

“ I insure to that part of the Portuguese army which, having been artfully deceived, at present upholds the system of usurpation, that it shall be welcomed by me, if, renouncing the defence of tyranny, it shall spontaneously join the liberating army, an army which shall lend its aid to the maintenance of the laws, and shall be the strongest support of the constitutional throne, and of the welfare of their fellow-citizens. I equally guarantee to the officers of the militia, who shall refrain from sharing in the defence of usurpation, that they shall not be molested, and that they shall be immediately allowed to retire from the service, in order that they may return to the bosom of their families, and to their domestic employments, from which they have for so long a time been drawn away.

“ Not entertaining the least doubt but that these frank expressions of my sentiments will find an easy way into the hearts of all honest Portuguese, lovers of their country, and that they will not hesitate in joining me and the ranks of their loyal and fearless fellow-countrymen who accompany me in the heroic enterprise of the restoration of the constitutional throne to her most faithful majesty, my august daughter, it behoves me here to declare, that I am not going to carry to Portugal the horrors of civil war, but peace and conciliation, planting on the walls of Lishon the royal flag of the same august sovereign, in accordance with the mandates of eternal justice, and the unanimous voice of all civilized nations.

“ DON PEDRO, Duke of Braganza.

“ On board the frigate *Raynha de Portugal*,  
Feb. 2. 1832.”

Fixing his place of rendezvous at Boulogne-sur-la-mer, Don Pedro collected a military force of eight or ten thousand men, which he embarked in transports, and proceeded to the island of St. Michael's, one of the Azores, which had previously declared



in favour of the claims of Donna Maria II., the legitimate sovereign. There the squadron arrived in May last, and the troops were disembarked. On the 22d of June the embarkation of the troops again commenced, and the weather being fine, and all the necessary arrangements judiciously made, the important operation was soon completed. Before the troops left the shore, a grand religious ceremony took place, under the direction of the emperor's chaplain, and, immediately after mass, Don Pedro thus addressed the troops :

“Soldiers—your afflicted country calls for you ; in recompense of your fatigues, of your sufferings, and of your loyalty, it offers you rest, gratitude, and acknowledgment.

“Full of confidence in the visible protection of the God of armies, let us march, soldiers, to complete the enterprise we have so honourably projected. The fame of your incomparable valour—of your distinguished perseverance—go before you ; the decided love, which we all consecrate to our Queen Donna Maria II., accompanies us, as well as the enthusiasm we have for the constitutional charter ; the wishes of the agonized Portuguese nation follow us : Europe anxiously awaits the decision of the contest between fidelity and perjury—between justice and despotism—between liberty and slavery ; finally, soldiers, glory calls upon us to save our honour.

“Let us go—let us embark, shouting Vivas for the Queen and the Charter, the palladiums of Portuguese liberty.”

It appears, however, that adverse winds and unfavourable weather prevented the sailing of the expedition, and it was not until the 10th of July, that the vessels came to anchor, near Oporto, and immediately landed without opposition at the small town of Matozinhos, three miles north of the bar. On the following day (the 11th) the invading army, amounting to about 7,500, moved towards the city, which they entered ; the governor, garrison, and magistrates, with the police, having evacuated the place, withdrew across the Douro to Villa Nova, and destroyed the bridge of boats. The *Superb* steamer and three schooners were got over the bar, and succeeded, on the 12th, after some loss, in driving the garrison from Villa Nova, who retreated into the country ; and at seven p.m. same day, 3,000 of Don Pedro's troops crossed the Douro, possessed themselves of



Villa Nova, and commenced the repairs of the bridge. Several officers and soldiers then joined the standard of Donna Maria; the 9th, 12th, and 22d regiments were known as prepared to do so, on an opportunity offering; and one of their regiments having prematurely declared their sentiments, were immediately fired upon by other regiments of their own troops, and suffered much loss. The *Stag* frigate, Sir Thomas Trowbridge, saluted Don Pedro on his landing. It was understood that the squadron of Donna Maria were at once to proceed off Lisbon. All was quiet in that city on the 9th.

In spite of all the vigilance and rigour of Don Miguel's satellites, means had been found to make known to the people the approach of the expedition, and to prepare them for its reception. The press, which tyrants are ever eager to attack, proves always too powerful for them in the end. A number of papers, in the form of handbills, had been circulated among the troops and the inhabitants of Lisbon. They appear to be intended for different classes, and are sent forth under signatures suited to their respective destinations, as "Hum Fidalgo," "Hum Veterano," "Hum Ecclesiastico," "Hum Religioso," &c. They expose the falsehoods of Don Miguel's Gazettes, vindicate the cause of Donna Maria, and are well calculated to produce the desired impression on the public mind. The soldiers are informed that the Duke of Braganza comes to restore the usurped crown to his daughter,—that the sacred Quinas, against which no true Portuguese will fire a shot, wave over the masts of his ships: and care is taken to assure them that Lord Grey is still minister of England, and that no power remains in the hands of the Duke of Wellington. In one paper, a friar expresses his deep regret at having contributed to deceive the people by preaching sermons in support of Don Miguel's legitimacy, and hopes to obtain pardon through a sincere repentance. It has been reported in some letters from Lisbon, that Don Miguel was making preparations for his escape to America, and the fact is stated in the secret bulletins circulated at Lisbon.

To this subject, big as it is with the fate of Portugal, we purpose returning in a subsequent part of the volume, when we shall have an opportunity of recording the success or failure of the enterprise.



SECTION VII.—*State of France since the Return of the Bourbons.*  
*Second Revolution.*

The French Revolution of 1789, already adverted to, after a reign of terror, anarchy, and confusion, during which millions of human beings fell victims to the sword and guillotine, ended in a military despotism, the most frightful in its career, and horrific in its effects, that the world ever beheld. It armed all the powers of Europe against itself, and in their own defence; converted the whole of France into one martial camp; spread desolation and destruction throughout the entire Continent, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and from the Tagus to the Volga; marching, like a comet through the heavens, and converting the finest portions of the earth into a barren wilderness. Such was the state of Europe from 1793 to 1814, when the colossal power which despotism had raised, suddenly gave way, and a reaction commenced. The family of the Bourbons, which had so long found an asylum in England as to have almost become domiciliated, were suddenly recalled from their retreat, to the land of their forefathers, there to resume their wonted dignity.

On the 30th of March 1814, Paris was surrounded by the armies of the allied sovereigns, who wished to enter the capital without having recourse to forced means; and Prince Swartzenberg, as their representative, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, stating, that the combined armies were before the city, with the hope of effecting a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France, and that they looked to the city of Paris "to accelerate the peace of the world." On the same day, the emperor of Russia, by a declaration in behalf of himself and the other allied sovereigns, "invited the senate immediately to name a provisional government able to provide for the wants of the administration, and prepare a constitution suitable to the French people."

On the following day, the senate nominated five persons to constitute a provisional government, namely, Talleyrand, Bernouville, Count de Jacour, Duc d'Auberg, and Montesquieu. In a second sitting, the senate declared that the dynasty of Napoleon was at an end, that the French people were absolved from their oath of allegiance to him, and that the senate and legislative



bodies should form fundamental parts of the constitution. In consequence of that declaration, the Emperor of Russia declared, "I leave the choice of the monarch and the government to the French people." On the 3d of April, the senate entered on its register that "a constitutional monarchy is, in virtue of the constitution, a social compact;" and that, as Napoleon had violated his legal powers, he had forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family. One of their principal charges against him was, "that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, had been constantly subjected to the arbitrary control of his police; and that, at the same time, he had always made use of the press to fill France with misrepresentations, false maxims, and doctrines favourable to despotism."

On the 6th of April the conservative senate decreed the form of a constitution, by which constitution Louis the Eighteenth was called to the throne of France; and the twenty-third article runs thus: "The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty." On the 14th, the senate decreed as follows: "The senate offers the provisional government of France to his royal highness Monseigneur Count D'Artois, under the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, until Louis Stanislaus Xavier, of France, called to the throne of the French, has accepted the constitutional charter." The Count D'Artois replied, "Gentlemen, I have taken cognizance of the constitutional charter, which recalls to the throne of France my august brother. I have not received from him the power to accept the constitution, but I know his sentiments and principles, and I do not fear being disavowed, when I assure you in his name he will admit the basis of it."

From a principle of etiquette, the constitution was not presented to Louis the Eighteenth, for his acceptance, while he remained in England, lest it should be supposed that he accepted it under the influence of the British government. This they declared "they considered to be due to his honour, because they tendered him the crown upon conditions." And herein they made a fatal mistake, of which they were soon made sensible. However, quitting England, he proceeded, by way of Calais, and reached St. Ouen, where he published a declaration, on the 2d of May,



setting forth that he had attentively read the "*plan* of the constitution proposed by the senate," but that it contained many things which required revision; and feeling himself secure under the protection of the allied armies, he reserved to himself the privilege of rejecting whatever he disliked.

Finding himself constituted king of France, and secure in the palace of the Tuilleries, Louis the Eighteenth was in no haste to settle the affair of the constitution. The people now clamoured against the delay; and at length the monarch, in order to pacify them, issued a manifesto, in which he declared that—"resolved to adopt a liberal constitution, willing that it be wisely combined, and not being able to accept one that it is indispensable to rectify, we call together, on the 10th of June, the senate and the legislative body: we engage to place under their eyes the pains which we have taken, with a commission chosen out of these two bodies, and to give for the basis of that constitution the following guarantees."

On the 10th of June the senate and the legislative body met—and the people were swindled! The constitution which they proposed for his acceptance placed Louis on the throne; and as soon as he found himself upon it, he threw away the ladder—he rejected the principle of compact. According to the constitution, Louis the Eighteenth would have acknowledged that the people had rights, and that in the exercise of those rights they had called him to the throne. This doctrine he acquiesced in, until he was safe in his seat; he then disclaimed their sovereignty, by setting up his own. The only right he acknowledged was *right divine*; and, instead of ratifying the constitution, he issued a patent, what he called a charter, beginning "Louis, *by the Grace of God, King, &c.* Whereas *Divine Providence*, in calling us," &c. A constitutional charter being *solicited*, we have, in the free exercise of our royal authority, agreed and consented to make concessions, and *grant* to our subjects," &c. Such was the jesuitical sophistry used on this occasion, to badge the people as his hereditary property!—it pleased the king "in the free exercise of his royal authority" to give them a charter! The people, finding they could not help themselves, gradually became reconciled, and Louis the Eighteenth maintained his position upon the throne from this time till the 15th of September, 1824, when



death removed him, to make room for his brother and successor, Charles the Tenth.—The charter, nevertheless, though originating in a despotic principle, was in its operation a great benefit to the country, and, on any ministerial attempt at encroachment, the people referred to it as to a text-book.

The late king is said, on his death bed, to have advised his successor to “govern legally,” that is, to adhere to the charter; but on Charles the Tenth, good advice was thrown away. In the hands of a host of priests and Jesuits, he was a mere puppet. In his conduct towards his subjects, he seemed without a moral sense. He was superstitious in the extreme. The rights of kings, and the “mild” rule of his ancestors, were ever before him. Nothing was to be yielded to the people, for nothing belonged to them—not even their patent rights under their charter. To strengthen himself in the chamber of peers, he increased it by creations; to weaken the people, he invaded the elective franchise, and shackled the press.

In August, 1829, Charles X., dismissed M. Martignac’s administration, because it would not go all lengths against the people, and appointed another, of ultra royalists, under his natural son, Prince Polignac. A cabal of priests and court minions prevailed—the charter was invaded—the journals resisted—and the ablest writers in behalf of constitutional rights were prosecuted: the press was to be gagged, and the people enslaved. In March, 1830, the chambers met, and the first act of the deputies was an address, praying the king to dismiss his ministers. This was termed an “insolent” address; the king answered it haughtily, and dissolved the chambers. A new election of the deputies succeeded, and, notwithstanding the intrigues of the ministry to control the elections, the majority of deputies against the ministers was greater than before. The charter had limited the period within which the sessions was to commence, and the chambers were convoked for the 3d of August.

Polignac, a rash and feeble-minded man, and Peyronnet, a man as depraved in private as he was unprincipled in public life, were the leaders of the administration devoted to the king’s designs. Every reflecting person in France knew it to be impossible that the government of Charles X. could go on, unless he would “govern legally,” which he was determined not to do. In the



mean time, the expedition against Algiers was undertaken, in the hope of diverting the minds of the people from their causes of complaint at home ; but the manœuvre was too obvious to escape the observation of the liberal press, and accordingly it produced no effect. Up to the time of the dismissal of Messrs. Chabrol and Courvoisier, the only popular members of the government, and the appointment of Peyronnet, the most unpopular member of the most unpopular administration which had been in office since the restoration, no serious apprehensions of open attack on the charter had been apprehended : the timid and vacillating character of Polignac rendered it tolerably certain that he would take no step which would place him in too great danger. But the case was now widely different ; Peyronnet was known to be a man totally destitute of principle, but possessing both talent and intrepidity, and his accession to power gave the country every thing to fear for the welfare of the people. Contrary, however, to expectation, he affected a tone of moderation, and spoke of warm attachment to the charter, and enmity only to its abuses. Every one was waiting the meeting of the chambers, in perfect tranquillity, when the fatal blow was struck, which hurled Charles X. from his throne.

On the 22d and following day of July, the usual notices summoning the members to meet on the 3d of August, were circulated in the ordinary manner. On Sunday July 25th, the king and his seven ministers held a council at St. Cloud, when three ordonnances were agreed on and signed. These documents, while they pretended to adhere to the forms of the charter, which gave the king power to direct, by ordonnance, the mode in which the laws should be executed, virtually abrogated all its most important provisions. The first of these ordonnances abolished the liberty of the press ; the second dissolved the chamber, which had not yet assembled ; and the third altered the law of election in such a manner as almost to throw the nomination of the members into the hands of the ministry.

On the following morning, (Monday,) these ordonnances appeared in the " Moniteur," the official paper ; and some time unavoidably elapsed before they were generally known. As the fatal intelligence gradually spread, anxious groups were seen assembled in the Palais Royal, discussing the probable results of the measures, Gloom and despondency appeared the prevalent features in their



aspect, and it was not until late in the evening, when the mechanics had left off work, and learnt what had been done, that any thing like a tumultuous assembly took place. It is said, that about ten o'clock in the evening of Monday, the gardens of the Palais Royal were filled with citizens, murmuring imprecations on the ministry, but wholly unarmed; and that in an attempt made by the gens-d'armes to compel them to disperse, the people had the advantage, and remained in the gardens until the usual hour of retiring, when they proceeded in groups through the Rue de Nivoli, and the Rue Neuve des Capuchines, hooting as they passed the residences of the different ministers, but not attempting any violence. This commotion, however, was quite local. During the day, the principal journalists had a meeting, in which a spirited remonstrance was agreed to, and it was resolved to publish the papers as usual the next morning, notwithstanding the prohibition—a resolution which received the judicial sanction of M. de Belleyme, president of one of the tribunals.

In the morning of the 27th, (Tuesday) the presses were forcibly seized by the police, as well as all the copies printed that could be found, and all public reading-rooms and coffee-houses were threatened with the severest penalties, if they retained a copy of any of those obnoxious journals. The following specimen has been given of the style of some of these suppressed publications—it is an extract from the “Figaro,” a paper distinguished by the force and brilliancy of its sarcasms. “The government of Algiers promised, on payment of a certain subsidy, to allow our ships the free navigation of the seas: The ministers of the king of France agreed, on sufficient security being given, to allow the press the privilege of thinking and publishing with freedom. In contempt of the treaty, the pirates of Algiers seized vessels which had submitted to pay the subsidy: In contempt of the laws, the ministers of the king destroy the presses of journals which have given the required security. Twenty days were sufficient to overthrow the government of Algiers.”—The effects which were produced on the minds of the French people by writings of this description is incredible.

It was not till about noon of Tuesday, that matters began to assume a very hostile appearance. The morning had been busily occupied by the police in breaking open the printing-offices, destroying the presses, and seizing what papers they could find.



But now the troops began to pour into the city, and fill the streets—agitation prevailed throughout Paris, the Bourse was crowded to excess, and inflammatory papers were distributed, “Death to ministers, and infamy to the soldiers who defend them!” “Aux armes, Francois!” The funds of course dropped, as popular excitement heightened. Enthusiastic persons, mounted on chairs, or from the windows of houses, read copies of the suppressed journals; the streets resounded with shouts of “Vive la Charte!” “Down with the king!” “Death to Polignac!” “Death to Peyronnet!” “Liberty or death!” “Vive la republique!”

A deputation of peers left Paris for St. Cloud; but the court had taken a headlong course, and obstinately persisted in enforcing obedience to its mandates. The deputies, who were in town, assembled, and were said to have unanimously resolved that the ministers had placed themselves out of the pale of the law; that the people would be justified in refusing the payment of taxes; and that all the deputies should be summoned to meet on the 3d of August, the day first appointed for the convocation. About 12 o'clock on Tuesday, there were at least 5000 people assembled in the Palais Royal, and their number was every moment increased by printers thrown out of employ in consequence of the suppression of the journals, and workmen dismissed from the manufactories. Tradesmen shut up their shops; all work was abandoned; and detachments of artisans, with large sticks, traversed the streets, which were now patrolled by troops of gens-d'armes in full gallop, to disperse the accumulating crowds. The king was at the Tuilleries.

About four o'clock of Tuesday afternoon, the contest may be said to have commenced by the prefect of police ordering the Palais Royal to be cleared by the gens-d'armerie. They charged with the flat of their sabres, drove the people out *pell mell*, and the gates were closed. The chairs lying about the walks in heaps were evidence of the general confusion. Towards 5 o'clock there was a tumult in the Place du Palais Royal. The military fired, and the exasperated people killed one of the soldiers. This was the signal for a general rencontre; and about 7 o'clock, bodies of discharged workmen rushed into Paris from the environs, dispersing themselves throughout the city. They began to unpave the streets, and overturned waggons in the middle of the narrowest parts, to form



an entrenchment. A band of artisans bore the corpse of one of their fallen comrades through the streets, and their cry of "vengeance" was terrible. "To arms! to arms!" was now the general cry, and the common feeling of determined resistance portended an awful and decisive struggle.

Polignac was closeted with the relentless monarch during the greater part of the day, but neither he nor the King durst shew themselves in public for a moment. At night he gave a grand dinner to his odious colleagues, under the protection of a battalion and ten pieces of artillery. Despatches were sent by the government in every direction, to hasten the march of troops towards the capital; but by the time that these orders had been carried into effect, several departments were in arms against the ordonnances, and the mayors and prefects were obliged to throw themselves on the mercy of the citizens, and to leave the question of military force and military arrangements to the inhabitants. In the mean while, the deputies had applied themselves to consider the measures necessary to be adopted, and one of their resolutions was that the National Guard should be instantly organized.

At this crisis, big with certain ruin either to the government of Charles the Tenth, or the liberties of the people, an important document was issued, entitled "Manifesto to the French—to all people—and to all governments." It began by reciting the conditions on which the Bourbon family were invited to resume the royal authority in 1814, the oaths they had taken at different times, and the imperious obligations they had contracted to preserve inviolate the charter. It declared that all these oaths they had violated during the last sixteen years, and by a system of misrule had exhausted the national patience! It then came to the ordonnances of the 25th of July, which it characterized in the most indignant terms; and then added, that "by these ordonnances, the chief of the government has placed himself *above the law*—therefore he has put himself out of the pale of the law." "In consequence, Charles-Philip Capet, formerly Count of Artois, has ceased in right to be King of France, and the French are released from all their obligations to him in that character."

The manifesto then thus proceeded: "All the ordonnances which he may promulge, will be, like those of the 25th, null,



and as if they had never been given. The ministers composing the government of the ex-king, named Polignac, Peyronnet, Montbal, D'Haussez, De Chantelause, and Guernon Ranville, are declared attainted, and convicted of high treason. It is the duty of all Frenchmen to resist, by every means in their power, the orders of Charles-Philip Capet, or his agents, under whatever denomination they may present themselves—to refuse payment of all imposts—and to take arms, if it should be necessary, to put an end to a government *de facto*, and to establish a new government *de jure*.

“The army is released from its oaths of fidelity to the ex-king—its country invokes its concurrence. Charles-Philip Capet, his self-styled ministers or counsellors, their abettors and adherents, the generals, the chiefs of regiments and officers, are responsible for every effusion of blood resulting from the resistance of the government *de facto* to the national will.

“Louis Philip of Orleans, Duke of Orleans, is called upon to fulfil, under the present circumstances, the duties which are imposed upon him, and to concur, with his fellow-citizens, in the re-establishment of a constitutional government; and, on his refusal to do so, he must, with his family, quit the French territory, until the perfect consolidation of the new government has been effected.”

It does not appear by whom this paper was drawn up: it merely purported to be “Voted in Session at Paris, 27th of July, 1830,” and signed T. S., provisional President, with the signatures of two provisional secretaries. Such a manifesto, however, could not be circulated at Paris, at such a perilous moment, without producing stupendous effects, and the result demonstrated the truth of this: all that followed was in course.

On Wednesday the 28th, the battle raged with violence. The inhabitants had armed themselves with paving-stones and missiles of every description, with which they annoyed the troops as they entered, particularly from the Port St. Denis, which was the scene of the most obstinate conflicts throughout the day. In the Place de Victoires, a numerous body of the people had assembled, headed by several of the national guard in full uniform. These formed on one side of the square, and presently a body of the mounted gens-d'armes were seen advancing down the Rue Neuve



de Petits Champs, supported by the 5th and 53d regiments of the line, and a small party of chasseurs. The people waved their hands to them as they advanced, a salutation which the soldiers appeared to return; and on their arrival at the Place de Victoires, the chasseurs took up a position as if to defend the Bank, and the troops of the line fell in with the national guard and the people. In a little time, however, a rapid firing commenced—the people were dispersed—and the troops formed in line were firing upon every one who came in sight! This piece of treachery cost the people a number of lives, and was worthy of the general (Marmont) by whom it was directed.

At the Pont Neuf, the contest raged with great violence. At a very early hour the people gained possession of nearly all the detached corps de garde, by which means they were partially supplied with arms, and had hoisted the tri-colour flag on the towers of Notre Dame. They then marched on the Hotel de Ville, which was garrisoned by a large body of gens-d'armes, horse and foot. Here the insurgents attempted a parley, but those who advanced for that purpose were fired on by the armed force. Goaded to fury by this wanton cruelty, the people, though more than half-unarmed, rushed on the bayonets, and succeeded in putting the enemy to flight, and hoisting the national colours on the Hôtel de Ville. This triumph, however, was but of short continuance; in about half an hour, a detachment of the garde royale was seen marching towards the Place du Gréve, and formed in front of the Hôtel de Ville. A sharp fire was kept up on both sides, and another body of the people having advanced by the bridge of Notre Dame, and attacked the royal troops in flank, they were obliged to take flight after considerable loss. The victory now seemed to be secure, when nearly 2,000 men, composed of troops of the line, supported by a squadron of cuirassiers and four pieces of cannon, advanced to the attack, and after a murderous fusillade, succeeded in gaining possession of the Hôtel de Ville. The people, however, were not discouraged; numerous bodies poured in from every quarter, and, in the course of the day, the contested post was thrice taken and retaken. "At the time I passed the bridge" says an English gentleman then resident at Paris, "the royal troops were in possession of the Place de Gréve, and of all the avenues leading to it in the



direction of the river. The firing was incessant, and the carnage immense. The troops of the line, however, appeared to abstain as much as possible from taking any part in it, contenting themselves with forming a line across the bridge, so as to prevent access from that quarter, and leaving to the garde royale the office of butchering their fellow-citizens, which they did without remorse.

“ Leaving the scene of this conflict, I proceeded along the quay, until I reached the Morgue, which I entered, and beheld a spectacle of horror which I shall never forget. In the midst of battle, men fell unregarded; amidst the universal excitement of conflict, hundreds may fall without exciting even a passing sigh from those by their side: but here it was widely different—all was tranquil and still. Eleven bodies, stripped and laid out on boards, remained to await the recognition of their friends. They were citizens—they had perished in the contest which I still heard roaring around me—their wounds were various; one was a woman, apparently in the seventh or eighth month of her pregnancy! A ball had entered her left eye, and penetrated to the brain! Another was a boy, about ten years old, that had been transfixed with a lance. Among those whom curiosity had assembled round the ghastly group, I observed a young man, about 17 or 18, whom Salvator would have chosen as a model for a young bandit. Never did I see a countenance in which beauty and ferocity were so singularly blended. He had around him a girdle, in which were two pistols and a hanger—in his hand he had a broad two-edged knife, the blade of which glittered in the sun-beams. He entered hastily, cast one look of unutterable expression on the corpses, as if to whet his fury, and rushed out with a yell of defiance in the direction of the Gréve, where the conflict was then raging the fiercest.”

During the day, contests had been going on in various parts of Paris, in all of which the people had been victorious. The pupils of the polytechnic school distinguished themselves in every quarter by their cool and determined bravery. During Wednesday night, the troops in the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville were called in, and the whole royal force was concentrated in the Louvre, the Place du Carousel, and the Tuilleries. In the course of the night, the people had so completely barricaded every street



in Paris, as to render them quite impassable, and able to furnish a siege, if requisite. The 5th and 53d regiments of the line, that had from the first shewn an unwillingness to fight against their fellow-citizens, had openly joined the people; and on the morning of Thursday, the 29th, the national colours were seen floating on almost every public edifice in Paris. The word "Royale" was effaced from the theatres, and every shop bearing the royal arms had carefully removed the obnoxious emblem. Yet so blind were the ministers to their real situation, that even on Wednesday afternoon, when Monsieurs Lafitte, Gerard, and Cassimir Perrier ventured through the fire to the Tuileries, in order to have an interview with the Duke of Ragusa, the commander-in-chief, and proposed to him to guarantee the immediate cessation of all tumult, if the ordonnances were revoked, and the chambers assembled as usual, Polignac refused even to enter into a negociation with the deputies, on any terms but those of unconditional submission on the part of the rebels, as he was pleased to term the people.

Up to this time, little, if any thing, was said about a change of the dynasty—a return to the charter was all that was asked. But on Thursday morning, when it was become evident that the king would continue blind to his own interests, it became necessary to take some decided step. The re-organization of the national guard was the first object, and the venerable General La Fayette, ever foremost in the cause of rational liberty, immediately accepted the command, and establishing his head-quarters at the Hôtel de Ville, issued his first proclamation, while both the Louvre and the Tuileries were still in possession of the royal troops. In the course of the forenoon, the Louvre was invested by the people; but they had to encounter the Swiss guards, who were stationed on the upper story of the building, occupying the whole of its immense length, and protected by the columns which are between the windows. From five in the morning they had kept up a constant fire of musketry upon all who came within their reach: on the other hand, the people returned the fire from the windows of the surrounding houses, and from the portico of the church of St. Germain d'Auxerrois, but with little effect—not many of the Swiss fell. About eleven o'clock, two men from the Rue de Poulets rushed through the fire, and succeeded in obtain-



ing the shelter of the lower wall which surrounds the enclosed wall of the Louvre—four others rapidly followed, and one of them succeeded in planting a tri-colour flag on the exterior railings. This was received with a shout of exultation from the people, and a volley of general musketry from the Swiss. In a short time, some hundreds of people had made their way to the gate of the Louvre, where they 'stood the fire of the garrison till nearly twelve o'clock, when they forced an entrance, and, after a short but decisive struggle, succeeded in repulsing the Swiss; the most of whom escaped by the northern and western gates, to take refuge in the Tuileries.

From the Louvre the people proceeded without delay to the Tuileries, which being invested on every side made but a feeble resistance; a short but murderous conflict took place on the Pont Royale, in which the people completely routed the guards, and instantly forced the gates of the palace. On taking possession of the Museum, the utmost care was taken to preserve every thing from injury; but the picture of the coronation of Charles the Tenth was torn into tatters, while no other was touched. In the Louvre, every picture and bust of Charles the Tenth was instantly destroyed, but those of Louis the Eighteenth, the author of the charter, were respected; the people only covered his largest bust with a veil of black crape. Every one had unrestrained access to the palace, and not a single article of value was purloined. The clothes and ornaments of the Duchess d'Angouleme were thrown contemptuously out of the window, and one of her white satin petticoats soon figured as part of a tri-coloured flag on the garden gate. Every thing in the apartments of the Duchess of Berri was scrupulously respected: so minute were the shades of distinction which appeared to regulate the movements of this self-guided populace at the moment of their wildest enthusiasm!

The occupation of the Tuileries by the people was much facilitated by a circumstance which does not appear to have been generally known at the time. During the early part of the morning, the Tuileries gardens, the Rue de Rivoli, and the Place Vendome were occupied by a very strong body of the royal troops, supported by several pieces of ordnance. Between ten and eleven the cannon were brought into the Rue de Rivoli in such a manner as to command all the approaches in the direction of the



Place du Carousel, and the soldiers were drawn up in the gardens and across the Rue de Rivoli in fighting order. A little after eleven, two commissioners, in court dresses, arrived in the Place Vendome, and informed the troops, that a suspension of arms had been agreed to by the Duke of Ragusa. The intelligence was received with an universal burst of joy. All the knapsacks were instantly taken off, the arms piled in the garden, and preparations made for relieving themselves from the state of almost starvation in which they had been for the last two days. Numbers of people approached the gardens, and shook hands with the soldiers through the railings. The latter seated themselves around huge caldrons containing joints of meat and other provisions, and were thinking of nothing less than hostilities, when a terrific shout was heard in the direction of the palace, which inspired a universal panic. The soldiers rose *instantly*, left the mess on which they had scarcely entered, and retreated, in many instances, without ever stopping to take their arms and knapsacks.

The noise which had thus alarmed them arose from the cry of the people, who, having gained the Louvre, were rushing on to the attack of the Tuileries by the Place de Carousel. Had these troops not been thus thrown off their guard by the absurd conduct of the Duke of Ragusa, in proclaiming a suspension of hostilities before he was aware whether it would be acceded to by the other party, a dreadful carnage must have taken place, from the number of pieces of ordnance which were ready to be brought to bear on the advancing people. But, indeed, the conduct of the Duke of Ragusa, throughout the whole of this affair, is quite inexplicable.

The victory was now complete. Three days had sufficed to render Paris free ; and in the evening of the third day, every thing was as tranquil as before the disturbances commenced. The barricades were carefully guarded, and every facility afforded to passengers. Lights were placed along the front of every house, to supply the place of lamps. Seventy thousand men of the lowest class were in arms about the city, and not a single outrage to person or property was heard of, except in one single instance, when a man being detected in secreting some valuable property, he was instantly shot by his comrades in the Place de la Bourse ; and the most timid female might have traversed Paris from one end to the



other, in the most perfect safety. A young pupil of the polytechnic school was placed in the apartments of the Tuileries, to guard the property during the night : his guard consisted of twelve men, all mechanics, who appeared in the greatest state of pecuniary distress. The articles of value which lay scattered around them, were far more than sufficient to have enriched them for life ; there was nothing to prevent their taking them, and detection was impossible. The young chief afterwards admitted, that he felt for a moment a little uneasy at his situation ; but an idea of personal interest never seems even to have crossed the minds of the brave fellows : they passed the night in talking of what they had done, and in the morning returned tranquilly each to his usual employment, as if nothing had happened. And here is the marked feature of this revolution—a populace unaided, unguided, unofficered, by the mere force of moral and physical courage, in three days achieve for themselves the possession of absolute power : the first and only use they make of that power is to divest themselves of it, and place it in the hands most qualified to wield it for the true interests of their country. This circumstance it is which makes this revolution stand alone in the annals of the world, and afford a lesson, both to kings and people, which can never be mistaken or forgotten.

On Friday the 30th of July, the deputies having again assembled at the house of M. Lafitte, resolved to offer to the Duke of Orleans the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ; a title which (as Francis II., told the Duke of Guise, when he pressed him to bestow it on him at Amboise,) conveys the real monarchy of France. A deputation was accordingly sent to the duke at Neuilly, and in the evening he arrived at Paris, and accepted the office ; on which generals La Fayette and Gerard, the members of the provisional government, resigned the reins of authority into his hands, the former only retaining the command of the national guard.

During the day, the king sent to General La Fayette, stating that he had revoked the ordonnances, and discharged his ministry : but it was too late, and no notice was taken of the communication. On the same night, after an ineffectual attempt to make his troops to march against Paris, the king retreated from St. Cloud to Trianon, and thence to Rambouillet. On Saturday the 31st, a small body of Parisians, headed by some of the pupils of the polytechnic school, defeated the lancers who were left at St. Cloud, and



took possession of the chateau. In the mean time all the neighbouring towns and villages hoisted the tri-coloured flag, and sent in their submission to the Lieutenant-General.

On Monday, Paris exhibited no signs of what had passed : the shops were open as usual ; the barricades were destroyed, and the streets repaired ; the heroes of the revolution had disappeared ; the carpenter had betaken himself to his chisel, the mason to his mallet, and the blacksmith to his forge ; and but for the flags which waved from their eminences, and the graves of the noble victims who had fallen for their country's liberty, the events of the preceding week might have passed for a dream.

On Tuesday, the 3d of August, the day originally appointed for the purpose, the chambers met, and the lieutenant-general communicated to them a letter from Charles X., in which both himself and the dauphin renounced all claim to the throne, in favour of the little Duke de Bordeaux. This letter was deposited in the archives of the house, and the chambers proceeded to the deliberative business of the session. By another letter, the king nominated the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General, and demanded to be safely conducted to some port whence he might leave France, and applied for money for the purpose. Thus did this infatuated monarch, by the futile weakness of his concessions in adversity, forfeit even the slight tribute of respect, which firmness and dignity might have extorted from those whom his former conduct had forbidden to esteem him.

On the evening of the 3d, finding that a large body of Parisians were preparing to march upon Rambouillet, in consequence of the haughty yet vacillating manner in which he had received the commissioners appointed to attend him to the coast, the ex-king hastily surrendered the crown jewels, which he had endeavoured to retain in his possession, and started, with a guard of about twelve hundred men, for Cherbourg, whence he sailed for England, and landed at Poole, in Dorsetshire. He then proceeded to Lulworth castle, where he took up his residence for a time, and afterwards removed to Holyrood House, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, where he is probably destined to end his days, being now at the advanced age of seventy-five.

At the moment those extraordinary events were transpiring in France, a new election was on the tapis in our own country.



When Mr. Brougham, now lord-chancellor, visited Sheffield as a candidate for the county of York, the measures of Charles X., and his ministers had just become known; and Mr. Brougham's opinion being asked, he thus answered, with a power and energy peculiarly his own—"Alas! the news has reached us, that a frantic tyrant, (for I can call him nothing else,) bent upon mischief, and guided by an ignorant and besotted priesthood, led by the most despicable advisers, forgetful of the obligation he owes to his people, forgetful of the duty he owes to that Providence which restored him to his throne, has, in the face of that Providence, and in defiance of that people, declared that he will trample on the liberties of his country, and rule thirty millions of its people by the sword. I heartily pray that his advisers may meet with that punishment which they so richly merit. The minister who could give such counsels, deserves that his head should be severed from his body, and rolled in the dust. If it were possible that any one could dare to give such advice to our king, the same punishment ought to be inflicted upon him; and his head should roll in the dust the same day, before sun-set, on which he gave the counsel. Gentlemen, it is no business of ours to interfere with that country: the French have their own liberty in their own keeping, and no nation ever shewed itself more disposed to keep it, or seemed to me to have more right to possess it. And I pray to heaven that they may speedily crush their enemies, and establish their liberties."

A decree of attainder against the late ministers having been carried in the chambers, they for some days lay concealed, but were at length discovered at a distance from the capital, in different disguises, and arrested. Polignac was taken at Granville, where he had assumed the character of a servant; and, on being brought in strict custody to St. Lo, he wrote a letter to Baron Pasquier, which amused the public not a little. He tells the noble Baron that "at the moment when he was flying from the *sad and deplorable events* which had just taken place, and seeking an opportunity to retire to the island of Jersey, he had been arrested, and had *surrendered himself a prisoner*, &c. What steps the chamber of peers might take on this subject, he did not know; or whether it would charge *him* with the lamentable events of the two days, which," says he, "*I deplore more than any man*—events which came on with the rapidity of the thunderbolt in the midst of the



tempest, and which *no human strength or prudence could arrest*, since in those terrible moments it was impossible to know to whom to listen, or to whom to apply, and every man's efforts were required to defend his own life. My only desire, M. la Baron, is, that *I may be permitted to retire to my own home*, and there *resume those peaceful habits* of private life which alone are suited to my taste, and from which I was torn in spite of myself, as is well known to all who are acquainted with me. If I cannot obtain this, I entreat to be allowed to withdraw into a foreign country with my wife and children. Lastly, if the chamber of peers determine to decree my arrest, I solicit that they will fix as the place of my detention, the fortress of Ham in Picardy, where I was for a long time in captivity in my youth, or *in some other fortress at once commodious and spacious*."

The reading of this part of the letter, in the chamber of peers, convulsed them with laughter. The writer then proceeds to speak of the misfortunes of an *upright man*, and how *barbarous* it would be to bring him into Paris, at a time when so many *prejudices* had been raised against him, &c. But it is needless to dwell on this subject further than to record, that, of the seven ministers, four were tried, convicted, and sentenced to solitary imprisonment for life, which they are now undergoing.

On Monday, August 10, the new king swore to the charter, which had undergone some modifications and alterations for the better, and ascended the throne amid the acclamations of the people, under the title of Louis Philippe I. The late king staked his crown against the liberties of the people. He lost it fairly; and the nation, having won it, have exercised their paramount right of bestowing it on whom they pleased. This the present king knows, and is proud to acknowledge that "the choice of the people," not "divine right," is the motto of his diadem.

The situation of the new king has certainly not been that of a bed of roses, during the two years that he has held the reins of government. He called to his assistance a liberal cabinet, well affected to the rights of the people, and the interests of the country; but they have had to stem the torrent against a strong republican party. Scarcely had they got seated in office, before a clamour was raised for a reform of the chamber of peers, or, in plain terms, the abrogation of hereditary peerage, and the appoint-



ment of a senate, whose members shall possess in themselves, and from their own character, a solid and admitted claim to consideration. In the summer of 1831, at the time of the elections, La Fayette published a long address, in which he strongly advocated the propriety of a peerage for life only; and it had its desired effect, for subsequently the measure was carried.

Towards the close of the year (1831) some very serious disturbances took place at Lyons, by the rising of the silk-weavers against their masters. On the 21st of November, the former assembled with a determination to extort from the latter the rise of wages, which had been agreed to by the prefect: the masters also assembled, determined not to concede what was demanded. Violent feelings produced violent words, and these led to violent actions on both sides. It would seem that the masters were most in fault: they first lost their patience, then their reason, and fired. The mob, with their advantage of position and numbers, pressed forward on the national guard that was opposed to them, broke their ranks, seized their arms, turned the weapons so obtained against the garrison; and the garrison, deprived of the assistance of the national guard, and hard pressed by the weavers, found themselves under the necessity of withdrawing from the town, and of taking up a position at a neighbouring fortress. The weavers, in undisturbed possession of the town, seem to have at once settled down into sober citizens, and their leaders to have assumed the tone and manners of staid and loyal municipal authorities; while order returned as strangely as it had been chased away.

When the intelligence arrived at Paris of these tumultuous proceedings at Lyons, great interest was excited by them. A council immediately assembled, and every measure, required by the urgency of the occasion, was taken. His royal highness the Duke of Orleans, the king's eldest son, requested his majesty to be permitted to proceed to Lyons, which was granted him, accompanied by Marshal Soult, entrusted with an extraordinary commission to put down the riots, which appear to have been over before they arrived. The confusion appears to have continued from Monday till Thursday or Friday, but on Sunday every thing was tranquil. The number of killed and wounded was stated to be about twelve hundred.

Since this *fracas* was over, some persons have pretended to find



the real occasion of it in causes remote from the alleged one, and we shall briefly state what those causes are. They tell us, that it cannot fail to be perceived by all men who reflect, that the revolution of the three days, above mentioned, has very little changed the formal position of Frenchmen and France. The public journals are free, the charter is respected, opinion is powerful, gross acts of oppression dare not be perpetrated ; but with all these essential goods, the legal expression of the wants and wishes of the nation, is nearly as much narrowed as it was under Charles X. In a word, the revolution, formally, has been a revolution for the rich, not for the poor. The great mass of the middle classes, and all the lower, have neither part nor lot in it. The whole constituency of France does not exceed two hundred thousand persons, in a population of thirty millions. The object of a practical statesman, in extending the political franchise, is to insure the making of good laws, by giving the nation on which they are to operate a voice in their formation ; and to insure their execution, by giving the nation an interest in their observance. But, apart from the more palpable advantages of free government, there is, and always will be, a mighty sum of general satisfaction diffused wherever it prevails. Give men an interest in the state, and they will feel an attachment to it, as they do to all things in which they have an interest—not for the mere profit, but because it is their own. The revolution of July, 1830, great as were its benefits, and cheaply and speedily as they were purchased, had its drawbacks of stagnated trade, interrupted commerce, and broken credit, as all revolutions have. The whole nation felt these more or less ; but the wealthy part of it got place and power, as a salve to their sores : the poor got no places, and no power ; they had all the evil, and none of the good. Can we wonder, then, that they should be dissatisfied ? Nothing can give permanence and stability to the throne of Louis Philippe, or to any throne which seeks to found itself on the approbation of sensible men, but the engaging in its defence the sympathies of a great majority of its subjects. Let the franchise be extended, in France, from 200,000 to 2,000,000 of men, and there will be an end to all apprehension of political tumult ; for law will then effect what tumult is always meant to effect—the redress of widely-felt political grievances. Masters and workmen will continue to dispute, as long as wages are opposed to profit ;



but they will not fight, because they will be sure of getting all that either is entitled to, without fighting.

There has recently been an insurrection in favour of the exiled Bourbons. La Vendée, that ancient citadel of honest bigotry—the Highlands of France—has again been forced to bare its weak bosom to the national bayonets, in order to gratify the lust of power of a silly, selfish, and contemptible race. Subsequent to the Marseillois attempt at insurrection, the district of La Vendée was kept in an unsettled state by patrolling bodies of Chouans, whose predatory excursions render travelling insecure.

On the 23d of May, 1832, an attempt was made to rear the white flag near Parthenay, on the part of some needy lawless men, headed by two individuals, formerly in the Bourbon guards. They were captured by the sub-prefect; and a detachment of the 63d regiment was cantoned in the disturbed district. Several arrests took place on the 25th and 26th, and the national guard shewed itself every where on the alert. On the 27th, a rencontre took place between some Chouans and a body of troops of the line and national guards, which was stubbornly contested, but terminated in a victory for the patriots. By a royal ordonnance of the 1st of June, the arrondissement of Laval, Chateau-Gontier, and Veivre, were declared subject to martial law. It was soon discovered that the priests were deeply implicated in these commotions, and several were arrested, as well as different individuals of the resident nobility (*chatelains*.) Some persons, and among them three subordinate officers of the king's household, were arrested in Paris, accused of participation in the Carlist manoeuvres. A number of forged notes had been for some time in circulation, and some were finally traced to the possession of a nobleman who was known to have paid several visits to Holyrood. The emissaries of government were, in the mean time, actively engaged in La Vendée, tracing the origin of the insurrection. On the 30th of May, a lieutenant of *gens-d'armes*, with a detachment of twenty-eight men, accompanied General Dermoncourt to the Castle of La Carline, which they found already surrounded by a detachment of fifty men from the 32d regiment of the line. These troops were looking for deserters; and their report of some suspicious circumstances about the castle, induced the general to institute a search. M. Laubepin, the proprietor, who was repre-



sented as absent, was discovered hiding in a secret chamber. A number of papers was found in the apartment, sufficiently indicating the existence of a treasonable correspondence, together with some arms, a military dress, and several pieces of white cloth marked with black crosses and fleurs-de-lis. The most important document was the scroll of a letter from Laubepin, warning Madame that she had been led to entertain exaggerated notions of the support she was likely to meet with in La Vendée. The writer represented the inhabitants as possessed of only a small quantity of arms, and unable to compete with the friends of the new system, unless the attention of government were distracted by foreign aggression.

From the letters of the Duchess of Berri, it appears that orders had been distributed throughout France to the partisans of the exiled family, commanding them to take up arms on the 24th of May. She complains that these orders had not been complied with in La Vendée. The letter of the old Vendéan, and another from a nameless young enthusiast, shew that the leaders were unwilling to move; they saw the hopelessness of the struggle, but the Duchess would listen to nothing but her own will, and declared that she would regard the cause of her family as lost, were she obliged to retire. Bourmont, who had landed with the Duchess near Marseilles, and accompanied her to La Vendée, was convinced of the insufficiency of the preparations, and urged her to re-embark, but in vain. As regent during her son's minority, she issued proclamations—one to the army of Algiers, promising the decorations which had been withheld from it; another to the French nation, announcing that the country was oppressed by the expense of an unnecessarily numerous standing army; and a third, to the adherents of her son, declaring that he would be their companion in arms.

On the 4th of May, the King of the French, by the advice of his ministers, declared the four departments of Maine and Loire, La Vendée, Loire Inferieur, and Les Deux Sevres, within the circle of which the Duchess seemed to confine her motions, in a state of martial law. The soldiers of the line and the national guard pursued with unremitting ardour the straggling bodies of Chouans. The courts-martials commenced their sittings about the 9th, but were for some time exclusively occupied by



preliminary investigations. By that time the armed bands had been beaten at all points, and many were voluntarily surrendering themselves. The Duchess of Berri was understood to be still concealed in the district; but repeated defeats, the exasperation of the public mind against the claims of her family, and the patriotism of the national guards, had blasted the hopes of her adherents. The war was at an end.

While these events were occurring in the west, the capital itself was the scene of disturbances, not perhaps of more importance in themselves, but, from the line of policy into which they had deluded the king, likely to prove the origin of more marked changes. On the 28th of May, upwards of forty members of the chamber of deputies assembled at the house of M. Lafitte, to affix their names to a declaration of the principles upon which they had opposed the measures of government during the preceding session; including a detailed account of the principal subjects discussed. The main charge against the advisers of the king was, their departure from the principles of the revolution. They were said to have acted as if the dynasty of Louis Philippe were but a continuation of the system of the restoration; while, in truth, his throne was based on the triumphant principles of the great revolution of 1789. This accusation was followed up by a strongly expressed disapprobation of the maintenance of the same extravagant expenditure as under the former dynasty; of the delay in the institution of popular schools; and of the mode of organizing the army. The signature of General Lamarque, then on his death-bed, was appended to this document by proxy. He died on the evening of the first of June. That same day, the government, which had been for some time keeping a jealous eye on the proceedings of a society which assumed the title of "*Les Amis du Peuple*," ordered the doors of their place of meeting to be sealed up. Some of the members, conceiving the process to be illegal, broke off the seals, and opened the doors. Several other members came in, and business was about to be commenced, when the *sergens de ville* rushed in, arrested all the persons present, thirty-one in number, and conveyed them to the prisons of the prefecture, where they were detained *au secret*. This unconstitutional stretch of power naturally produced a strong sensation in Paris.



Tuesday, the 5th of June, was the day on which the remains of Lamarque were to quit Paris for the hero's native district. His son was anxious that the departure should take place privately, in conformity with the general's wishes. The importunities of friends induced him to alter this intention. Government regarding this as an overt act of defiance, an attempt to give greater *eclat* to the funeral of an opposition deputy, than had attended that of Casimir Perrier, and likewise afraid that the enemies of the established dynasty might seek to turn so large an assemblage of people to account, ordered no funeral honours to be paid to the deceased beyond what were his due as a general and member of the chamber of deputies. The *ecole polytechnique* was forbidden to attend. Considerable bodies of troops were assembled at various points, as a precaution against a rising of *Les Amis du Peuple*. Every means, however, had been taken by the friends of Lamarque for securing an imposing attendance of national guards and other citizens. The crowd, both of foreigners and natives, which followed the remains of the liberal deputy, with banners of all kinds, was immense, notwithstanding the rain which fell during the early part of the day. The refusal of the piquet at the *etat-major* to present arms while the procession was passing, excited the discontent of the people. The refusal of the Duke of Fitz-James to uncover when the body was borne past him, was the signal for breaking the windows of the house in which he was. Opposite the Port St. Denis, a scuffle took place between one of the *sergens de ville* and a *decoré* of July, in which the latter was wounded. All these events took place before the procession reached the bridge of Austerlitz; and are of consequence, as indicating a degree of irritation against the authorities on the part of many who took a share in the funeral ceremony, and a promptness to take offence on the part of the government forces, unworthy of those whose office it was to preserve peace. Opposite to the bridge of Austerlitz, a scaffold had been erected, hung with black, and canopied with flags, for the accommodation of the orators, upon whom had devolved the duty of pronouncing the eulogium of the deceased. Just before the head of the procession reached this point, a considerable number of young men of *l'ecole polytechnique*, who had succeeded in making their escape by scaling the walls of the school, arrived upon the ground, and were received



with loud acclamations. The speeches pronounced over the body, on account of their warm eulogiums of the political sentiments of General Lamarque, were received as censures of the government, with that applause that evinced a stronger feeling of the political object of the meeting, than of its funeral character. While the ceremony was proceeding, several disputes had arisen between the individuals forming the outskirts of the procession, and the troops assembled to overawe them. Mutual insults had led to such a degree of excitement, that Lafayette concluded his speech by calling upon the people not to sully, by an act of theirs, the sanctity of the occasion. He immediately afterwards entered a hackney-coach, from which the people took the horses, to draw him to his home in triumph.

By the time Lafayette reached the Place de la Bastille, the mutual exasperation of the people and the soldiery had reached its height. The coach in which he was had just passed, when a body of cavalry, without apparent new ground of offence, charged the unarmed mass following it, and, first discharging their pistols, proceeded to use their sabres. The cry "*Aux armes !*" was immediately heard from the crowd ; and, like a spell, it instantaneously brought to the spot a man on horseback, who had made a conspicuous figure in the procession, carrying what some represent as a red flag, with the inscription "*Liberte ou la Mort,*" and others as the "*Bonnet rouge.*" The *rappel* was beat at all the guard-houses ; but the disarmed guards, taken by surprise, were unwilling to side with either party, and a great number of them retired to their homes. The majority joined the troops, but a few, it is said, made common cause with the people. Within a few moments from the first attack of the military, barricades were formed at the end of the Bridge of Austerlitz, at the entrance of the roads on each side of the canal and across the quay. The contagion spread, and barricades were formed in the streets of St Antoine, St. Denis, St. Martin, Montmartre, and St. Croi. A few attempts were made to unpave the streets, but without effect. The populace broke open several armourers' shops in the employment of government, and made themselves masters of the powder magazine on the Boulevard de l'Hospital. The young men of l'ecole polytechnique, who had joined the procession, found on their return the gates closed upon them. Some,



by the aid of the citizens, scaled the walls, but others remained excluded, and were thus forced to take a part in the proceedings of the night. The Rue Montmartre and the Rue St. Denis were the scenes of the most obstinate contests ; owing, however, to the want of concert and organization among the people, the troops pressed rapidly onward, suppressing the revolt. A violent fall of rain aided materially to the restoration of order. By midnight, the firing on both sides had almost entirely ceased.

The king arrived from St Cloud late in the evening, held a council of ministers, and reviewed the national guard on the Place du Carousel. During the night, seals were placed, by order of the police, on the presses of the Tribune, Quotidienne, and the Courier de l'Europe. The numbers of the National Courier Français, Journal de Commerce, and Corsaire, containing the narrative of the disturbances, were seized at the post-office. The first step was a literal execution of the ordonnance, for issuing which Charles the Tenth was forced to make room for the monarch of the barricades. The shops continued shut during the forenoon of Wednesday ; all business was at a stand. The Bourse, it is true, was open and crowded, but nothing was done : Paris had the appearance of a city taken by storm. In the course of the afternoon, the people again attacked the soldiery at the Place de la Bastille and along the Boulevards, but were repulsed after a sharp contest. Several meetings of the deputies present in Paris were held at the house of Messrs. Lafitte, in the course of the day ; and a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Lafitte, Odillon-Barrot, and Arago, were appointed to wait upon the king.

On Thursday morning three ordinances appeared in the " Moniteur." By the first, Paris was declared in a state of siege—by the second, the artillery corps of the national guard was dissolved—by the third, the pupils of the polytechnic school were disbanded. The declaring Paris in a state of siege was justified by no better authority than a decree passed by Napoleon in 1811. But even the harsh precedent was exceeded, for its effect was declared retrospective. Amid these unconstitutional proceedings, the funds continued to advance ; but this was attributed to government's bringing in secret resources into the market, in order to force up their price. The liberal deputies in vain per-



suaded the king to convoke the chambers, and proceed by constitutional means. Friday and Saturday were spent in domiciliary visits of the police, and increasing exasperation on the part of the people. Government began to reap the fruits of its tyrannical conduct, in the absurd reports that were propagated respecting its measures, and the ready credence which they met with. An attempt was made by ministers to force medical men to give evidence respecting all wounded persons under their care; but this violation of the sacred duty of the physician was so strongly protested against by that respectable body, and excited such horror and loathing in the public mind, that it was desisted from. Forty of the most eminent members of the bar published an opinion, that the attempt to give retrospective effect to the ordinance, declaring Paris in a state of siege, was illegal.

Thus, then, is Louis Philippe's government at present circumstanced. The Carlists are a nonentity, too contemptible to be noticed. The republicans are a growing party, consisting of men with clear definite notions, and, in general, all the energy of youth. The mass of the population of France is tired of commotion, and longs for a firm and settled government, but cares not for the present king. He has not the military glory of Napoleon, nor the legitimacy of the Bourbons, to dazzle the nation as to the real nature of his title to the throne. His personal character is, to say the least, not fascinating; and the memory of his father is repulsive. Yet, under these circumstances, seated on a throne, the blood shed to cement which is not yet dry, he dares to suspend the rights of the citizens—to delay the convocation of their representatives—to insult their favourite opinions—and to substitute military despotism for regulated freedom.

#### SECTION VIII.—*State of the British Colonies in the West Indies.*

Leaving, for the present, the European continent, at which however, we may possibly have occasion to glance again in a subsequent part of this history; we now proceed to notice the events that have recently transpired in our West India Colonies, where it is evident a crisis is rapidly approaching, of fearful import to the mother country. And to assist the reader in forming a more accurate judgment of the progress of events, it may not be unne-



cessary to prefix to our report, an account of some recent transactions between these provinces and the general government.

An order in council was passed on the 2d November, 1831, for improving the condition of slaves in British Guiana, Trinidad, Saint Lucia, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope. This order was intimated to the governors of these colonies, by a despatch from Lord Goderich, bearing date the 5th of the same month. On the 10th of December, his lordship again addressed the governors of the crown colonies, intimating the intention of government to bring forward, at the earliest possible period, a fiscal arrangement for the relief of such of them as should be found to have obeyed the order, and of such colonies, possessing legislative assemblies, as should have declared its provisions to have the force of law. A circular of the same date, from his lordship, to the governors of the West India legislative colonies, conveyed a similar intimation. He entered, in that document, into a detailed defence of the conduct of government in substituting this mode of enforcing an amelioration in the condition of the slaves, for the course of authoritative admonition, which had been pursued for nine years, without producing any effect. In a circular to the same authorities, dated the 16th of December, he requests each of them, if the assembly of his colony be not in session at the time of his receiving the order, to convoke that body, together with the council, at the earliest period, for the purpose of taking so important a question into consideration. The despatch including the order in council was received in Demerara on the 19th of December. The court of policy met on the 10th of January, 1832, and agreed to memorialize the governor on the expediency of postponing the publication of the order. Their memorial was presented next day. The governor, holding that no discretionary power was left him, issued a proclamation in terms of the order on the 12th. Sir Lewis Grant, governor of Trinidad, as soon as he received the order in council, forwarded a copy to Mr. Jackson, chairman of the committee of proprietors, suggesting that it might be productive of beneficial effects, were the colonists to anticipate in practice the changes proposed. This gentleman replied on the 31st December, requesting, in the name of the committee, that certain provisions of the order should be modified. On the 4th of January, the Cabildo (the municipal body of Port d'Espagne) memorialized the governor



requesting him to delay the promulgation of the order till such time as they might receive an answer to their intended petition to the throne. The prayer of this memorial was refused, on the ground that the Cabildo, in arrogating the right to present it, had exceeded its constitutional functions. The proclamation was issued on the 5th; copies being, at the same time, forwarded to the commandants of quarters, and the principal proprietors of sugar estates; while, at the same time, a sufficient number was printed for the use of all proprietors and managers. The proprietors met on the sixth, and petitioned for a modification of some provisions of the order; which was refused, as out of the governor's power.

While these transactions were going on, the slaves on two estates in the colony refused to work, on the plea, that, at the time of their removal from Tortola, ten years ago, they were promised their freedom in seven years. Their stay had much to corroborate, but not sufficient to establish its truth. The slaves were tranquillized, on the promise of an open trial. Sir Lewis addressed government on the 18th, recommending compliance with some of the suggestions of the proprietors, whose conduct and language he has, from the first, described as being, with one or two exceptions, highly correct and moderate. The order in council was proclaimed in St. Lucia on the 24th of December. This step was attended with disturbances, partly originating in other causes, which will be found detailed below. The governor of Barbadoes, in compliance with Lord Goderich's circular of the 16th of December, lost no time in convoking the council and house of assembly; to both of which bodies he transmitted copies of the despatch. The speaker of the house of assembly acknowledged the receipt of his excellency's message on the 17th of January, and intimated the intention of the house to give the subject due consideration. Sir E. J. Murray Macgregor's despatch, dated 28th of January, 1832, intimates that the local legislature of Dominica being in session when the circular arrived, the order in council had been immediately laid before them. Both the council and house of assembly pledged themselves to give it serious attention. The latter body adjourned, to afford the members time for mature consideration, but the governor expresses a degree of confidence, that their resolutions will be satisfactory.



In Granada, both branches of the legislature met on the 26th of January, and appointed a joint-committee to take the matter into consideration. The house then adjourned till the 6th of March. The house of assembly at Antigua intimated to the governor on the 25th of January, that, "It feels itself compelled to decline to entertain the speculative opinions which have been so authoritatively addressed to it on this occasion; involving, as they do, the introduction of a code of innovations, ruinous in their effects, being compatible neither with the safety of the colony, nor with a fair and equitable consideration of the rights of property." The board of council, in like manner, declared, on the 2d of February, that, "It feels itself called upon to decline its compliance with the determined and ruinous conditions submitted by his Majesty's government to our unmodified adoption."—Sir George Hill writes from St. Vincent's on the 28th of January, that he has summoned the legislative bodies for the 10th of February; and that he will employ the intermediate time in "ascertaining the views and dispositions of the gentlemen of property and influence, and in a sincere endeavour to obviate such objections as they may oppose to his lordship's powerful reasoning in support of the proposed measures."—Governor Nicolay writes from St. Christopher's about the same time, that he will immediately submit his lordship's communications to the legislatures of that island, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands.—Meanwhile, the West India interest in this country has not been idle. Mr. Marryat transmitted to Lord Goderich, on the 23d of February, "Observations upon the Circular Despatch, transmitting the Order in Council of the 2d of November, 1831," agreed to at a meeting of the committee of crown colonies. This document, although long and elaborate, contains nothing new.

In the course of February, accounts of the Jamaica insurrection reached this country. The privy council was immediately convened, for the purpose of determining upon the best measures to be adopted in such an emergency. The result was an announcement, on the part of Lord Goderich, to Lord Belmore, that the instructions on the subject of negro slavery could not be revoked. His lordship was authorized, in case events had obliged him to suspend the execution of the orders he had received, to continue that suspension until the restoration of general tranquillity. At the



same time he was instructed to seize the earliest occasion, after internal peace had been restored, to direct the attention of the council and assembly to the subject. This despatch was followed up by on the 10th by another, addressed to the governors of the West India colonies, with the exception of Jamaica and Honduras. It alludes to the disturbances in the first mentioned colony; adverts to the intemperate discussions of last year, as the most probable cause; and transmits a copy of a proclamation drawn up for Jamaica, to be used if necessary. This document requests the governor to warn the proprietary body of the danger of publicly imputing to government resolutions which it has never adopted; to enjoin upon the magistrates to convey the earliest intelligence of every movement indicating a rebellious spirit; and to check the progress of delusive hopes among the slaves.

The West Indians at home still continue to agitate. They convened a meeting of the planters, merchants, shipowners, manufacturers, tradesmen, and others interested in the preservation of the West India colonies, on the 5th of April, which was crowded to excess. A great many long speeches were made, and twelve wordy resolutions agreed to; the sum and substance of which is as follows:—"That the West India Islands are a valuable possession for Great Britain; that the conduct of this country towards the planters has been most unjust, and is likely to draw down the loss of these colonies; that the negroes are spoiled children, and would be ruined by being withdrawn from under the whip of the overseer; that a bonus ought to be given to the planters for the promotion of slavery; and that the opponents of that system are lying fanatics." We were nothing moved at hearing such sentiments from the older and more hardened advocates of slavery, but to see at their head the nephew of Lord Daer! Is this boy, scarcely escaped from the ferula, not contented with blazoning his apostacy from the principles of his family in his constitutional seat, that he seeks an ultraneous occasion of shewing at how early a period the heart may get hardened to the sufferings of humanity?

On the 6th, the West India merchants of London transmitted to Lord Goderich a protest against the order in council. They declared, that the order of the 2d of November, 1831, is unjust, inconsistent with the parliamentary resolutions of 1823, and



destructive of the right of property; that the enforcement of the order by fiscal regulations is only paralleled by the attempt to tax America, which occasioned her revolution; that property in slaves ought not to be meddled with before a fund is prepared for compensation; that they do therefore throw all the responsibility of these measures upon the British government, and protest against them. Here, for the present, the matter rests. The colonists are entitled to every possible alleviation of their burdens—to freedom from the shackles of commercial restriction. We claim for them the same immunities we demand for ourselves. But the slaves have the same hold upon them. “How can they expect justice, rendering none?” The West India interest is in a deep decline, and nothing can cure it but the introduction of a healthy state of society—liberty to the peasant, and free trade to the planter.

Jamaica is the colony in which recent events seem to call most particularly for commemoration. On Friday, the 16th of December, 1831, the negroes on the Salt Spring estate, parish of St. James's, evinced a spirit of insubordination; and two constables, sent to apprehend and convey the ringleaders to Montego Bay, were assaulted, and deprived of their pistols and mules. The town was in a state of alarm, and a thousand confused rumours floated about on Saturday and Sunday. On Monday, immediately after sun-set, the reflection of conflagrations was seen immediately above the horizon, in seven different directions. On the 23d, the trash-houses of York estate in Trelawny parish were fired; and a strong spirit of insubordination was evinced by the slaves on several other estates. Up to the 30th, the number of fires in the parishes of St. James and Trelawny continued on the increase. Nine-tenths of the slave population refused to work. The militia had been called out on the 20th, and parties despatched to different stations where insurrectionary movements were expected. At first, wherever they appeared, the negroes retired to the woods. The latter, however, continued to harass their pursuers, and, growing bolder by degrees, the parties of militia were withdrawn, lest they should be cut off in detail; and the effective force of the regiment was concentrated in Montego Bay. Lord Belmore, the governor, who received intelligence of these occurrences on the 22d, immediately made application to Commodore Farquhar, who, at his request, despatched



ships of war to Port Antonio, Montego Bay, and Black River. On the 29th, Sir Willoughby Cotton embarked with two companies of the 84th regiment for Montego Bay, on board the Sparrowhawk. On the 31st, Commodore Farquhar followed in the *Blanche*, with 300 men of the 33d and 84th regiments, and twelve artillery men with two field-pieces and rockets, &c. On the 29th, the governor having convened a council of war in due form, martial law was regularly proclaimed. Orders were at the same time issued to the St. Anne's western regiment, to assemble at Rio Bueno; the Clarendon regiment, on the confines of Trelawny; the Westmoreland and Hanover regiments, on the confines of St. James's. The object of this arrangement was to cut off all communication between the disturbed districts and other parts of the island. These orders had scarcely been given, when intelligence was received from General Robertson, that the insurrection had spread into the parish of St. Elizabeth. The general expressed an opinion, that his whole force was unable to suppress the insurgents. Accordingly, fifty men of the 77th were sent on board the *Rose* on the 3d of January, and despatched, under the command of Major Wilson, to Black River.

Sir Willoughby Cotton proceeded, immediately on his arrival at his destination, to arrange an organized system of operations, in which he was readily seconded by all the militia, with the exception of the Trelawny regiment, of which he found much reason to complain. He succeeded in opening a communication with Maroon Town, and obtained essential assistance from the Maroons, in tracking the negroes, most of whom retired to the woods. By the 6th, Sir Willoughby was able to write to the governor, that the neck of the insurrection was broken in that district. There have been partial risings at various points since, but the spirit of the negroes seems subdued; and, with the exception of a few of the boldest, they are returning to work: such of the ringleaders as fell into the hands of the military have been shot, the others flogged or pardoned. The amount of lives lost, and property destroyed, is not known, except from vague rumour. Mr. Box, a Wesleyan missionary, was apprehended, but liberated by the governor, there being no tangible accusation brought against him. On the 31st of December, the governor received intelligence from the custos of the parish of Portland, that the negroes on three estates had refused to work, and betaken themselves to the woods. Captain



Tathwell, with thirty men of the 33d regiment, was accordingly embarked on board the *Hyacinth*, for Morant Bay, with directions to march thence to Manchioneal, where he found the regiments of Portland, St. George, and St. Thomas in the East, already assembled. At the same time, forty men of the 77th were conveyed in the boats of the *Champion*, from Port Antonio to Manchioneal. The command of the district was given to Colonel M'Leod, with the rank of lieutenant-general of militia. No further movements were attempted on the part of the slaves; the burning of a trash-house, which occurred, being apparently accidental. The Maroons, however, sent in pursuit of the absconding slaves, found thirty-one houses erected in the deepest recesses of the woods—an indication that their measures must have been taken some time before. The king's proclamation, when read to the negroes in Manchioneal, was treated with undisguised contempt.

On the 14th of January, symptoms of insubordination shewed themselves on an estate in St. Ann's parish. This was a quarter in which nothing of the kind had been looked for. An example was made of a ringleader; and two companies of the St. Catherine's militia were marched upon that point, to preserve quiet. Great preparations were made at Kingston, but nothing transpired to shew their necessity. No occurrence has as yet justified the assertions of the planters, that the insurrection was prompted and organized by the sectarian missionaries. The threats against them were, nevertheless, so audacious, that the Wesleyans found themselves under the necessity of claiming the governor's protection. In an interview which three of their number had with his lordship, at St. Jago, on the 7th of January, this was frankly promised. Lord Belmore returns to England, and is succeeded by Lord Mulgrave. This arrangement was made some time ago.

On the 6th of January, Sir W. Cotton had felt himself warranted to write to Lord Belmore "that the neck of the insurrection was broken." It would be in vain, were we to attempt a sketch of the numberless small operations which ensued, having for their object to trample out the sparks left behind by the flame just quenched. The Maroons volunteered their services to hunt down their black brethren, and were gladly employed. It is customary for these barbarians to substantiate their tales of the slaves they have slaughtered in the mountains, by pro-



ducing the ears of their victims. The militia, recovered from their first panic, breathed nothing but blood. A negro woman, who was in company with a body of rebels, when surprised by the militia, held up her child, as a flag of truce. She was immediately brought down with a shot; and the monster who perpetrated the act made it a matter of boast, that his aim was so nice as to kill the mother without hurting the child. The commander-in-chief was obliged to issue an order forbidding negroes, taken prisoners, to be shot without trial. He seems, however, to have been but indifferently obeyed. On the 12th of January, Lieutenant Gunn of the Trelawny regiment was tried by a court-martial for shooting a negro-driver belonging to Luina estate, where the slaves, although not working, had not joined the insurgents. The deed was known to have been done in cold blood, no resistance having been offered by the man when apprehended. The commander-in-chief had visited the estate a few hours before, and promised the negroes protection. The court declared the charge "not proved." Pfeiffer, a Moravian missionary, was arrested, accused of accession to the rebellion, tried, and honourably acquitted. Burchell, a Baptist missionary, just arrived from England, was arrested on the 17th of January; but nothing was found to criminate him. It appeared, however, that some negroes had been heard to say, "that he was to bring their freedom out," and he received orders to remain on board the ship in which he sailed from England.

On the 21st, the governor summoned a council of war, at which it was unanimously resolved that martial law should be continued in operation. On the 25th, certain Wesleyan missionaries waited upon his excellency, and preferred complaints against the militia stationed at St. Anne's Bay. On the 29th, Lord Belmore embarked from Montego Bay, it having been judged expedient for him to visit in person the disturbed districts. He found, as indeed he had been previously informed by letters from Sir W. Cotton, and the custos of St. James's, that affairs were ripe for issuing a conditional amnesty. He accordingly issued a proclamation on the 3d of February; but the overseers, not having returned to their estates, the ringleaders had not been ascertained with accuracy, and the document was necessarily vague. It was nevertheless so effective, that in a few days the number of slaves absent from their



estates in Hanover parish, amounting, at Lord Belmore's arrival in Montego Bay, to 1,600, was diminished to 400. This step produced a good deal of discontent among the whites; and their mutterings increased, when a restriction was laid upon the trials by courts-martial. Although an immense number of half-starved wretches had been killed in the woods, and shot or hanged by awards of military tribunals—although the gaol at Montego Bay contained, at that moment, 500 prisoners, crowded into the court-house, which, having been used as a prison, was, in the words of the Jamaica Royal Gazette, becoming so obnoxious from the noisome stench arising from so many *unkept* and filthy human beings, as likely to create pestilence—they were yet unsatiated with the sufferings of their victims, and still clamoured for blood.

On the 5th of February, the governor, by proclamation, declared that martial law had ceased. He issued, at the same time, a militia general order, under the 48th Geo. III. c. 4., commonly called the Party Law; by which the governor is entitled to order out parties of militia in times of insurrection and rebellion. The object of this step was to enable the overseers to return to their estates, where the negroes had for some time been working without any whites to superintend them. On the 6th of February, Lord Belmore set out upon a progress through the disturbed districts. He proceeded that day to St. Lucia. The next to Savannah-la-Mar; and on the 9th, continued his route to New Savannah. He every where found the prisons crowded, and adopted the same humane measures as in Montego. On the 11th, he returned to Montego Bay by the western interior road, visiting several of the estates which had been the scenes of violence, and addressed the negroes. On his excellency's return to Montego Bay, he found that a new scene of disorder had occurred during his absence. A large mob had assembled, and razed the Baptist chapel to the ground. He soon after learned that the Baptists' chapels at Falmouth, St. Lucia, and Savannah-la-Mar, had shared the same fate. On the 13th, his lordship published a proclamation against the rioters.

No authentic intelligence of a later date has yet reached this country, but more serious outrages against the missionaries are apprehended. Lord Belmore's conduct has hitherto been everything that could be wished. We trust, therefore, that the same



stern and inexorable justice which has been meted to the slave, shall be measured out to the freeman likewise. A curious example of the temper of the slaveholders is afforded, by the proceedings of a court of inquiry, held in St. Anne's parish, on the 23d of January: a Mr. Watkins, one of the two coloured members returned to the last assembly, was accused of the atrocious crime of having remarked to an acquaintance, under the seal of secrecy, "that the insurrection to leeward was some of the sweets of slavery." Of course, this gentleman was immediately sent to Coventry: with a view to redeem himself from which unpleasant situation, he demanded the investigation in question. The charge was, however, completely established against him, and he still suffers the punishment due to his offence.

*Demerary and Essequibo.*—The order in council, dated 2d November, 1831, was published in this colony on the 12th January, 1832. A protest was immediately drawn up, and signed by the great majority of the proprietors and overseers; a note was appended to this document, authorizing certain individuals to appear for the interest of the subscribers, and execute the protest at the colonial secretary's office. They protest against the order in council, as an infringement upon the fundamental laws of the colony, and upon the rights of private property; they protest against all authorities, and parties concerned in promulgating and enforcing the order; they protest against any obedience, they may be forced to yield to its provisions, being interpreted into acquiescence or voluntary submission. The paper is eminently characterized by that confusion of language, and that blundering repetition of strong expressions, unavoidable when people are in a towering passion.

*St. Lucia.*—The promulgation of the order in council was followed by a refusal to furnish government with provisions and other necessaries. A vessel was fitted out, to procure the requisite supplies from the neighbouring islands. The colonists endeavoured by the same vessel to forward letters to their correspondents, requesting them not to furnish the government with what it wanted. The letters were opened by the acting governor, Lieutenant-colonel Boyon, and an embargo laid upon all vessels from the 18th to the 23d of January. All shops were shut up, and trade of every kind at a stand-still: the negroes were refusing to work.



The proceedings which followed the proclamation of the order in council of the 5th of November, 1831, in St. Lucia, have their rise partly in discontents, previously rankling in the breasts of the planters: to explain which, we are under the necessity of going so far back with our narrative as the beginning of August last. On the first of that month, three members of council addressed a memorial to the acting governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Boyon, requesting a reduction of public salaries, &c., and desiring him to forward it to the colonial secretary. Their request was complied with on the 19th; Colonel Boyon forwarding, at the same time, a representation from Mr. Bustard, chief secretary of the colony, pointing out some inaccuracies of the memorial. Lord Goderich's answer bears date the 5th of November. His lordship promises, that so soon as a commission for a new governor shall have been issued, arrangements shall be made for conferring upon the council "every proper authority for the exercise of financial control." An insinuation in the memorial, that the crops of the land have decreased in consequence of the improvement in the condition of slaves, is disproved, by reference to the annual reports. Several suggestions of the memorial are adopted. Before the representations of the council arrived in this country, the hurricane occurred which swept so destructively over Barbadoes, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. The same three gentlemen lost no time in again addressing government. Colonel Boyon, in transmitting their representation, complained of a want of courtesy evinced by the late period at which it had been forwarded to him. Lord Goderich's reply contained a gentle hint that justice required that all complaints against the local authorities ought to be communicated to them, with a view to enable them to state their defence. This despatch is dated the 17th of November. The order in council of the 2d of November was published on the 26th of December, with notice that the same would be in operation fourteen days thereafter. Mr. Hunter, the most influential man on the island, with two others, waited upon the governor on the 28th, requesting permission to call a meeting of the inhabitants: their petition was granted. The meeting was held on the 4th of January; much violent language was uttered to a committee appointed to memorialize the governor on the expediency of delaying the enforcement



of the order. The medical practitioners resolved the same day to cease practising if the order in council were enforced, and the merchants to furnish the planters with provisions or clothing, except for ready money.

The governor replied to the memorial of the committee of inhabitants on the 6th, stating his inability to suspend the order in council. On the 7th of January, Mr. Hunter threw up his commission as assessor of the royal court. On the 9th, the medical reporter to the government resigned. The island continued harassed by alarming reports of burnings and insurrections of the slaves up to the 16th of that month. They all proved groundless, and are understood to have been invented for the sole purpose of harassing the government. On the morning of the 16th, the merchants shut up their shops, and refused to transact any business until the order was suspended. On the 17th, the keeper of the prison reported that he had only two days' provision on hand. The slaves found themselves unable to purchase provisions, and a rebellion was expected.\* The governor summoned a council, at which it was resolved to despatch a vessel to Martinique, for the purchase of £400 of provisions. The governor of that island refused to sanction the transport of any provisions, on the plea, that certain run-away slaves had been harboured in St. Lucia—an allegation apparently groundless. The merchants, the medical and legal practitioners, seized this moment of alarm, to harass the governor with fresh remonstrances against the heavy taxation of the island. Towards evening, the admiral on the Barbadoes station, alarmed by the report of a slave-insurrection, appeared off the island with two frigates, but immediately set sail, on learning that it was a false alarm. Next day, an unusual anxiety to despatch a sloop, the *Jane*, to Martinique, was displayed; and the governor, fearing that the object might be to dissuade the merchants of Martinique from furnishing provisions, laid an embargo on all the vessels in port. A proclamation was

\* That such a result was actually contemplated by the planters, appears from Robert Hannay's letter, seized on board the *Jane*. "All the slaves have been shut up since you left this, and as tranquillity may reign but a short time, while Quashy gets hungry, I see no harm why we should not be prepared with 'defencibles;' and I wish you would see the price of a pair of small pistols."



at the same time issued, declaring the combination entered into by the merchants to withhold supplies illegal. At night a boat belonging to the *Jane*, attempted to break the embargo. Letters from seventeen of the most influential persons on the island, to their correspondents in Martinique, were found on board. Their tenor was, that the inhabitants had resolved to starve the government into a compromise on the subject of the order; and in all of them the merchants of Martinique were exhorted not to deal with the governor's envoy, and to obstruct and detain him by every means in their power.

On the 23d, the governor agreed to defer the payment of the taxes complained against, until the meeting of the privy council of the island, which was summoned on the 30th; and the merchants re-opened their stores at the same time. Next day the governor arrested Mr. Stephen Williams, a principal merchant, Messrs. Vossou and Kossack, second-class merchants, and Mr. Walker, a clerk to a commercial house, with a view to their being proceeded against according to law, for conspiring against government. Lord Goderich, in his despatch to the new governor of St. Lucia, approved of Colonel Boyon's proceedings. In the question of taxation, right is apparently on the side of the colonists; but their attempt to evade an act of justice to the coloured peasantry, by a line of conduct which rendered insurrection, in their own opinion, inevitable, is as wanton and flagitious a crime as can be well conceived. The conduct of the French governor in abetting the colonists was most reprehensible.

*Trinidad.*—In this colony, as we have stated above, the order in council was, after a modest opposition, submitted to, and a petition for some modification of its provisions transmitted to government. On the 30th of December, Mr. Marryat, M.P., transmitted a petition from the colonists for an elective legislature. To this petition, the secretary for the colonies adverts, in his despatches of the 14th and 30th of January. He admits the disadvantages laboured under by the island in consequence of the taxes being imposed by the executive, but justifies the refusal of a constitution, on the ground of so large a portion of the population being in a state of slavery. This is just. The home government, by giving the colonists a house of Assembly, would weaken its power of interfering in behalf of the slave. As soon as all



the inhabitants of Trinidad are equal before the law, they will have an undeniable claim to a constitution. To procure it, they have only to emancipate their slaves. As they love cheap government, let them instantly complete this act of justice.

Before we take leave of this article, it may not be amiss to state, that a bill was introduced into the British parliament, on the 23d of March, 1832, "to authorize the commissioners for auditing the public accounts of Great Britain, to audit accounts of the receipt and expenditure of colonial revenue." The operation of this bill is of course restricted to the crown colonies. As its object is to reduce the number of unnecessary officials, and as it bears marks of the wise system of gradual centralization and simplification of accounts which the present ministers have adopted, we hail it as a token for good to both countries. It is to a pervading reform of our system of administration, that the colonists, as well as the mother country, must look for relief from their real distress. To this they are entitled; a fact which ought not to be forgotten amid our squabbles with them in vindication of the rights of their black population. A bill was introduced on the 18th of April, "to allow the importation of lumber, and of fish and provisions, duty free, into the islands of Barbadoes, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, and to indemnify the governors and others of those islands for having permitted their importation, duty free. This fact ought to convince the planters and slave-holders that all their real grievances and distresses are readily listened to by the people of this country, and, as far as is possible, promptly remedied or relieved. That we extend the same good will to the sable victims of their oppression, is out of regard to the sacred rights of the slave, and not out of enmity to the master. They may have some reason to complain of our legislature, for fettering them with unnecessary taxes and restrictions. On the other hand, they have conceded to us at least a mediative right in their internal arrangements, in return for the protection afforded them by our fleets and armies. This they seek to evade in the question of negro-emancipation, under the pretext that "slaves are not subjects;" thus endeavouring to remove those unhappy beings from the protection of the laws.—There is, we fear, but little ground to hope that they will see the danger which surrounds them, till they have pulled down upon themselves a



heavier judgment than has lately overtaken them in the island of Jamaica!

SECTION IX.—*History of the Passing of the Reform Bills.*

The important measure of parliamentary reform, which has now held the public mind in a state of intense anxiety during the long period of eighteen months and more, has been already adverted to in a preceding volume,\* where the first introduction of the bill, by Lord John Russell, and the proceedings consequent thereon, are briefly narrated up to the end of the year 1831. Nevertheless, as many of the subscribers to the present volume may not have access to the former, as well as that the reader may have the whole of this most interesting subject before him in one unbroken narrative, we shall take up the matter from the beginning, sketching, however, in a very compendious form, the events of the past year.

1831 On the 1st of March, 1831, Lord Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill, and in an elaborate speech explained to the House of Commons the plan which his majesty's government had digested and agreed upon, with the view of amending the state of the representation of the people. A debate arose, in which the whole strength of the house was brought into action, and which by repeated adjournments from day to day was continued until the 9th of that month, when the noble lord obtained leave to bring in his bill, which was accordingly done upon the 14th of March. On the 21st the second reading of the bill was moved, when Sir Richard Vyvyan, one of the members for Cornwall, concluded a lengthened address to the house, with moving, as an amendment, that it should be read that day six months. On this amendment the house divided, when there appeared for the amendment 301—against it 302—leaving Lord Russell a majority of one only, in a house of six hundred members.

On Monday, April 18th, Lord Russell moved the order of the day, after an elaborate and energetic speech, that the house should go into committee on the bill; when General Gascoyne, one of the members for Liverpool, endeavoured to get rid of the bill, by a motion for counteracting one of its essential clauses. This pro-

\* See the "Life and Times of William the Fourth," p. 657, &c.



duced a vehement and contentious debate which was adjourned to the following day, when, upon a division, ministers were found in a minority of eight, and this led to a dissolution of parliament; one alleged reason for which was, that the commons had on the same day refused to grant the supplies necessary for the exigencies of the state. Of the disgraceful proceedings on the part of the Tories in both houses of parliament, antecedent to the prorogation, this is not the place to speak at large. The intemperate speeches of Sir Robert Peel, Sir Richard Vyvyan, and others, in the Commons, and the conduct of the Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Wharncliffe, the Earl of Mansfield, and others in the House of Peers, can only be recorded for the purpose of perpetuating their disgrace, and therefore are best passed over *sub silentio*. The king went down to the House of Peers in person, and prorogued the parliament to Tuesday, May the 10th; but on the succeeding day it was dissolved, and a new parliament appointed to meet on the 14th of June. 22 April

The whole empire was now thrown into a state of extraordinary agitation and excitement, in the view of an election; and though the boroughmongering system still remained unimpaired, wherever any thing of the nature of a popular election took place, it was almost universally to the discomfiture of the Tories, and in aid of the ministers. General Gascoyne was thrown out for Liverpool, Sir Richard Vyvyan lost his election for Cornwall, Mr. Banks for Dorsetshire, and almost every where the popular cause was triumphant.

The new parliament met on the 14th of June, but, a week being occupied in swearing in the members, and choosing a speaker, it was not until the 21st that the king opened the session, which he did in person, by a speech which he read with considerable firmness: at the conclusion of which he descended from the throne, and returned to St. James's amidst the most enthusiastic greetings of the people. On the 24th, Lord Russell again brought forward, in the name of the government, the all-absorbing question, the measure of reform. The bill was brought in, read a first time, and the further consideration postponed till Monday, July 4th, when, after a protracted and adjourned debate, a division took place, in which the result of the late elections was fully demonstrated, to the satisfaction of the whole country: the num-



bers being 367 for the bill, and 231 against it, thus leaving a majority of 136 in favour of ministers.

On the 12th of July, Lord Russell proposed the house going into committee on the bill, when a scene arose unprecedented in the history of parliament. Lord Maitland rose to oppose the disfranchisement of the borough of Appleby, and moved that counsel be heard against the bill, as far as regarded the interests of that place. After a stormy debate, the motion was negatived by a majority of 97, the numbers being 187 for it, and 284 against it. An adjournment of the debate was then moved, and disposed of in a similar manner. The original motion, that the speaker do leave the chair, being again put, an amendment was proposed, that the house do now adjourn, which produced another vehement altercation, the result of which placed ministers in a powerful majority. After five more distinct motions for an adjournment of the debate, all of which were defeated, the bill got into committee, and the house broke up at half-past seven in the morning.

The bill continued in committee, where it was discussed clause by clause, subject to all the vexatious harassings which the Tory faction could by possibility inflict upon it, from the 12th of July to the 15th of September, when it was ordered to be engrossed. On the 19th of the same month, Lord Russell moved the third reading of the bill, when there appeared 113 for, and 58 against it. Two days more, however, were occupied in debating the question that the bill do pass, in the course of which several speakers exerted their eloquence, but with little novelty of argument—and on coming to a division, the numbers were, ayes 345; noes 236: leaving a majority of 109 for the bill. The next day, Lord Russell, accompanied by a number of members, appeared at the bar of the upper house, and delivered the bill into the hands of the lord-chancellor, when it was read a first time *pro forma*; and ordered to be read a second time on the 3d of October.

Public attention was now directed towards the House of Peers, in an intense degree, and the universal cry was, What will the lords do with the bill? Petitions from every part of the empire poured in upon them in great abundance, imploring them to pass it without mutilation. Previous to the bill being debated on Monday, October 3d, the lord-chancellor presented sixty-three of these petitions—Earl Radnor fifty-three—the Marquis of Cleveland eight



—Earl Grey a considerable number—also Lord Poltimore, Lord Clifford, the Dukes of Norfolk, Sussex, and Grafton. When these petitions had been disposed of, Earl Grey rose to move the second reading of the reform bill for England. His lordship was much and deeply affected at the commencement of his speech, when he alluded to the difficulty of his task, and the length and arduousness of his labours in the cause of reform, and for a few minutes was obliged, amidst the sympathizing cheers of the house, to resume his seat. The substance of his speech has been already given,\* and we cannot afford room to repeat it. The debate continued for five nights in succession, when, on the morning of Saturday, October 8, a division took place at five o'clock, and the bill was lost by a majority of 41. There were for the second reading; present 128, and proxies 30—making a total of 158. Against it; present, 150, and proxies 49—total 199. The speakers were,

| For the Bill.   |                       | Against the Bill. |                       |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Monday, Oct. 3. | Earl Grey             | Monday, Oct. 3.   | Lord Wharncliffe      |
| _____           | Earl Mulgrave         | _____             | Earl of Mansfield     |
| _____           | Lord King             | _____             | Marquis of Bute       |
| Tuesday,        | 4. Viscount Melbourne | Tuesday,          | 4. Earl of Winchelsea |
| _____           | _____                 | _____             | Earl Harrowby         |
| _____           | _____                 | _____             | Duke of Wellington    |
| Wednesday,      | 5. Marq. Lansdown     | Wednesday,        | 5. Earl Dudley        |
| _____           | Viscount Goderich     | _____             | Marq. Londonderry     |
| _____           | Earl Radnor           | _____             | Earl of Haddington    |
| Thursday,       | 6. Earl of Roseberry  | Thursday,         | 6. Viscount Falmouth  |
| _____           | Lord Plunkett         | _____             | Earl of Carnarvon     |
| Friday,         | 7. Lord Brougham      | Friday,           | 7. Lord Wynford       |
| _____           | Duke of Sussex        | _____             | Earl of Eldon         |
| _____           | Marquis of Hastings   | _____             | Lord Lyndhurst        |
| _____           | Lord Barham           | _____             | Lord Tenterden        |
| _____           | Earl Grey, in reply   | _____             | Abp. of Canterbury    |
|                 |                       | _____             | Duke of Gloucester    |
|                 |                       | _____             | Earl of Harewood.     |

The speeches against the bill, which produced the greatest impression on the house, were those of Lord Wharncliffe, Earl Harrowby, and the Earl of Carnarvon; of those in its favour, the more remarkable were, the introductory and concluding addresses of Earl Grey, the Marquis of Lansdown, Earl Radnor, Lord Plunkett, and the Lord Chancellor. The sole argument of principle urged by the opponents of the bill was, the alleged tendency of the ministerial plan, to concentrate the power of the state in the Commons, to erect the latter into a chamber of

\* Life and Times of William the Fourth, p. 714—16.



delegates, and thus to pave the way for the destruction not only of the peers, but of the monarchy.

It has been well remarked by a shrewd observer, that, on the whole, the arguments, general and particular, which were brought forward on this occasion, against the reform bill, both in the Lords and the Commons, go to establish the following conclusions—That though the grand virtue of the British constitution is its representative character; yet, that the most valuable portion of it is its non-representative part!—That though the independence of the three states of the kingdom is essential to their existence; yet, neither King nor Lords can exist, unless they control the Commons!—That, though the wishes of the people ought always to be attended to; yet, neither petitions nor votes can be received in proof of what they want!—That when the people ask earnestly, they are not to be heard; because that shows excitement!—That when they do not ask earnestly, they are not to be heard; because that shews re-action!—That whether they are excited, or not excited, the only way to satisfy them is to give them little or nothing! Such is the upshot of Tory politics, and the substance of all the speeches that were made against the passing of the reform bill.

When the public were made acquainted with the decision to which noble lords had come, and that the bill was lost by a majority of forty-one, the intelligence produced an extraordinary sensation throughout the country. Meetings were convened in the metropolis almost contemporaneous with the rejection of the bill. One was held at the Thatched-House Tavern, consisting of all the members who had supported the bill in its passage through the Commons. With equal promptitude the common-council of the city of London met. This was followed by a meeting of the merchants and bankers at the Mansion House, on the following Monday, when resolutions were entered into, approving of the conduct of ministers, pledging themselves to their support; and petitions to the King that he would continue his ministers, and have recourse to a new creation of peers, in number sufficient to carry the bill.

On the same evening, Monday, October 9th, Lord Ebrington in the House of Commons, moved a resolution, declaratory of their unabated confidence in his Majesty's ministers, and their determination to adhere to the reform bill; which being carried



by a majority of 131, secured the continuance of ministers in office. Parliament continued to sit till the 20th of October, when his Majesty prorogued it till the 22d of November, and, both in his way to the house, and returning from it, was enthusiastically cheered. Addresses without end were poured in upon him from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland. The Lord Mayor and the corporation of the city of London went up to St. James's with an address to the throne, accompanied, it was supposed, by sixty thousand persons! But the grandest movement that appeared on this occasion was at Birmingham. The meeting took place on Monday, October the 9th, and is said to have consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand persons, constituting the Birmingham Political Union—and it exhibited one of the most sublime spectacles of power and peace ever seen in this or perhaps in any country.

THOMAS ATTWOOD, Esq. being called to the chair, delivered an address to this vast multitude, in the open air, in which he observed, that—

“When the Union was first formed, they were told by his friends, that they would have no power—that the Oligarchy were too strong for them, and that all their efforts would be in vain. But when he had been informed that the Union would not be able to control the Oligarchy, he had said, ‘We will get two millions of strings, and we will place each string in the hands of a strong and brave man, and we will twist those strings into a thousand large ropes, and we will twist those ropes into one immense cable, and by means of that cable we will put a hook in the nose of Leviathan, and guide and govern him at our pleasure.’ Now,” continued Mr. Attwood, “have we not put a hook in the nose of Leviathan, and have we not twisted the strings and the ropes and the cable well—have we not thwarted that atrocious influence behind the throne, which, Lord Chatham said, was stronger than the throne itself? (Cheers.) He would explain that atrocious influence of the Oligarchy which had governed the King, the Lords, and the People. He did not say it was the House of Lords—that honourable and illustrious house, composed of an aristocracy associated with so many great and glorious recollections—but it was a junta of one hundred and fifty individuals, and some of whom were members of that right honourable house, and who had secretly and fraudulently usurped the powers of King, Lords, and Commons, and had in fact governed every thing in England with a despotic sway. These were the men who were rightly called ‘oligarchs,’ and whose dominion was now coming to an end. In accomplishing this great work, no violence was required. ‘By obeying the law,’ said Mr. Attwood, ‘we become powerful to control the law.’ They had united two millions of men peaceably and legally in one grand and determined association, to recover the liberty, the happiness, and the prosperity of the country; and he should like to know what power there was in England that could resist a power like this.” He concluded his address thus—

“It is to the King, personally, that we owe more in this great work of Reform than to any other human being in existence. An ancient philosopher has said, that to see an honest man struggling with adversity, and



preserving his integrity, was a sight which the gods themselves might contemplate with satisfaction. This is undoubtedly true; but it is equally true that to see a King looking down from his throne, and feeling for the miseries of his people, and determining to relieve their miseries and redress their wrongs, is a sight which Providence might well be supposed to contemplate with satisfaction. I now call upon you to exhibit a spectacle, and that spectacle shall be one of loyalty and devotion. I am about to ask you to cry out the words, 'God bless the King!' I therefore desire that you will all of you take off your hats, and that you will look up to the heavens, where the just God rules both heaven and earth, and that you will cry out, with one heart and with one voice, 'God bless the King!'"

The spectacle which here presented itself, say the reports of the meeting, was sublime. Every head was uncovered, every face was turned up to heaven, and at one moment a hundred thousand voices answered to the exhortation, "God bless the King."

The continuance of Earl Grey and his colleagues in office had doubtless a powerful effect in preserving the peace of the country: his lordship having pledged himself that the present bill, or one of equal extent, should certainly be carried, if he remained in office. The King also declared that he had the highest confidence in his ministry, and that every means in his power should be used to ensure the success of a measure so essential to the interests, happiness, and welfare of his people.

Parliament did not re-assemble until the 6th of December, when the King went in state to the House of Peers, and delivered an elaborate speech, in the course of which he recommended to them "a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the Reform question, which became daily of more pressing importance to the security of the state, and to the contentment and welfare of the people." But to accomplish this, a new bill must necessarily be introduced, which was accordingly done, by Lord John Russell, in a few days afterwards, but with some material improvements.\* This new bill was again subjected to the fiery ordeal, but, on a division taking place, the second reading was carried by a majority of two to one in favour of ministers; on which the house adjourned to Tuesday, the 17th of January, 1832.

Parliament met, pursuant to adjournment, and Lord John Russell pushed his bill into committee, where it was again assailed by Mr. Croker, Sir Robert Peel, Sir R. Vyvyan, and a host of others, with all their original hostility towards a measure of reform. In particular, the clause which proposed to confer eight

\* See Life and Times of William the Fourth, p. 749.



additional members on the metropolis, or metropolitan districts, met with violent opposition. The Marquis of Chandos, after an elaborate speech, in which he contended that to extend the elective franchise in the metropolis would lead to great excitement, and give the capital a predominating influence over the rest of the country, moved an amendment against the clause; on which the house divided, when there were for the amendment, 236, and against it, 316. Majority for ministers, 80.

It would be trifling and tedious to pursue the progress of the bill through the Commons; it got out of the committee about the middle of March, and on Monday, the 19th, Lord John Russell moved the third reading of the bill, which was opposed by Lord Mahon, who moved that the bill be read a third time that day six months. A warm debate ensued, which was adjourned to the following day, and on this occasion, one of the most singular scenes presented itself, that ever was witnessed in the House of Commons. In the midst of their debate, Mr. Spencer Perceval arose, and commenced preaching to the honourable house a sermon of a singular complexion, after the manner of the well-known Edward Irving. It happened to be the evening preceding the day appointed for a national fast. In despite of every remonstrance, this pupil of enthusiasm still persisted in his harangue, telling them he was sent in God's name to warn them of impending destruction. After various efforts had been made to silence the poor man without effect, this strange speech was terminated by Lord Sandon observing, that he saw strangers in the house; on which the Speaker proceeded to enforce the standing order. Mr. Perceval sat down while the gallery was clearing; and during that time the motion for adjournment was put and carried.

Two days afterwards, the debate on the third reading was resumed, and with renewed vigour. Sir George Rose, Sir Edward Sugden, Lord Porchester, and Sir Robert Peel vehemently opposed the bill; but they were triumphantly answered by Mr. Robert Grant, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, and Mr. Stanley, when the house divided—355 for the third reading—239 against it. Majority for the bill, 116.

On Monday, March the 26th, the reform bill was carried to the upper house by Lords Russell and Althorp, accompanied by an



unusual number of members, and delivered into the hands of the chancellor, who on receiving it announced the message of the Commons, and immediately read in the hearing of their lordships the title of the bill with peculiar emphasis. The important part of the reception of the bill was the declaratory speeches of Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, who announced their intention of voting for the second reading—both the noble lords having obtained an accession of wisdom since their rejection of the former bill. His grace of London was also become a convert to it—all which petrified with astonishment the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Londonderry, who found nothing in this new bill which should reconcile them more to it than to the former.

Previous to the second reading of the reform bill, on Monday, April 9th, several petitions were presented, some for and others against it. The Duke of Buckingham, in presenting a petition against it, took occasion to give notice, that, in the event of the second reading being rejected, he would, after Easter, introduce a measure of reform. He described the bill which he intended to introduce, as a bill for giving two representatives in parliament to those large towns which by their opulence and commercial importance were entitled to be represented, although at present they were not represented. This would be the first object. A second object of the bill would be, to conjoin and consolidate certain boroughs, each of which now returned two members to parliament, so as to return two members for the consolidated boroughs; the purpose of this being, to prevent the inconvenience of an addition to the present numbers of the House of Commons, by the introduction of members for places not before represented. And a third provision of the bill would be, to extend the elective franchise to persons not now entitled to vote, so as to prevent the abuse of the elective franchise in boroughs. His grace moved the insertion of the notice on the journals, as evidence of the sincerity of his intention.

Earl Grey rose at six o'clock to move the second reading of the reform bill, which he did in a speech courteous and conciliatory, although not destitute of firmness. After briefly noticing the important nature of the bill—its great and interesting object—the large majority that had sent it up—the unequivocal support it had received from the people—he adverted to the Duke of Buckingham's notice of motion. This, he said, relieved him from the



necessity of defending the principle of his own bill, for it was a principle now universally conceded; he did not think he was called on to except even the Duke of Wellington, since the last declaration of the duke upon the subject seemed to imply that he thought some degree of reform necessary. The noble earl then went on to notice, in detail, the alterations which had been introduced into the bill, defended the £10 franchise from some objections that had been raised against it, and concluded his address with a very affecting appeal to their lordships on the attacks which had been made upon him, and the great injustice done him, for having proposed a measure which he considered his duty to his sovereign and the country required him to propose—a measure which was now in its principle generally admitted to be necessary, and about which the only difference was as to its extent. Earl Grey concluded—

“ All that I desire is, that we should now proceed with this discussion in such a manner as may lead to a happy and to a speedy termination—speedy, indeed, I may well say, for happy it cannot be without that other ingredient being added. The opportunity of doing this is now afforded to your lordships; and I hope that it will not be lost: I hope it, my lords, the more, as that opportunity, once let slip, it will not be easy to recover it. I have been accused of using on a former occasion the language of intimidation.—I disclaim the intention of using any such language. Nothing could be further from my wish than to influence your lordships by any improper or unworthy fears, in deciding a question which should rest alone on your most deliberate judgment. But surely it is not the language of intimidation, if I wished to address to your lordships that which any honest counsellor might address to the most despotic sovereign on the face of the earth—my humble advice on the subject; and I am sure that all I ventured to state to you was, that no influence, no authority, no power, was sufficient safely to set at defiance that unanimous demand which was founded on public opinion. My lords, I never counselled you to yield to any hasty or temporary outcry; I never advised you to give way to the exorbitant and unruly demands of clamour; but what I did then say, and what I now repeat, is, that the deliberate sentiment of a great and intelligent people, expressed after long time being allowed for reflection, is entitled to your lordships’ attention—and the house will give me leave to say, to your lordships’ respect also. I can assure the house, that I feel the deep and vital consequence of this measure to the country, to your lordships, and to myself. I feel its consequence to the country, as connected with all those interests on which its power and its prosperity depend; I feel its consequence to your lordships, as connected with that confidence and reliance which I would ever have the people place in your judgment, and without which this house can never hold that station which ought truly to attach to it. My lords, I admit that we have of late heard none of that outcry on the part of the people, which first marked the progress of this bill. In its place, a fearful silence at present prevails—a silence which may, perhaps, lead some foolishly to imagine that the people are no longer looking at this question with the same feelings of interest. But I caution your lordships to beware how you form that opinion. You may rely upon it, that though the people are silent, they are looking at the deliberations of this night with no less intension than that which has marked them from the very first day of



the agitation of this question. I know that it is pretended by some, that the nation has no confidence in this house, because there is an opinion out of doors that the interests of the aristocracy are separate from those of the people. On the part of this house, however, I disclaim all such separateness of interests; therefore I am willing to believe that the silence of which I have spoken is the fruit of a latent hope still existing in their bosom. With respect to myself, I am very sensible that no one ever stood before parliament with the same personal responsibility as that with which I am invested. I have been made the subject of attack—I have been laid open to what I believe to be great injustice—I am sure that I have been the subject of much undeserved suspicion. And why?—Because I have proposed that which I thought my duty to my sovereign and to my country required me to propose—a measure, which is now in its principle generally admitted to be necessary, and about which the only difference is as to its extent. All that I can say upon this subject is, that I exercised the best of my judgment. I believed (again to use the words of my noble and learned friend) that a large measure of reform—an efficient measure of reform—such as should meet the just expectations of the people, was necessary, if we wished to enable this country to resume that peaceful and prosperous situation to which it is impossible for it to return, so long as this agitation and anxiety pervade the public mind. My lords, I knew well the difficulties that I should have to encounter; but I was led by my sense of duty to disregard them. I hope that I may be allowed to say, that in all the progressive stages of this measure, I have never deviated from that steadiness of purpose which I believed would finally lead to success; and that as, on the one hand, I have not been deterred by threatened difficulties from proposing this bill, so, on the other, I have not suffered myself to be forced by clamour into the prosecution of it by means to which I could not in my best judgment consent, unless in a case of the last necessity. Under these circumstances, and feeling that this may possibly be the last time that I shall have to press this measure on your lordships' attention, I must confess that I look with something like hope to that which appears to be a sort of approach to a favourable decision on the part of this house. If, however, on the other hand, I should sink under the struggle, I shall at least have the consolation of feeling that I did, to the best of my judgment, that which I thought right and fitting, regulating my actions according to the sincere dictates of my conscience, with the one sole object of effecting that which should be best calculated to promote the interests of my country. All that I pray for is, that if misfortune is to follow this measure, it may be confined to one—that I may be the sole victim of it. I pray that my sovereign, my country, and your lordships may remain untouched; and, above all, that your lordships may be enabled to form that union with the people which is so necessary to the welfare of the whole, as well as to that sentiment upon which your lordships' influence and weight in the country are based."

Lord Ellenborough now rose, and commented on the bill with much severity, and at considerable length—after which he concluded with moving that the bill be read a second time that day six months; which gave rise to a very animated debate. The Bishop of Durham, Earls Bathurst, Wicklow, and the Marquis of Londonderry opposed—and Lords Melbourne, Stourton, and Gage defended it. The discussion being adjourned to the next day, the debate was opened by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who declared himself at some loss to discover from what evils, the constitution, of which some persons seemed to be so enamoured, had saved the country.



We had had expensive wars; we had eight hundred millions of debt; we had had rebellion and revolution, great and frequent commercial embarrassments, and the strange picture of an intelligent and active population, idle and starving in the midst of abundance. The only way to test the value of the constitution, was to pass a measure which should give its merits fair play. By passing the bill now before the house, their lordships would restore their connexion with the people, and their power of doing good, the only power they ought to enjoy. They must either consent to right the people, or the people would right themselves. The clergy, who, his lordship said, had too frequently been "the willing agents of the worst systems of tyranny, and participators in all acts of extravagance, spoliation, and corruption," ought to be the first to come forward to discharge their duty to the country. He concluded by asserting the necessity of ministers possessing in the House of Lords a considerable majority of votes, else their resignation was inevitable.

This bold and manly address gravelled the Earl of Limerick not a little. It was one of the notable fruits, he said, of Catholic emancipation, which measure he deeply regretted having ever lent himself to. Little did he expect, in a year or two after its passing, to find one of the first peers of the Catholic religion pronouncing a philippic, not only against all existing peers, but against all that had existed for the last century. The Earl of Mansfield and the Duke of Wellington reprobated the bill in unmeasured terms; and not the bill only, but Lords Harrowby, Wharncliffe, and Haddington also, who were accused of deserting their banners, by voting for a second reading. The two former of these noble lords ably defended themselves, and retorted on their opponents. A second adjournment took place at one o'clock in the morning.

The Earl of Winchelsea resumed the debate on Wednesday, and spoke with great indignation against a creation of peers, declaring that if such a measure was had recourse to for the purpose of carrying this bill, he would no longer submit to sit in the house; he would retire and "bide his time, until the return of those good days, which would enable him to vindicate the insulted laws of his country, by bringing such an unconstitutional minister before the bar of his country." He was followed by the Duke of Buckingham, who after quoting Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, to remind noble



lords of the caldron, and the ingredients, and the witches, and all that, went on to remind them of the case of Charles I., after which the "dear duke" digressed to the subject of the Tower-hamlets, and other metropolitan districts.

"They had heard of Paris constituting all France, and now they were to hear of London constituting all England. And what, he asked, was London? Were they to look for the purity of representation in the hallowed shades of the Tower-hamlets—in the classical haunts of Billingsgate—and the modest precincts of St. Marylebone? They had heard of Westminster's pride, and England's glory; but he believed it would be difficult to bestow an eleemosynary penny in the Strand, without hazarding the appearance of bribing a Westminster elector; and if a short-sighted candidate happened to overlook a beggar, he might have to mourn over the loss of a vote. Why, the cholera was nothing to the risk of this contamination—the pestilence was nothing to it—and yet, this was the way in which the representation of England was to be purified."

The Bishops of Lincoln and Exeter, and also the Earl of Falmouth and Marquis of Bristol, opposed the bill; but were ably answered by the Earl of Radnor and Marquis of Lansdown, together with the Bishops of London and Landaff—on which Lord Kenyon moved a third adjournment. On Thursday evening the debate was resumed by Lord Wynford, in a very prosy speech, after which Lord Durham rose, and delivered the brilliant oration which has been already given in a preceding part of this volume\*—and in which he so successfully chastized the Bishop of Exeter. He was followed by the Earl of Carnarvon, Lords Eldon, Tenterden, and Lyndhurst, with the Bishops of Rochester and Gloucester, against the bill—and by Lord Goderich and the Lord Chancellor, in its favour. Earl Grey commenced his reply, at five o'clock on Friday morning; and in the course of his observations, he thus noticed the attack which Dr. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, had made on him.

"I have been congratulated by a learned and right reverend prelate, that I have rejected with scorn and indignation the stigma of revolution. The charity of that sneer and of that insinuation is not lost upon me; but I tell the right reverend prelate, that I have a long life to appeal to, which even those who know me not in private will think sufficient to justify me in the opinion of my countrymen from the foul and malignant charges which he, in his christian charity, has thought proper to produce against me. (*Great cheering, and cries of 'Order!'*) I have a stake also in the country, perhaps as large a one as he has. I have also given pledges to my country—pledges which must prove my sincere desire to transmit to my posterity the property which I have received from my ancestors—pledges which ought to satisfy the country that I shall not, with my eyes open, undertake any thing that is dangerous to the constitution. The right reverend prelate threw out insinuations about my ambition. Let me tell him calmly, that the pulses of ambition may

\* See the Life of Lord Durham, p. 440.



beat as strongly under sleeves of lawn as under an ordinary habit. (*Immense cheering.*) I wish not to pursue farther a subject on which I feel strongly; but a speech more unbecoming the situation of a christian bishop—a speech more inconsistent with the love of peace—a speech more remote from the charity which ought to distinguish a clergyman of his order—a speech more replete with insinuations and charges calculated to promote disunion and discord in the community—never was uttered within the walls of either house of parliament.” He concluded—

“He would take leave to say one word on a question which had been frequently discussed out of doors, and in which he was in some degree personally concerned. He alluded to the probable creation of peers. All the best constitutional writers had admitted, that although the creation of a large number of peers for a particular object was a measure which should rarely be resorted to, yet that in some cases, such as to avoid a collision between the two houses, it might be absolutely necessary. It was true that he had been, for many reasons, exceedingly averse to such a course; but he believed it would be found, that in cases of necessity, such as he had stated, a creation of peers would be perfectly justifiable, and in accordance with the best and most acknowledged principles of the constitution. (*‘Hear! hear!’*) More than this, he would not say at the present moment.”

After a few words of explanation from Lord Carnarvon and Dr. Phillpotts, their lordships divided—

For the motion—present, 128; proxies, 56:—total 184. Against it—present, 126; proxies, 49:—total 175. Majority for the bill 9. The bill was then read a second time; and, on the motion of Earl Grey, it was ordered to be committed on the first day after the recess.

Small as was the majority for the second reading of the bill, it was everywhere throughout the country hailed with gladness, as a favourable omen, presaging its ultimate success. It was generally understood and believed, that Earl Grey had the King’s full permission to create as many new peers as should be deemed necessary for carrying the bill—but that that measure was to be resorted to only in the last extremity; and now the clamour for this creation became excessive. The lords broke up for the Easter holidays on Tuesday, April the 17th, and the commons on the following day. On the previous Monday, the 16th, the Duke of Wellington thought proper to enter a protest against the second reading of the reform bill, on the journals of the House of Lords, and it was immediately signed by seventy-four other peers, including the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, and the Bishops of Rochester, Exeter, Bristol, Carlisle, Gloucester and Armagh—but *not* by Lord Lyndhurst.

The length of this protest renders it inconvenient for insertion; let it suffice to say, that it embodied all the stale objections, a hun-



dred times repeated, and as often refuted, in both houses of parliament—such as, that it went to violate the sacredness of chartered rights and vested interests, and thereby endangered the highest of our institutions—that by the creation of the metropolitan boroughs, the popular voice must be increased in an incalculable degree—and insure a perpetual recurrence of popular excitement, and—

6. Because the exorbitant increase of the democratic element of the British constitution designed by this bill must give additional strength and impetus to a principle which, while duly restrained and tempered by the checks provided in the existing constitution of parliament, is the source of that genuine spirit of disciplined and enlightened freedom which is the proudest distinction of our national character, but which, without those checks, or other equivalent restraints, could not fail to advance with augmented and accelerated force, till, all other powers being drawn within its vortex, the government would become a mere democracy; or if the name and form of a monarchy were preserved, all that could give independence to the sovereign, or protection to the subject, would be really excluded."

If other parts of the protest partake of the *marvellous*, this may with truth be said to partake of the *incomprehensible*! All attempts to analyze it, and reduce it to the principles of common sense, must fail: *e. g.* power drawn into the vortex of a principle advancing with augmented force by the increase of an element! This is unanswerable.

The parliament stood adjourned to Monday, May the 7th, and it will be proper in this place to give some account of the state of the country during this interval of three weeks—a memorable period indeed, and far too important to be passed over slightly in this history. It will in a particular manner be expected that some notice should be taken of the proceedings of the Political Unions, which had been called into existence for the purpose of carrying their measures of reform into completion.

On this occasion, the borough of Leeds appears to have taken the lead. Tremblingly alive for the fate of the bill, on account of the small majority by which the second reading was carried, the people of Leeds called a meeting on Thursday, April the 19th, when John Marshall, junior, was called to the chair. A number of able speeches were delivered, and the following address was voted unanimously.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLLENT MAJESTY.

"The humble Address of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Leeds, in the county of York, in public meeting assembled, on the 9th of April, 1832.

"Sire,—You are our sheet-anchor—our refuge in the storm. The last necessity appears to be at hand. Resistance to reform, and the consequent



delay, have unhappily produced deep injury to the most important national interests; our commerce and manufactures are already in an alarming state of stagnation; and the mutilation of the bill would issue in great public dissatisfaction and indignation, perhaps tumult. Your Majesty fears nothing, and has nothing to fear. You wisely identify yourself with the interests of your people. We know and venerate your Majesty's paternal solicitude for the peace and happiness of your subjects. Some of the Lords of Parliament know but little of the people: they imperfectly appreciate their sentiments and their rights, and appear to misconstrue the use and constitution of their own house. Respect for the House of Peers would not be impaired, either by an addition to its numbers, or by an alteration of its political sentiment, which indeed has become necessary to the pure administration of public affairs.

"We, therefore, most humbly implore that your Majesty, in this emergency, will, at the proper moment, by a fearless and liberal exercise of your royal prerogative (in the creation of peers,) at once protect us from an oligarchy, and with the aid of your present Ministers, who alone possess the confidence of the public, secure the safety of the bill, and the conservation of the constitution."

At Birmingham a special meeting of the Political Union was held at the rooms of the Union, in Great Charles-Street, on Friday the 27th of April, Thomas Attwood Esq. in the chair, when the following resolutions were agreed to.

"This Council, considering that the enemies of reform, and of the peace and order of society, have held out the most unfounded representations respecting a re-action, an indifference, and an apathy in the public mind, in the great cause of Parliamentary Reform; and considering that a grand exhibition of public feeling and determination is thereby rendered absolutely necessary, in order to contradict and refute such false and unfounded representations, and in order to assist in enabling our most excellent King and his patriotic Ministers to accomplish their great designs for the happiness of the people, and to carry the great measure of reform into a law, uninjured and unimpaired in all its great parts and provisions:

"It was resolved unanimously—

"1. That a general meeting of the inhabitants of Birmingham and its neighbourhood be held in the open space at the foot of Newhall-hill, on Monday, the 7th day of May next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for the purpose of petitioning the House of Lords to complete the great work of national liberty and reconciliation, and of agreeing to such further resolutions as the Council may recommend, and the meeting may approve. The chair to be taken at 12 o'clock precisely.

"2. That this council having heretofore declared that they will 'cease to labour in the great work of exciting the public mind to political objects, when the bill of reform shall have become law, and when the prosperity of the lower and middle classes of the people shall have been restored,' do now think it their duty to recommend to their fellow-countrymen to declare, most positively, that if the bill of reform should be rejected, or in any way injured or impaired in its great parts and provisions, they will never cease to use every possible legal exertion in their power to obtain a more complete and effectual restoration of the rights of the people, than the bill of reform is calculated to give.

"3. That this Council, feeling deeply grateful to the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Birmingham for their uniform peaceful, legal, and loyal conduct upon so many occasions, do earnestly urge and enjoin all



persons attending the meeting, as they value the great objects which they meet to promote, strictly to respect the law, since nothing can tend so much to endanger the cause of reform, and the happiness of the people, as any disorderly conduct or illegal act upon this occasion of unprecedented importance.

"4. That the Council do walk in procession from the rooms of the Union, in Great Charles-street, to Newhall-hill, at 11 o'clock in the morning of the intended meeting, and that the members and friends of the Union be invited to join in the procession.

"By order of Council,

"THOMAS ATTWOOD, Chairman.

"BENJAMIN HADLEY, Hon. Secretary."

In pursuance of these resolutions, a meeting was held on the 7th of May, of which the following is an authentic report:—

At the foot of Newhall-hill, is a large piece of waste ground lying to the north of Birmingham, and exceedingly well adapted, from its vast size and amphitheatrical form, for the purposes of a public meeting. The hustings were erected at the lowest point of the ground, so that the speakers could be seen, if not heard, at the farthest parts of the field. At a very early hour in the morning, large bodies of people began to collect in the space in front of the hustings, while the more distant points of view were occupied by wagons and temporary scaffoldings, from which a number of banners, with various inscriptions in favour of Reform, the King, and his Ministers, and condemnatory of the anti-national anti-reform faction, were floating.

About 10 o'clock, the Political Unions of Wolverhampton, Coventry, Warwick, Stratford, Dudley, Bilston, Kidderminster, Studley, Redditch, Willenhall, Walsall, Wednesbury, Stourbridge, Darlaston, &c., accompanied by great numbers of the country people, began to enter Birmingham in separate companies, preceded by banners and bands of music; and the following has been given as an authentic statement of the numbers which came into the town of Birmingham from the surrounding districts:—Grand Northern Division, headed by Mr. Fryer, the banker, including Wolverhampton, Bilston, Wednesbury, Sedgeley, Walsall, Willenhall, Darlaston, West Bromwich, and Handsworth. This division may at the very lowest be estimated at 100,000 people. The procession extended over four miles; there were upwards of 150 banners, and eleven bands of music.—Grand Western Division, including Stourbridge, Dudley, Harbourn, Cradley, Lyewater, Oldbury, Rowley, and Halesowen. The procession extended two miles, and was accompanied by nine bands of music and seventy banners; and the number of the people was 25,000.—Grand Eastern Division, including Coventry, Warwick, Bedworth, Kenilworth, Leamington, Solihull, &c., consisted of 5,000 people, with eight bands, and thirty banners.—Grand Southern Division, including Worcester, Bromsgrove, Redditch, Studley, Droitwich, and Alcester, consisted of 20,000 people, with six bands of music and twelve banners. The preceding estimate is exclusive of the 140,000 inhabitants of Birmingham and its immediate vicinity. Upwards of 200 bands of music were in attendance, and from 700 to 1,000 banners waved over the assembled throng.

As each company entered Birmingham, they were met by large bodies of the townspeople, and loudly cheered. The different Political Unions having collected at the Birmingham Union Rooms, they moved off in procession to the place of meeting, where they arrived at a quarter to twelve o'clock; and some idea of their numbers may be conceived from the fact, that they continued to descend the hill in one dense and unbroken line from that time until twenty minutes past twelve o'clock, amidst the loud cheers of the people who had already collected there. At this moment



there must have been upwards of 200,000 persons present, and in a short time the numbers were still further increased by the arrival of more Unions. Besides this, numbers of people, who could obtain no place in the field, which was now completely filled, loitered about the neighbourhood, and thronged the streets of Birmingham. Nothing could be more animated and picturesque than the scene which Newhall-hill at this moment presented. The fineness of the weather, the number and variety of the banners which floated in the wind, and the immense multitude of men and women which filled the rising ground, and occupied even the most distant points of the surrounding hills, contributed to form a most interesting and imposing spectacle.

Among the company on the hustings were Napoleon Czapski, a Polish nobleman; Count Rechberg, Secretary to the Austrian embassy; H. Acland, Esq., James West, Esq., Arthur Gregory, Esq., H. Boulton, Esq., W. Allsop, Esq., of Derbyshire, Stubbs Whitick, Esq., R. Fryer, Esq., the Hon. Godolphin Osborne, William Collins, Esq., &c.

At half-past 12 o'clock the commencement of proceedings was announced by the sounding of a bugle; when

Mr. Attwood was, on the motion of Mr. Edmonds, placed in the chair, amidst the loud cheers of the people.

Mr. Attwood then rose amidst loud cheering, and addressed the meeting as follows:—"Men of Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire—my dear friends and fellow-countrymen—I thank you most sincerely for the immense, glorious, and magnificent assemblage which you now present in the hour of your country's need. To see the call of the council of the Political Union answered in such an effectual way, not only by the inhabitants of Birmingham, but, as it were spontaneously, by the inhabitants of twenty towns and districts around them, is to me a subject of the deepest and sincerest gratification. (Cheers.) The enemies of the liberties of their country have spoken of re-action and of indifference in the public mind towards the great cause of reform—how are they answered by the people of the midland counties? We have had but to stamp upon the earth, as it were, and instantly, from above the ground and from beneath the ground, 100,000 brave men, determined to see their country righted, present themselves at our call. (Great Cheering.) We had determined never again to petition the House of Lords; but feeling, as we do, the greatest respect and veneration for the ancient and honourable aristocracy of the land—for such men as Lords Westminster, Cleveland, Shrewsbury, and Radnor—we have not hesitated to call this meeting, for the purpose of petitioning their lordships, as soon as ever we saw that the calumnies and misrepresentations of the enemies of the people, as to the state of public feeling and opinion, rendered such an exhibition necessary. (Cheers.) We, who professed to be the ministers of peace and reconciliation among all classes of his majesty's subjects—we would be the first to offer the right-hand of fellowship to the House of Lords, the very moment we see a disposition in that right honourable house to support our privileges in the same degree as we wish to support theirs. The enemies of the people have told their lordships that the country is indifferent in this great cause. If we hold no meetings, they say that we are indifferent—if we hold small meetings, they say that we are insignificant—and if we hold large meetings, they say that we are rebellious, and wish to intimidate them. (Laughter.) Do what we will, we cannot do right, it seems. Now, God forbid that I should wish to intimidate them; I only wish to speak the plain and simple truth, which my duty compels me to speak; and it is this, I would rather die than see the great bill of reform rejected or mutilated in any of its great parts or provisions. (Immense cheering, which lasted for a considerable time.) I see that you are all of one mind upon this great subject. Answer me, then, had not you all rather die, than live the slaves of the boroughmongers? ('All, all.') We are told, indeed, of apathy and indifference in the public mind. Now, I have some means of understanding what public feeling is, and I say



that the people of England stand at this very moment like greyhounds on the slip; and that if our beloved King should give the word, or if this council should give the word in his name and under his authority, the grandest scene would be instantly exhibited that ever was witnessed on this earth before. (Loud cheers.) Now, I beg, my fellow-countrymen, that you will not think the House of Lords are your enemies, because they do not happen to understand your interests, and your wants, and wishes. The House of Lords are, in my opinion, taken as a body, kind-hearted and humane men; but I am sorry to say, that they are excessively ignorant of the state of this unfortunate country. Not many days ago, a noble lord, of the highest character, assured me that there were not ten individuals in that right honourable house who knew that the country was in a state of distress. Amazing as this ignorance is, it is the natural result of their position in society. They come into no contact with you and your wants and interests; they are surrounded by a few lawyers and clergymen, and by bands of flatterers and sycophants, whose interest it is to prophesy 'smooth things' to the very last; and thus the lords are shut out from any knowledge of the real state of the country. It was but the other day that another noble lord assured a friend of mine, that the demand for reform arose from the riches and prosperity of the middle classes, who had become jealous of the aristocracy. Never upon this earth was there a greater error. The middle classes had been literally scourged with whips—they had then been scourged with scorpions—and they had then been scourged with red-hot iron, before they had ventured to interfere in any powerful and effectual manner. Here, then, is a proof of the absolute necessity of parliamentary reform. Give us a House of Commons who are identified with the commons, and with the feelings and interests of the commons, and every thing will be right in England. The House of Lords had been accustomed to look upon society as if the warts and excrescences of the social body were every thing, and the great limbs and interests—the heart, the head, the body, and the powerful arms—nothing. When we obtain reform in our own house, we shall teach them a very different view of this important subject.

Now, my friends, I must beg leave to explain to you the absolute necessity of the peace, the order, and the strict legality which you have always exhibited. But for these great qualities, our cause would have been lost. Within the law, the people are strong as a giant—beyond the law, they are weak as an infant. See now the prodigious strength which this meeting has peacefully and legally accumulated, and compare it with the failures, which, for want of due attention to these great principles, have been exhibited in other quarters. On the late fast day, about 30,000 worthy and well-meaning men met together in London, for the purpose of holding a harmless procession. A few individuals began to hiss and to hoot, and to throw stones, and thus the meeting was made illegal, and the leaders of an innocent procession were brought to punishment, and sentenced to different periods of imprisonment. So also in Manchester lately, a considerable meeting was held, which it is probable had no illegal views or objects; but a few individuals among them having made use of violent, inflammatory, and illegal observations, the whole meeting was thereby rendered illegal, and the leaders of it were now imprisoned in Lancaster castle, for different periods. The different meetings had no power to prevent the punishment of their leaders, because they were guilty of violations of the law. If they had strictly obeyed the law, no power upon earth could have injured a hair of their heads. It was the knowledge of this great truth, which made the Duke of Wellington complain very pathetically, a few years ago, that the Irish people would not break the law. Under the wise and discreet management of that distinguished member of our Union, Daniel O'Connell, the Irish people refused to break the law, and yet they moved onward in a sullen, patriotic, and determined course, until they had accomplished their object. I told you, my friends, three years ago, at a great meeting at Mr. Beardsworth's repository, that the Duke of Wellington had taught us how to command reform; and under the great lesson which his grace has



taught us, we have gone on in England step by step under the sanction of the law, until at last we have made the earth too hot for the soles of the feet of our enemies. (Great cheering.) See, now, the prodigious power which this association has obtained. Under the sanction of the law, we have here produced probably 200,000 human beings in one great assembly, not half of whom, I am afraid, can come within the hearing of my voice. Hitherto our exertions have been confined in direct operation to this town and neighbourhood. Suppose now we should erect the standard of the Birmingham Union in London—that glorious standard which acts so terrifically upon the mind of his grace the Duke of Buckingham—I can tell you, and I can tell his grace, that if we should so act, nine-tenths of the whole population of that immense city would instantly rally round the sacred emblem of their country's freedom. (Cheers.) The same would be the case in Newcastle, Manchester, Glasgow, and Dublin. The whole of the British people would answer to the call, wherever the standard of the Birmingham Union should be unfurled, under the sanction of the King and of the Law. (Cheers.) This is the power which we have gathered up under a strict and dutiful obedience of the law, and therefore I do strictly urge and enjoin you to continue still the same dutiful and legal conduct which you have hitherto exhibited, and never to suffer any circumstance whatever to seduce you into any illegal or violent proceeding.

When I had the pleasure of meeting you here in October last, I asserted that every honest workman in England had as good a right for reasonable maintenance in exchange for his labour as the King had to the crown upon his head. A noble lord (Lord Wharncliffe) is reported to have contradicted this assertion in a high quarter; I therefore beg to repeat it most positively, and to state most distinctly, that every honest workman in England does, in fact, when in full employment, produce more than four times the comforts and necessities of life which he and his family can possibly consume. If, then, the giving to his country more than four times the quantity of comforts and necessities which he himself requires, is not sufficient to constitute a right, I know not what is. The laws of God and of nature have ordained that man shall live by the sweat of his brow; the labour of man's hands produce in England four times as much as his humble wants require, and therefore I insist upon it, that of all the rights in civilized life, the oldest and the strongest, and the most righteous, is the right of living by honest labour. (Cheers.) If the great reform which we are now about to obtain does not have the effect of establishing this right, and of confirming it for ever, it will never satisfy me. (Cheers.) My friends, I will trouble you no more. Your destinies and the destiny of our country are at this moment in the hands of the House of Lords. We have met this day for the purpose of discharging our duty to them. If that august assembly should neglect to discharge their duty towards us and our country, upon their heads alone will rest the awful responsibility of the tremendous consequences which may ensue. A nation may advance in the cause of liberty, but to go back is not possible. (Cheers.)

While Mr. Attwood was speaking, the Warwick and Bromsgrove Unions arrived on the spot, and were seen entering in a distant part of the field, and were received with deafening shouts of applause.

Mr. Attwood proposed, that in order to greet their distant friends, a song called, "The Gathering of the Unions," should be sung; which was accordingly done by the whole assembly. It ran thus—

"Lo! we answer! see, we come!  
Quick at Freedom's holy call;  
We come! we come! we come! we come!  
To do the glorious work of all:  
And hark! we raise from sea to sea,  
The sacred watchword Liberty.



"God is our guide! from field, from wave,  
From plough, from anvil, and from loom,  
We come, our country's rights to save,  
And speak a tyrant faction's doom:  
And, hark! we raise from sea to sea,  
The sacred watchword Liberty.

"God is our guide! no swords we draw,  
We kindle not war's battle fires;  
By union, justice, reason, law,  
We claim the birthright of our sires:  
We raise the watchword Liberty,  
We will, we will, we will be free!

A string of resolutions was now moved, seconded, and carried, and a number of able speeches delivered by Messrs. Scholefield—Munts—G. Edmonds—Rev. Mr. M' Donald—Parkes—De Boscoe Attwood—Boulton, &c. Mr. T. C. Salt, in moving a resolution of thanks to the various branch Unions, thus addressed them—"I call upon you to repeat, with head uncovered, and in the face of heaven, and the God of justice and mercy, the following words after me." The speaker then slowly gave out the following words, which were repeated in a loud voice by the assembled multitude: "WITH UNBROKEN FAITH, THROUGH EVERY PERIL AND PRIVATION, WE HERE DEVOTE OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN TO OUR COUNTRY'S CAUSE." This resolution was followed by loud cheering and waving of hats for several minutes.

The following resolution and petition were read and carried unanimously.

"To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled. The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Birmingham, assembled in a great meeting at Newhall-hill, this 7th day of May, 1832.

"Respectfully sheweth,

"1st. That your petitioners are impressed with a due sense of the wisdom and justice displayed by your Lordships in carrying the great Bill of Reform through its second reading in your Right Honourable House.

"2d. That your petitioners are decidedly of opinion that the speedy passing of the Bill of Reform into a law is essentially necessary to the contentment of the public mind, and to the preservation of the peace and order of society.

3d. That your petitioners think it their duty respectfully to assure your Right Honourable House, that there is no foundation whatever in the reports which have been circulated respecting a re-action or indifference in the public mind towards the great cause of reform, for your petitioners are quite convinced that the attachment of the people of the United Kingdom to the Bill of Reform now before your Right Honourable House, is more general, more deliberate, more enthusiastic, and more determined than ever.

"4th. That your petitioners beg leave respectfully to represent to your Lordships, that the Bill of Reform having been twice brought forward by



his Majesty's Government, and having been twice approved and passed by the House of Commons, it is not to be expected that this great and mighty nation, always attached to the principles of liberty, can now be induced, by any human means, to forego or abandon any essential part of its principles or provisions; and therefore your petitioners do most earnestly implore your Right Honourable House to continue the wise and patriotic conduct which your Lordships have adopted, and to carry the great Bill of Reform into a law, uninjured and unimpaired in the £10 franchise, and in every other of its great parts and provisions, in the hope of healing the wounds of the nation, and of reconciling and conciliating all classes of his Majesty's subjects with the state of society, and with each other.

"5th. That your petitioners confidently disclaim any wish or disposition on their part, or on that of their fellow-countrymen at large, to contract or weaken any of the constitutional privileges of your right honourable house; but your petitioners feel it to be their duty most respectfully to remind your Lordships, that the interference of Peers of Parliament in the elections of members of the House of Commons, is not recognized by the constitution, and that, in the opinion of your petitioners, it is equally unconstitutional for the House of Peers to exercise their authority for the purpose of thwarting regulations which are deemed just and expedient by the House of Commons, respecting the manner in which the members of that honourable house are to be chosen, and the places from which they are to be sent.

"6th. That your petitioners anxiously and earnestly implore your right honourable house not to drive to despair a high-minded, a generous, and a fearless people; nor, by the rejection of their moderate claims, to urge them to demands of a much more extensive nature—demands which would most certainly follow the rejection or mutilation of the Bill by your Lordships; and in particular not to teach them the fatal lesson, that moderate demands and peaceable demeanour are not to entitle them to the consideration of their rulers, or to procure for them the redress of their manifold and grievous wrongs.

"7th. Your petitioners do, therefore, humbly and most earnestly pray that your right honourable house will be pleased forthwith to pass the Bill of Reform into a law, uninjured and unimpaired in any of its great parts and provisions, and more particularly uninjured in the clauses relating to the £10 franchise.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray."

The council of the Birmingham Political Union now declared their sittings permanent, until the fate of the reform bill was decided.

Similar meetings were held about the same time at Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, Dumfries, Dunfermline, &c., as well as throughout the south of England; at all of which, resolutions were passed expressive of their unabated confidence in Earl Grey and his colleagues; and petitions were drawn up and voted to the King and House of Peers, beseeching them to pass the bill unmutated. The meeting at Edinburgh was a proud event for the modern Athens; it is said to have consisted of fifty or sixty thousand persons, and took place in the King's Park, near Holyrood House; from the windows of which, the exiled king of France might have



beheld another specimen of the working of that principle which he and his imbecile ministry vainly imagined they had the power to put down.

In the metropolis, an extraordinary meeting of the members of the National Union took place on Thursday, May the 3d, Joseph Hume, Esq. in the chair. The object of it was, to discuss the propriety of addressing a memorial to the King, praying him to take the necessary constitutional measures to insure the passing of the reform bill unmutilated; and also, of petitioning the House of Lords to that effect. Mr. Hume noticed the progress which the bill had made, from the time that he had last met the members of the Union. He remarked on the conditions under which that progress had been made—on the declaration of the moderate reforming peers, that if the bill were not greatly altered in committee, they would even yet turn round, and vote its rejection. He added, that

“Though differing from ministers in many points, he was one of those who thought it necessary to give undivided confidence to his Majesty’s ministers in bringing forward this great measure, and to waive any minor differences of opinion. He could not, therefore, wish that any expression should fall from him which might be construed into want of confidence in Lord Grey. Still, he could not but regret that the course which that minister had thought proper to take, was not that bold and decided course which it would have been his best policy to have adopted. There was Earl Grey, with the People at his back, with the Sovereign at his elbow; and thus supported, what had Lord Grey and his Majesty’s ministers to fear from the fraction of the nobility opposed to them? It was their policy to have taken a more decided course. There was nothing which struck more terror and dismay into the minds of the Tories, than the circumstance of the King’s coming down at a few hours’ notice, and dissolving in person that parliament which had opposed itself to the declared wishes of the nation. If, after the rejection of the bill in the Lords by a majority of 41, the next morning’s Gazette had contained a list of 60 new peers, created for the purpose, the whole bill would have been passed long ere this. (Great cheering.) The ministers had thought differently. They might, perhaps, have adequate reasons for the course which they had thought proper to pursue; but it was the duty of the people of England to prove, that in them there had been no change—that their opinion remained unaltered—that they were still determined to have reform—that they would have all that the House of Commons had granted—that they would not be satisfied with one iota less. (Enthusiastic cheering.) Lord Grey was too much afraid of the power opposed to him. He had only to act with firmness, and the opposition to him in the House of Peers would be dissolved as rapidly as the anti-reforming party was dissolved in the lower house, by an appeal to the people at a general election.”

The resolutions were as follows—

“That this Union seizes this opportunity of declaring to the people, that although the principle of reform has been recognized by the House of Lords, it has no confidence that that noble house will pass the reform bill, unless the opinion of Englishmen be universally and energetically expressed upon the subject.



"That if any alteration be made in the enfranchising, the disfranchising, or the £10 clauses of the bill, the meeting will esteem such an alteration a direct attack upon the principles of the measure, and resist it by every legal means in their power."

The petition to the House of Lords ran thus—

"That in the hope 'the bill for amending the representation of the people in England and Wales,' now before your lordships, would become law in the same state in which it passed the House of Commons, your petitioners have endeavoured to persuade, and to a considerable extent have succeeded in persuading, the ardent and honest advocates of more extended suffrage than is thereby provided, to unite in support of that measure as a whole.

"That your petitioners submit to your lordships, that a mutilation of any of the provisions of the bill, which tend to secure an extension of the elective franchise, will produce consequences as fatal as those which would assuredly follow the rejection of the bill.

"That in either case there is reason to expect that a cessation of the payment of taxes will take place; that other obligations in society will be disregarded; and that the ultimate consequence may be the utter extinction of the privileged orders.

"That to prevent these calamities, and to promote a peaceful and effectual reform, your petitioners pray that your lordships will pass the bill for amending the representation of the people, un mutilated, and without delay."

The resolutions and petition were carried unanimously. A Mr. Lockhart proposed a resolution in favour of universal suffrage and vote by ballot, but only two hands were held up in favour of it.

Such was the unusually interesting position of the country at the moment parliament was about to resume its sittings after the Easter recess. Scarcely an individual among the friends of the bill entertained a doubt of the King's firmness, and of his readiness to accede to a creation of peers, if that measure were found necessary—but how well founded their confidence, the sequel will shew.

SECTION X.—*The Subject continued.—Second Defeat of Ministers in the Upper House, followed by their Resignation.*

On Monday, May the 7th, Parliament re-assembled, and the anti-reformers lost no time in unmasking their batteries in the House of Lords. Earl Grey, on moving in committee the adoption of the disfranchising clause relating to schedule A, proposed that the number 56 be not specified, but that their lordships do come to a successive vote on each individual borough, as part of the clause. Lord Lyndhurst rose next, and reminding "noble lords" that, although by voting for the second reading they had pledged themselves to the three principles of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of suffrage, they were not tied



down to the exact amount specified in the bill. His lordship maintained, that it was necessary to ascertain, in the first place, the number of places to which the franchise was to be extended, as that must be the limit of disfranchisement, and, on that ground, moved as an amendment, the postponement of the first and second clauses. The amendment was supported by Lords Harrowby, Bexley, Wellington, Winchelsea, Wharncliffe, Ellenborough, Harewood, and Carnarvon, on the ground that the object of the amendment was not to defeat schedules A and B. The noble lords thought it expedient to institute several most suspicious defences of their integrity and fair dealing—no person having, at that moment, called either in question! The Duke of Newcastle, however, chose rather to avow, honestly enough, that he supported the amendment, as he would do any thing likely to frustrate the bill.

The pitiful manœuvre, however, was easily seen through, and Lords Grey and Brougham explicitly declared that they should regard the success of the amendment as fatal to the bill. Lords Radnor and Holland held the same opinion, the latter at the same time happily shewing that the priority of disfranchisement was a principle of the bill. Lord Manvers felt himself tied down by his vote on the second reading. Lord Clifford, a supporter of the ministry, who addressed the house for the first time, coincided with those noble lords. On a division, there were, contents, for the amendment, 151—non-contents, 116:—majority against ministers, 35.

Immediately after the vote was taken, Earl Grey moved, that the further consideration of the bill be postponed till Thursday. Lord Ellenborough instantly seized the opportunity of narrating the mutilations of the measure which he and his friends contemplated:—114 members were to be taken from the close and nomination boroughs, and distributed among the places to which the franchise was to be extended. It was not proposed to raise the £10 qualification, but, on the contrary, to retain, in some places, that of scot and lot. His lordship expressed great anxiety to hasten the settlement of the reform question. Lord Grey treated the noble baron's insidious proposition with the most dignified scorn, and insisted upon a postponement of further proceedings for the present.



With the result of this first discussion in committee, the country was rather pleased than otherwise. The object of the opposition was now transparent. They vainly hoped, that, by postponing the question of disfranchisement until they had allayed the clamours of Manchester and other large places, they might adventure upon the rescue of some of their pet boroughs. They also expected to win all who were favourable to the plan of scot and lot voting. The country, instead of being divided by such paltry shuffling, only felt its contempt increased for a faction, which could have recourse to such mean subterfuges. Lord Grey likewise had embraced the opportunity of stating more strongly than he had ever done before, his resolution to abide by the £10 qualification.

The most implicit reliance was placed on the firmness of the King; and the general feeling was, satisfaction that the enemy had shewn his teeth where he had no power of harming. An immediate creation of peers was looked for as a matter of course. On the 8th, Earl Grey and his colleagues came unanimously to the resolution of instantly soliciting from the King a creation of peers, sufficient to ensure the success of the reform bill. Immediately after the breaking up of the cabinet, the Premier and the Chancellor proceeded to Windsor. The King affected to hesitate, on account of the great number requisite. The ministers begged, in the event of his Majesty's not resolving to adopt their advice, to tender their resignation. The King desired till next day to deliberate. On the morning of Wednesday, it was intimated that their resignation had been accepted.—The real cause of his Majesty's delay, it would, perhaps, be very difficult to ascertain. By some it has been asserted, that the time which his Majesty required for deliberation was employed in negotiating with the opposition. We have no right, however, from the actual state of evidence on the occasion, to come to any such severe conclusion. It was a moment of the utmost importance, and there can be no doubt that the royal mind was agitated with conflicting emotions.

On the momentous expedient of making a sufficient number of peers to counteract the majority that had just appeared in an indirect opposition to ministers, it is reasonable to suppose that his Majesty would hesitate. He could not be insensible, that



how much soever it might at present gratify the popular party, the time might arrive, when the measure would be adduced as a precedent for purposes of a very different nature, and when he, who now appeared as a patriotic King, and the restorer of his people's rights, might be stigmatized as laying a foundation for the exercise of royal prerogative, which ultimately riveted a nation's chains.

The Reform Bill was in itself a subject of greater domestic magnitude than any one which his Majesty's ancestors had ever presumed to touch; the utmost deliberation was therefore necessary in the present crisis of affairs, before any decisive steps were taken. The reasonings, the inflexible opposition, and the various manœuvres of the Tory lords, must also have weighed heavily on the royal mind; and by their united influence have placed him in that state of indecision which, during a few days, paralyzed every movement, and involved the whole country in a state of the greatest consternation.

The unlooked-for intelligence of this event was received by the nation in a manner that makes us yet more proud of our country. The proceedings of the House of Lords were only regarded, in order to ascertain from Earl Grey himself, that he really had resigned. Not another thought was wasted upon those who had insulted the people; but in every district of the country, they proceeded to act. In the House of Commons, Lord Althorp had no sooner announced the ministerial resignation, than Lord Ebrington rose to give notice of his intention to move an address to the King, on the state of public affairs, next evening. The motion, which he subsequently laid before the house for its adoption, was as follows:—

“That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to represent to his Majesty the deep regret felt by this house at the change which has been announced in his Majesty's councils, by the retirement of those ministers, in whom this house continues to repose unabated confidence.

“That this house, in conformity with the recommendation contained in his Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, has framed, and sent up to the House of Lords, a bill for a reform in the representation of the people, by which they are convinced, that the prerogatives of the crown, the authorities of both houses of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people are equally secured.

“That, to the progress of this measure, this house considers itself bound in duty to state to his Majesty, that his subjects are looking with the most intense anxiety; and they cannot disguise from his Majesty their apprehen-



sion, that any successful attempt to mutilate, or impair its efficiency, would be productive of the greatest disappointment and dismay.

"This house is, therefore, compelled, by warm attachment to his Majesty's person and government, humbly, but most earnestly, to implore his Majesty to call to his council such persons only, as will carry into effect, unimpaired in all its essential provisions, that bill for the reform of the representation of the people, which has recently passed this house."

The debate which ensued is characterized, by those who were present, as partaking of the solemnity and the interest of the occasion. "We have seldom," says the Times, "attended a discussion in which the house shewed greater attention to the sentiments addressed to it by the different speakers, or in which the speakers seemed more impressed with the momentous nature of the crisis which their words were destined to effect." When the gallery was cleared for division, the numbers were:—for Lord Ebrington's motion, 288: against it, 208: majority in favour of the motion, 80. Of the members who usually vote with Lord Grey's administration seventy-eight were absent, chiefly out of London; eight paired off; twelve left the house without voting; and three voted against Lord Ebrington's motion.

The whole nation was now up simultaneously, and in co-operation with the House of Commons. There was no cold hesitating pause—every man stood prepared for action. Never did the country present itself in a prouder attitude—never was such an exhibition of unanimity displayed. It was the British lion rousing from his lair, and "shaking the dew-drops from his mane!" All Europe stood aghast, and looked on with amazement, well knowing that on the issue of this most portentous conflict, was suspended the dearest political interests of mankind. Had Earl Grey's administration then come to an end, not only would the liberties of Englishmen have sunk with it, but the flames of war would instantly have been once more lighted up on the continent of Europe, and Ireland become a prey to intestine commotion. A crisis so momentous, and pregnant with such calamitous consequences, must not be hastily passed over in a history of the passing of the reform bill: and we shall endeavour to place upon record at least the more remarkable occurrences of this eventful period.

To commence with the Metropolis:—the National Union met on Wednesday evening—the evening of the very day on which ministers had resigned. One thousand two hundred new mem-



bers enrolled themselves at that meeting, and two thousand more on the following day. It was resolved—

“That the betrayal of the cause of the people was not attributable to Lord Grey or his administration, but to the base and foul treachery of others.—That meetings be recommended in every county, town, and parish throughout the kingdom, which, by inducing compliance with the unanimous wishes of the people, may prevent the mischief that would otherwise result from the general indignation,—That a petition be presented to the House of Commons, praying that Commissioners receive the supplies; and that until the bill pass, they be not managed by the Lords of the Treasury.”

It is not necessary to give the speeches of the various gentlemen who addressed the Council, or, to speak more properly, the members; a few extracts will shew their spirit.

The Rev. Mr. Fox said—“It was not a question about a change of dynasty, but, whether the aristocracy, which could once change it, were to retain their excessive power for the oppression of the people,—whether the King’s government was to be brought into disgrace and peril, not paralleled, except by the deposition of James, and the execution of Charles.”

Mr. Murphy observed, that though the taxes were voted, they were not paid. He called on the whole of the people to say what he did to the tax-gatherer—“Until the Reform Bill is a law, one penny of my money you shall not have!” (*Cheering and waving of hats for several minutes, with cries of “Bravo! we will.”*) He might carry them into the Exchequer; he might seize their goods; they would replevin, and appeal to a jury of their countrymen.

Mr. Perry said—“The individual, whether man or woman, who stood between Lord Grey and the King, deserved the block better than any person in history.”

Mr. Powell admitted the illegality of combining to resist the payment of taxes—“It might be illegal to come to a resolution to pay no taxes in money; but no law could reach a man’s determination, and let them see who would dare to purchase the goods distrained thus.” (*Cheering and waving of hats.*)

Major Revell noticed the effect of placing the supplies in the hands of Parliamentary Commissioners—“Not one shilling would pass through the hands of the Treasury Lords; and then what would become of the poor, miserable, pauper peers, who were of themselves unable to buy a quarter loaf? Lord Lyndhurst, for instance, (*Tremendous groans,*) who had obtained place by his splendid consistency, might attend as *amicus curiæ* in the Exchequer: but until Reform was passed, he would not receive a penny for his labours.”

Mr. Detrosier asked—“Why do our enemies rely on the army? Do they forget Colonel Brereton? Is humanity confined to one bosom? Are not soldiers men and brethren? Is success certain? But the weapons of peace is in our pockets. The determination to pay no taxes is not confined to the mass of the people. He knew persons in the House of Commons who would take their part in this also with their country, and refuse them. They will pay no more taxes. (*Immense applause, which was renewed several times.*) There is also a flimsy piece of paper, (a £5 note,) of which the value depends on public opinion. We may refuse to accept one of these. Will you abide by these resolutions? If a brother be made a victim, will you support him?” (*Cries of “We will,” from the whole meeting.*)



On Thursday, (the 10th,) the Court of Common Council met in Guildhall, at which the Lord Mayor presided, when the following resolutions were voted with acclamation :—

Resolved, That this Court views with the greatest grief, mortification, and disappointment, the extraordinary and distressing communication made by his Majesty's Ministers, that his Majesty had refused to them the means of carrying through the House of Lords the Reform Bill, passed by a large majority of the House of Commons, and required by an overwhelming majority of the people.

That this Court is of opinion, that whoever may have advised his Majesty to withhold from his Ministers the means of ensuring the success of the Reform Bill, have proved themselves the enemies of their Sovereign, and have put to imminent hazard the stability of the throne, and the tranquillity and security of the country.

That, under these circumstances, this Court feels it to be its duty, as a necessary means of procuring for the people of this great country an efficient reform, to petition the Commons House of Parliament to withhold the supplies until such a reform shall have been secured.

That the petition now read be adopted, and that the same be fairly transcribed, and signed by the Town Clerk, and presented this evening to the Honourable the House of Commons by the Sheriffs, attended by the Remembrancer, and the whole Court.

That the representatives of this City in Parliament, and such other members of this Court as have seats in Parliament, be earnestly requested to support the prayer of this petition, and to decline voting any supplies to the Government until the Reform Bill shall have been satisfactorily secured.

That this Court entertains the highest respect and regard for Earl Grey and the rest of his Majesty's Ministers, for their great, able, and unwearied services in the cause of reform, and admires their distinguished integrity in refusing to lend themselves to a delusion, and readily abandoning office when they could no longer, as Ministers, promote the carrying the all-important measure which it had been from the first the main object of their administration satisfactorily to accomplish.

That this Court views the present crisis as being of so much importance, and so pregnant with danger, that it is expedient that a committee should be appointed, consisting of all the aldermen and commoners, any twenty-one members being a quorum, to meet from day to day, to consider and adopt such measures as to them may seem necessary, in respect of a reform in the Commons House of Parliament, and to report from time to time to this Court, if they deem it requisite.

On Friday, May the 11th, the Livery met at Guildhall, when a long string of resolutions was brought forward, which being similar in spirit and tendency to those of the Common Council and National Union, it is not necessary to repeat, but the following were partly additional.

“ That the Livery of London regard with distrust and abhorrence, attempts, at once interested and hypocritical, to mislead and delude the people, by pretended plans of reform, promised or proposed by the insidious enemies of all reform, at the very moment of their having succeeded in defeating the people's bill, and that, looking at the unexampled importance of this measure, and the strong necessity that it should be finally settled, in a manner satisfactory to the judgment, as well as to the rights and interests, of the people, this Common Hall declare that no administration can, in their opinion, now be formed,



in which the country can or will place confidence, except the administration of Earl Grey and his colleagues.

"That this Common Hall have witnessed with the highest gratitude and satisfaction the patriotic exertions of Lord Grey and his Majesty's ministers in the cause of reform, and the promptitude with which they have refused to lend themselves to a delusion, when the only means to secure the success of that measure have been denied to them; and this Common Hall are now called upon to express their conviction, that whoever may have advised his Majesty to withhold from his ministers such means, have acted traitorously to both king and people, have been influenced by faction, and have sought to obtain personal aggrandisement at imminent risk to the stability of the throne and the peace of the country.

"That a loyal and dutiful address be presented to his Majesty, stating the delight and gratitude with which his Majesty's loyal subjects had learned his gracious declaration, made on the 27th April, 1831, when proroguing the parliament, that he "resorted to that measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of his people, in the expediency of making such changes in the representation as circumstances might appear to require;" and also his gracious declaration, made on the 21st June last, on assembling the new parliament, when his Majesty was graciously pleased to say, that "he had dissolved the last parliament, for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of his people as to the expediency of reform," and "recommended that important question to the earliest and most attentive consideration of parliament." That his Majesty's subjects, firmly relying on such declarations on his part, proceeded to elect representatives, who responded thereto, and who by a large majority passed a bill, proposing "such changes in the representation as circumstances required," that the loss or delay of the said bill by a small majority in the House of Lords, and the proposed retirement of the ministry in consequence, had spread terror and dismay among his Majesty's subjects, and threatened to shake the credit, disturb the tranquillity, and to put to hazard the highest institutions of the country; that in such a case of extremity, our sole dependence is, that his Majesty will continue his faithful advisers in his councils, and adopt the means provided by the constitution for removing the obstacles to the passing of the reform bill.

"That the Livery of London have witnessed with great delight and high admiration the public conduct of Thomas Attwood, Esq., and the reformers of Birmingham, and that this Common Hall received with unmixed gratification the visit of a deputation, consisting of Joshua Scholefield, Esq. Joseph Parkes, Esq., and John Green, Esq. from that independent and enlightened body.

"That a petition be presented to the House of Commons, shewing that the only measure pointed out by the constitution for preventing the continuance of a collision between the two houses of parliament had not yet been adopted, and praying that, in order to obtain a redress of grievances, and to bring about a speedy settlement of the aforesaid all-important measure, the honourable house will be pleased to exercise its undoubted function (given it for the good and welfare of the nation,) by refusing to grant any further supplies to the executive government until the aforesaid bill shall be passed into a law; thereby preventing the painful necessity of enforcing the law against those who have already refused, or who may hereafter refuse, to pay the taxes; and that it will be further pleased, in accordance with its own recorded opinion of the necessity of a reform in the representation, to devote its whole power, time, and deliberations, to the averting of those dreadful calamities which now equally threaten the rights of the people and the stability of the throne.

"That in the opinion of this Common Hall, the time has now arrived in which it is imperative upon all the constituted authorities in every city, town, and parish, throughout the United Kingdom, to assemble in support of the rights and liberties of the people, and to take means to avert the dreadful calamities with which the nation is now threatened, and that a committee, consisting of fifty citizens of London, with power to add to their number, be



forthwith formed, to watch the progress of reform, and to continue their sittings until the reform bill brought in under Lord Grey's administration be passed into a law ; and that it be recommended that similar committees be formed throughout the United Kingdom."

In moving one of these resolutions, Mr. Charles Pearson observed,

That the difficulty had been experienced in both Houses of Parliament, of alluding to his Majesty in their discussions : but the fact was, they could form no abstract idea of a King—they must speak of him as he was, without phraseological circumlocution. As was admitted by Sir Robert Peel, the selection and dismissal of ministers were personal acts of the Sovereign, and therefore they were compelled to speak of the King as having driven from his councils his able and honest Ministers, under whatever influence and advice that unhappy measure might have been adopted. The situation of kings had been often deplored, because they were surrounded but by parasite courtiers, who infected the very atmosphere they breathed : King William the Fourth was entitled to no consideration on that head ; for while he pressed to his bosom pernicious counsellors, he had chased from his presence an honest administration, who had told him the truth, and recommended those salutary measures by which his throne would have been securely based upon the affections of his loyal people. If the King was morally responsible for dismissing an honest and popular administration, how much more was he answerable to public opinion, if he called to his councils those who had insulted the nation and despised its prayers. A report had just been brought to the hall, which appeared based on truth, that the Duke of Wellington was again to be Premier of England. (Cries of "No, no ; never ; it cannot be.") What ! the Duke of Wellington, who had shown himself destitute of the first qualifications of a statesman, that of reading the signs of the times, and adapting the institutions of the country to the wants and wishes of the people ! It was not two years since the Duke had declared that the corrupt representation of the people in Parliament was the perfection of human wisdom ; and while the people, from one end of the country to the other, were firmly demanding reform, the Duke had the weakness or the wickedness to assert that if it were left to him to establish a system of government, he could not hope to devise one so pure and excellent as that which was found in the corrupt House of Commons, bowed down as it was beneath the weight of an oligarchical boroughmongering influence. If the Duke of Wellington was again to govern the country, it could not be by the force of argument, but the argument of force—the power of the sword ; to which he (Mr. Pearson) would say, "Let those who draw the sword, perish by the sword." (Tremendous cheering followed this observation, accompanied by waving of hats.) He (Mr. Pearson) owed his existence to parents whose faith was the profession of peace, and by education and habit he was a friend of peace ; but that peace was too dearly purchased, which was bought by the sacrifice of a nation's rights. The Duke of Wellington was a brave and successful soldier, but he had won his victories in the field of foreign warfare, by the valour and the arms of British soldiers—of soldiers of freedom, who would shed their blood in defence of a people's rights, if attacked by domestic enemies, as they had done when defending their country's honour against a foreign foe. But the Duke of Wellington must be mad to think of accepting the first office in the state during the present condition of public feeling : as a soldier, he had won armsful of military glory ; and would he peril the laurels which adorned his brow, by the unenvied conflicts of intestine strife ? Would he bid the historian to write the last annals of an honourable and eventful life in the heart's blood of his country ? If that day should arrive, his Grace might find that the spirit of the Hampdens and Sydneys still lived within the



people's hearts. His Grace had himself proved that a good soldier might make a bad citizen. Perhaps he would experience the converse of the proposition, and find that a good citizen might *not* make a bad soldier; and that the falchion of liberty, grasped in a civilian's hand, was as true and trusty as the sword which glistened on a soldier's thigh. He (M. Pearson) intended to conclude his remarks by proposing a vote of thanks to the brave yet discreet reformers of Birmingham, whose deputation had honoured the hall this day with their presence. They were men whose hearts beat high in the glorious cause of freedom, and whose sinewy arms, hard as the iron they wrought, were ready to defend their country's rights. Their town had been called the "town of hills," and he might say of it—

"No product here the barren hills afford,  
But men and steel, the soldier and his sword." (Applause.)

He trusted that other towns in the kingdom would follow the example of Birmingham, and send up deputations of reformers—samples of the intelligence and strength of their respective unions. Let the Duke of Wellington, if he contemplates resorting to the reign of terror, or the rule of force, see what he has to encounter. Union is strength; let him see a united country, determined to be free. And though, beneath the force of arms, some at first might fall, the bold inhabitants of the distant provinces might hurl defiance at tyrannic power, and, pointing at the useless waste of British blood, exclaim with the poet—

"Proud impious man, think'st thou yon sanguined cloud,  
Raised by thy breath, can quench the orb of day?  
To-morrow he repairs the golden flood,  
And lights the nations with redoubled ray." (Applause.)

Truth was great, and must prevail—the principles of the Reform Bill were founded in truth, and must triumph—by peaceable means, he hoped. The anti-reformers had provoked the crisis they now trembled to look upon—trade had been injured, and almost destroyed, by the protraction of the measure; and the time had now arrived, when matters must be brought to a close: and, by his right hand, he (Mr. Pearson) would never cease to clamour for the passing of the Reform Bill, until it should become the law of the land.

The resolution then passed.

A short speech of Mr. Dillon's on this occasion must not be omitted. In proposing that resolution which declared the distrust and abhorrence of the meeting at the prospect of the government being confided to the enemies of all reform, and which also expressed its feeling of sole and undiminished confidence in Lord Grey's administration, Mr. Dillon thus proceeded—

"Who and what," he asked, "were the House of Lords? It was generally imagined they were the representatives of the aristocracy and property of the nation. But this is not the fact. The aristocracy and property are represented in the House of Commons. That alone was recognized as their representative, and it was too much their representative. The House of Lords represented themselves alone. They were a separate and isolated body, and, looking to their wisdom, it might be said, "Nothing but themselves could be their parallel." (Laughter.) But let them turn to the majority. Who composed that? The holders of corrupt property in boroughs, which you will put an end to—men who would mix blood with corruption—men, the friends of every despotism—representatives of Henry V., at Edin-



burgh—of Miguel—of Ferdinand—of Russian lords, and German ladies. (At this last allusion, there was great cheering and waving of hats for some time.) It is amusing to hear the estimate they pass on themselves, and contrast it with that which the country makes of them. There is nothing great and valuable but themselves—enlightened institutions are nothing; but the people feel there are things better than peers—that there is something richer than a coronet, and more holy than a mitre. They are not every thing valuable in a country. We are of opinion, all its sense is not in the head of Lord Ellenborough (cheers and loud laughter)—nor its honour, in the conscience of Lord Lyndhurst (great laughter)—nor its sincerity, in the tears of Lord Eldon (cheers and laughter)—nor all its courtesy and dignity, in the manners of Lord Londonderry, (much laughter.) I am not the enemy of aristocracy, confined, as in this country, to its legitimate province and duties. The people of England are too much disposed to submission to their aristocracy—is it prudent in them to press us too far? Must they persist in jobs, in plunder of the revenue, in making places for men, and not men for places? Will they not surrender the privilege of commanding members who buy their seats that they may sell their consciences? If they put us to bay, we may discover lords are unnecessary, and that the machine of the state may proceed without a bishop. (Immense cheering.) We have no confidence in our sham friends, notwithstanding the mighty change in their opinions. We have more in Lords Ellenborough or Lyndhurst, though they are reformers like the Duke of Buckingham, who would hold no communication with shopkeepers and bankers, except to overdraw his account. (Much laughter.) Even the shade of Sir William Curtis, could it rise up in this hall, would protest he had been a reformer in his heart all along. They kept their secret well. Like *Viola*,

They never told their love,  
But let concealment, like a worm i'the bud,  
Feed on their damask cheeks; they pin'd in thought,  
And with a green and yellow melancholy,  
Sat, like Pitt on that monument, smiling at grief.

(Much laughter.)

Mr. Parkes returned thanks, and said he could scarcely have thought, before the meeting of last night at Birmingham, that the people of England would have stood together with such determination, energy, and prudence. “If you citizens of London stand by the people of Birmingham (loud cheering, and cries of ‘We will’)—if you citizens of London stand by the people of Scotland and the people of Ireland, then we will defy the boroughmongers to defraud us of our rights, and our free parliament. He (Mr. Parkes) hoped the House of Commons would hold the purse-strings of the nation close, and the vote of last night proved them true to the people; but they themselves had the power over their purse-strings.”

The electors of Westminster met on the same day, Friday, May the 11th, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, pursuant to notice, for the purpose of “adopting measures commensurate to the present alarming state of the country.”

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT being called to the chair, after some preliminary explanations respecting the absence of Sir John Hobhouse, who was one of the ministers, said, that—“Though the aspect of the country appeared to the eyes of some rather untoward, though the great question of reform appeared to some to be under a temporary cloud, and though he could not refrain from avowing great anxiety, and something like apprehension, still he must also express his confidence as to what would be the result, and his exultation at the noble and manly



manner in which the English people acted, as their forefathers had acted in circumstances to the similarity of which he was sorry to say they seemed to be so nearly approaching. Showing the same spirit, and the same determination, he had no doubt that they would meet with the same success, and that they would render triumphant the great cause of reform which had been so often sounded in those ears that ought long and long ago to have paid attention to it. As chairman of the meeting, he did not wish to anticipate what would more suitably be advanced at a subsequent stage. They were assembled to hear and to determine on resolutions and a petition to be laid before them; and he would only say with respect to them, that he had never read any that more truly expressed his feelings and sentiments. It was their good fortune, under all the difficulties arising from the present corrupt system, to have a body of representatives, returned by the patriotic sacrifices of the people, the most true to the public interest than had ever been assembled for a century or more within the walls of the house. They had taken such a course as had enabled this country to rest in its present imposing attitude, certain of acquiring its rights and liberties, through the exercise of the constitutional power of the House of Commons; this afforded him a consoling hope amidst the gloom that overshadowed the land; it cheered him, when contemplating the dangers that might occur, when reflecting that every man might be obliged literally to fulfil the words of the hero, and "do his duty" to England. They would receive the reward of their painful trials through the steady constitutional conduct of the House of Commons, using those powers which had been intrusted to them by the people, for placing the people in that station in the government which, theoretically, they held, and which they were now determined to possess. The electors of Westminster had enabled him to support the cause of freedom during a long period, when the object of their wishes seemed hopelessly distant. They had kept alive that sacred fire which was now beaming forth brilliant and powerful, and which he was confident would produce the most salutary effects to the country. It had long been his irksome task to expose the misconduct and delinquency of the House of Commons, and it was with proud satisfaction that he could declare to the independent electors of Westminster, that it had at last nobly done its duty. Never had it acquitted itself better than on the preceding night, whether as regarded ability, courage, or integrity. Under these circumstances, there was little left for them to do, but to declare their reliance on their representatives, and their unabated confidence in that honest ministry which His Majesty, unfortunately for himself and the nation, had discarded from his councils. Heaven knew from what quarter came the poison which had been instilled into the royal breast (loud cries of "The Queen, the Queen," followed by groans and hisses;) but believing, as he had always done, in his sincerity of mind and benevolence of heart, he must deeply deplore the unfortunate moment when the Sovereign had been prevailed upon to commit an act, the consequence of which would probably embitter the remainder of his life. It was, however, the duty of the people to see, that the great man and great minister who had dedicated his transcendent abilities to their cause—it was their duty to see that his power should not be undermined by those who would not be wanting in the inclination, if they possessed the means. After having made every reasonable concession to carry the measure of reform without risking the public tranquillity, that minister had been defeated by some vile and base court intrigue. When the public interests required it, he did not hesitate to make a strong decision, and in so doing had become entitled to public confidence and respect, which would place his fame upon a rock where the "petty enginery" of intriguers could never assail it. His interested and tricking opponents would find, like those of whom they read in Scripture, where it was said, that the wicked dig pits for others, and fall into



them themselves. They had vainly flattered themselves that because Earl Grey was anxious to conciliate, he would fall into the snare they had prepared for him, and that they might sacrifice the victim when sufficiently pampered for its doom. But he had foiled their expectations when they least expected it. Under these circumstances, what were the people to do? What should they do, but support Lord Grey and his reform bill, and not allow any set of designing men to step in and deprive him of his well-merited honour? Thus the general feeling of the people would be embodied in the resolutions and petition about to be submitted to the meeting, which they, if they thought proper, would adopt. It was his duty to follow whatever instructions it was their pleasure to give him.

Colonel EVANS rose to propose the first resolution, which he was persuaded would find a response in every heart. He believed that few entertained a doubt of this being the most important and extraordinary crisis in our history. After the hopes of the people on the subject of reform had been so highly excited, there was not on record a greater insult to a nation than the sudden disappointment they had experienced. It appeared to him that the present proceeding in the House of Lords was a desperate experiment on the presumed baseness of the House of Commons, and the cowardice and pusillanimity of the people of England. The conduct of the House of Commons last night had, however, belied the anticipations of those who had presumed upon their baseness, and he had little doubt that a few days would show that their calculations with regard to the people were equally false. They had heard of a disposition existing in various parts of the kingdom to resist any government in which the country had not confidence. They had heard of the non-payment of taxes, in money at least (loud and reiterated cheering,)—a step, undoubtedly to be deplored, if adopted by a large portion of the community,—but, however deplorable might be the consequences of such a step, yet, for his own part, he should consider it a thousand times preferable to the prostration of a mighty empire before a base faction. While he believed that other parts of the country would not be backward in declaring their sentiments, he would impress upon the great body of reformers the necessity of avoiding petty disputes among themselves, and of being resolute in opposing any administration that would not accomplish the universal wish. He knew of none that they could have at present worthy of their confidence, except the late cabinet—indeed, he was not aware that any other could be formed that would not fairly come under the denomination of a Polignac administration. The gallant Colonel proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting, under a strong sense of duty to their country, do solemnly declare their bitter disappointment and deep indignation, that the King's ministers should have been forced to resign, at the very hour when the public hope was high and animating, that the Bill of Reform would speedily become the law of the land."

Dr. BAINBRIDGE seconded the resolution. They were met to-day to consider how they should attain the great object of the popular desire—the bill of Lord Grey—the measure of the people, to which they were pledged in the face of Heaven. That bill, though it was marked by anomalies and incongruities which he should wish to see expunged, yet contained the seeds of good government, and was calculated to obtain more supporters than any measure human ingenuity could devise at the period when it was introduced. The late administration had carried it as far as they could, in the way that the House of Lords was at present constituted. His Majesty had been pleased to withdraw his confidence from them, not, however, without a struggle on his part, for he had taken a night to consider of it; he had slept upon it—and every one in a state of connubial blessedness was aware that men sometimes made promises at night on their pillows, which in the morning they would give their ears to recall.



(Laughter.) He need not tell the result of the cogitations on Tuesday night. With respect to the "waverers," what would the people say of their conduct, and what would they say of the bishops, the uncharitable bishops? (Groans, and cries of "No bishops.") Could any language be strong enough to express their indignation as to the course that had been taken by those right reverend hypocrites? (Cries of "None.") It proved to the world, that priestcraft, in whatever form, was incompatible with the first principles of liberty, and that the enormous wealth of the clergy was inimical to religion. This last act would tend more to alienate the affections of the people from the hierarchy, than any they had heretofore committed; and it would accelerate the time when pampered divines would no longer be permitted to batten on the fruits of the never-ending toils of the working classes—when the odious impost of tithes would be abolished, and each individual would support the theological teacher of whom his conscience most approved. (Cheers.) The only hope of the people was in themselves, in the spirit of honest reformers, backed by such men as the amiable and learned Duke of Sussex (cheers,) the sage and profound Holland, the honest and inflexible Grey, and the immortal Henry Brougham. Let them seek to attain the object of their desires by legal and constitutional means. They had the power of instructing their representatives to take from the Lords of the Treasury the usual supplies (immense cheering,) and of placing them in the hands of a member of the House of Commons, to deal with them as they thought proper. Would the Duke of Wellington attempt to coerce the united and invincible British nation? If the reformers were united in a legal resistance to those enemies, they would secure a glorious victory, and they would obtain Earl Grey's bill as surely as the sun would set that evening.

Mr. O'CONNELL, who was loudly called for, rose, and addressed the meeting. It was time, said the hon. and learned gentleman, that the world should again be informed of what materials Englishmen were made. The experiment had never been tried without producing glory and good to England, and, if tried at present, he was sure the result would be the same. Was there in that crowded assembly a single man willing to be the servant of the boroughmongers? Was there a man among them that would not die rather than submit to such degradation? He did not think he could distinguish one individual marked with the brand of the Duke of Newcastle, or the ear-mark of Lord Monson, or the first letters of Lord Caledon, or the silver token of Mr. Alexander Baring. (Great laughter.) That Mr. Baring, who had called the borough system a violet (laughter;) yes and a violet it was, but such a one as stinks in the nostrils of the English people. (Cheers.) The boroughmongers had saddled the country with 1000 millions of debt, and incapacitated it from entering the lists of freedom, till, to the disgrace of all, Poland had fallen before the barbarian, and the Netherlands was threatened; and had it not been for the strong arms of the Parisian artisans, France itself would be under the control of despotism. If the people were true to themselves, it would be impossible to continue the system longer, and they who read history could not doubt the people of England. When king John, the despot and bigot, oppressed the English people, the iron barons were foremost in the battle for the public rights; but our silken barons were foremost to withhold them. But the people then assisted the barons, and succeeded in obtaining that great charter of rights which is the birth-right of every Briton, and which from the graves of the ancestors of the present race would cry shame, if they turned recreant from the cause of liberty and freedom. At a still more recent date, in the struggles between the houses of York and Lancaster, the people took part, but were at the same time careful in securing to themselves additional privileges; and in the 17th century, when Charles I. dared to listen to the advice of his foreign wife (immense cheering, with waving of hats and handkerchiefs for several



minutes)—advice which brought him to the scaffold—when he listened to that advice, and to that of the aristocracy, the oligarchy, and the titled minions, who brought their cavalry and infantry to support him, but who, unlike the present, were a high-minded aristocracy, who, though they trod underfoot the liberties of the people, sought power from higher motives than those which influenced their present successors, whose anxiety for power arose from a desire to put their hands into the pockets of the people; yet in the days of Charles I., the high-minded chivalrous aristocracy, by whom that monarch was supported, were opposed by a people opposed to every step towards tyranny, and determined to be free—that opposition was continued until crowned with success; for, to use the language of the poet—

“What is the effort of a thousand arms  
'Gainst one that strikes for liberty?” (Immense cheering.)

it might be said that the people went too far; perhaps so, inasmuch as human blood was shed, and he thought that none should be shed upon a scaffold.

A person in the body of the room here exclaimed “Oh, you are an Irishman.”

Mr. O'Connell proceeded to say, that if he had proved recreant in the battle for English freedom, or in asserting the rights of his own country, then would he be ashamed of being an Irishman. (Immense cheers.) He trusted to have credit from the meeting for the sincerity with which he spoke his sentiments, and for the candour which brought them forth. As he had before said, so he now repeated, that he deplored the shedding of blood on any occasion, and his fixed opinion was, that fighting, or contests leading to such consequences, were followed by no results other than to give power to some military despot or another, either to the talented Napoleon, or to the ungifted Wellington. The history of the country recorded another change, through the instrumentality of the people. He alluded to James II., who listened to unwise counsellors, and to the second family by which he was surrounded. The people found James II. was a bigot and a tyrant, and they cashiered him, but shed not one drop of blood—they committed no excess, injured or destroyed no man's property, but, on the contrary, left every man more secure in the possession of his property, and prosperous in his pursuits, than he was before. “Oh!” said Mr. O'Connell, emphatically, “for the glorious Revolution of 1688!” (Loud cheers.) Was it to be believed that the descendants of such men as those by whom that glorious revolution was achieved would submit to be slaves of the Newcastles, Barings, Monsons, and Caledons of the present day? (Loud applause.) Whoever says that such a man exists, he (Mr. O'Connell) would answer, he lied. (Immense cheering.) It was as fantastical to imagine it, as it was idle to suppose that any ministry could be formed which would be able to put down the sentiments of the people, or those of the majority of the Commons House of Parliament. This had been tried last night, but it had not succeeded. The present question was one between liberty and despotism, and he would ask to see the hands of the friends of liberty. (In answer to this call, there was an unanimous display of hands, which was followed by loud and long-continued cheering.) This display was a lesson to those who would think that the power of the Crown could turn the torrent of public opinion in England. It had been said in the House of Commons, that the people called aloud for reform in their representation, because the King's name had been used in connexion with that measure; but he (Mr. O'Connell) denied such to be the fact. The people were unanimous in their demand for reform, and it required no talisman to make the measure palatable—they were firm in their allegiance to the throne, which they were ready to support in dignity and splendour; and all the return they sought was, something approaching to a reciprocity of sentiment and feeling.



Never did a family raised to the throne of any nation owe more to that nation than the present family connected with the throne of England owed to the British nation. Brought from a small German principality, possessing only the income of a private English gentleman, they had been supported in luxury, affluence, and splendour—the gold and silver mines of Peru, and the diamonds of Golconda, had been lavishly called in aid; palaces had been erected, such as only fairy tales described, and which almost required the power of Aladdin's lamp to raise; and every thing that a liberal nation could devise, had been effected, to contribute to the dignity, comfort, and happiness of the possessors of the crown. But the present Monarch last week possessed a home more to be esteemed and cherished, and of which he justly might be prouder, than of the most splendid palace that ever pictorial fancy could depict—and that home was in the hearts of his people (immense applause;) and who, he (Mr. O'Connell) would pause to inquire, were the enemies of that Monarch, who by their advice would send him an outcast from such a home, and interpose between him and the affections of the people? Whoever they might be, they were the enemies of the Sovereign, the People, and the Country. (Loud cheers.) It was immaterial to the people, to know what were the intrigues which had been used, or by whom they had been practised; and it was for Englishmen themselves to free themselves of the consequences of such intrigues, and to them he would say, as he had often before said in his own country, for it was true he was an Irishman (laughter)—

“ Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not  
Who would be free—their selves must strike  
The blow.” (Immense cheering.)

But in truth he wanted no blow, but, on the contrary, a careful and scrupulous keeping within the limits of the law. With one of the most inflammable populations in the world, for twenty-five years he had kept them, during times of excitement, strictly within the law; and the reporters to watch their proceedings, and be prepared to give evidence against them, they had passed the fiery ordeal and succeeded in asserting the principle of religious liberty, by emancipating the Protestant Dissenters of England. They had never allowed themselves to be struck by the majorities upon majorities of parliament against them, nor by the detected intrigues of pretended friends; but, on the contrary, they were animated by a more ardent determination to press forward with the cause, relying on their own resources. This was an humble example, which was worthy of imitation by the people of England. Notwithstanding the grievances which were chargeable against the Government with respect to Ireland, they had been forgotten by the representatives of the Irish people in the cause of reform. The Irish members had stood boldly and fearlessly forward to support that great measure, and last night no less than thirty-five Irish members voted in the majority, thus burying in oblivion the grievances of which the country they represented could but too justly complain; in short, while his mind became elated and his heart expanded at the prospect of the victory which the people of England must eventually achieve, he might turn and weep over the miseries of his native land. He could only say, that the people of England should have, as they already had, his humble but best exertions in their cause, and he would call upon them to look well to the boroughmongers; and if they succeeded in getting into power, to call for delegates from every part of the country, which was legal, provided they did not represent any political body or union, to meet every week; to follow the example of the Catholic Association, and have a Reform Rent, which at 1s. each from 200,000 Englishmen would raise a fund of 100,000*l.*; to hold simultaneous meetings in every parish in England on the same day; and thus, by every exertion, forward, and, as they must, eventually secure



the cause of reform. This, at least, would show the boroughmongers the resources the people had in themselves. He would also remind the meeting, that by the success of the cause of reform, with the assistance of the freemen of England, would despotism and bigotry sink for ever from the civilized world, and republics would again arise—the German states, enlivened by the sun of liberty, would again become free, and the snows of thralldom of a Russian clime would melt before the glowing, cheering warmth of the fire of liberty. (Loud cheers.) The cause was therefore the cause of the civilized world; but let the Tories succeed, and the night of despotism will come on, and the country might arise to a morning of bloodshed. A revolution of bloodshed, he must, as a man, abhor; but in a salutary revolution, like that of 1688, (save that, instead of deposing a king, he would depose an oligarch,) he should rejoice. He never could suppose for a moment that the people would again submit to the domination of the Tories, nor could he for a moment imagine that they would remain satisfied, that, while the city of Westminster returned two representatives, Mr. A. Baring should send in two for Calne, or that, while London returned four members to parliament, Gatton and Old Sarum should send as many. Again he would say, in the language of the poet—

“ Oh ! where’s the slave so lowly  
 Condemned to chains unholy,  
 Who could he burst  
 Those chains at first,  
 Would pine beneath them slowly ?” (Loud cheers.)

Mr. O’Connell concluded by thanking the meeting for the kindness with which it had received him, and the patience with which he had been heard, and by calling on every individual present to persevere, by every possible but legal means, to secure the freedom of his countrymen, and again to make England a refuge for every man persecuted for freedom’s sake from all parts of the world, and thus establish a precedent for punishing tyrants all over the globe. The hon. and learned gentleman resumed his seat amid loud and reiterated cheers, which continued for some minutes.

Mr. TULK moved the following resolution—“ That a petition be presented to the House of Commons, imploring them to continue firm to their recorded pledges, to grant no further supplies, nor any money payments whatsoever, until an administration is formed, known friends to that measure of reform which has already received the sanction of the house and of the nation.”

Mr. TULK then proposed the following petition :—

“ To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

“ The humble Petition of the Inhabitant Householdors of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

“ We, the inhabitant householders of the city and liberty of Westminster, beg to approach your Honourable House, to express our deep sorrow and indignation at the event which has driven from the councils of the King, men in whose wisdom and integrity the people place the most entire reliance. We honour the motives which have impelled them to give up every other consideration for their country’s good; and they have our warmest thanks that they have stood by their measure of reform, and have fallen with it, rather than it should be mutilated to suit the base purposes of its acknowledged enemies.

“ Though we can look with pity on the reckless infatuation of men who think to stop the nation’s will by the mockery of a nominal reform, we are deeply im-



pressed with the serious dangers into which the country may be plunged by having such men in His Majesty's councils. We can set no limits to the consequences which may ensue, when the people find that they have been cheated of their just hopes, and are again placed at the mercy of the rulers, who can see nothing desirable or perfect but the corruptions under which they and their families have prospered. Rather than submit to a recurrence of the evils under which we have so long groaned, had we no other resource, we could cheerfully risk our lives to avert such a national calamity; but happily we are not driven to this necessity, while we have the safeguard of our liberties in those members who have been returned to your Honorable House, the real representatives of the people.

"To you, the commons of the United Kingdom, the majority of whom have nobly redeemed the pledges made to your constituents, we look for protection in these times of peril to our liberties and rights. You will not, you cannot, suffer us to be defrauded of that reform which you have yourselves triumphantly sanctioned and ratified by your votes. We most respectfully therefore implore you, that you remain firm to your recorded judgments; that you suffer no measure of reform to be palmed upon you by its pretended friends, one jot less efficient than that which the nation has unfortunately lost;—that you continue to give your strenuous support to those who have honestly supported the people's cause;—and that you hesitate not to exercise the constitutional power with which you are invested, by stopping all further grants of the people's money until that measure of reform, which they eventually must have, be established as the law of the land.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

COLONEL JONES then came forward, and was most warmly and enthusiastically greeted. He said that he felt it was highly necessary for the meeting to perform an act of justice to those noble patriots who had been so just, faithful, and zealous in the cause of reform. It required no argument from him to secure the thanks of the meeting to that minister whose firmness and conduct had already received their approbation. He was satisfied that it was only requisite to mention the name of Earl Grey and the rest of his Majesty's ministers, to call forth the approbation of the present assembly, and he felt convinced the resolution he had to propose would be agreed to with the same unanimity with which all the preceding resolutions had been met. He was free to admit, that he had blamed the ministry for not having done more speedily that which he had thought they ought to have done; but it was now evident that the people had been mistaken, and ignorant of the events which had thrown themselves in the way of Earl Grey, in opposition to the object which that noble lord had as strongly at heart as the people themselves. It was a sad picture of the human mind, to see that King William the IV., whose name was engraven on the hearts,—nay, whose self was buried in the affections of his people,—should, from evil counsel, have deviated from that course which the people justly anticipated he would have pursued, and that he should, on leaving the capital after dismissing his ministers, have been met with the groans of the people. It was but two years ago since he (Colonel Jones) had narrated an anecdote of his Majesty; who was engaged inspecting a celebrated portrait by Vandyke, of Charles I.; and when some one, observing the deep attention of his majesty, offered some comment on the picture and the talent of the artist, his Majesty replied, "It is not the picture I contemplate, but the folly of the man." God forbid, said Colonel Jones, that a king in these days should commit the same folly which kings formerly did. He was not unfriendly to kingly government; and he would say, that as long as the king performed his duty, he would perform his duty to his king; but if the monarch



ceased to do his duty, he should feel himself absolved from his allegiance (Loud cheers.) If William IV. persisted with such lamentable obstinacy to pursue the evil course, whether at the instance of the woman of his bosom, or of the creatures of his court, or if he placed himself in the hands of his unpopular brother the Duke of Cumberland,—in a word, if he forgets the people, then let the people forget him!

At this moment the loud cheers of the immense concourse of persons who were outside the great room, announced the arrival of the delegates from the Birmingham Political Union, who soon appeared on the platform, wearing attached to their coats the Union riband. The gentlemen were loudly and enthusiastically cheered. After silence was in some degree restored,

Colonel Jones proceeded. He said he rejoiced at the interruption which had just taken place, as it introduced to the meeting Mr. Scholefield, Mr. J. Parkes, and Mr. Green, the worthy members of, and delegates from, the Birmingham Political Union. (Reiterated cheers, accompanied with waving of hats and handkerchiefs.) These gentlemen had ably done their duty, and the union to which they belonged had set a brilliant example to the realm. He felt satisfied every wise, good, and brave man would follow the example of the gentlemen he had just named, and who appeared with the ribands of their Union, determined never to quit it until they shall have accomplished their great object—reform. It cannot but be gratifying to those gentlemen to receive the affectionate cheers of the present meeting, and to meet with such a reception from such a body of their countrymen, stimulated by the same feelings as themselves, and which must be to them an earnest to continue in the same virtuous labours they have begun, until they meet with that success which every good man will arrive at through the means of wisdom. The Birmingham Union was an example to the whole country; and he must say thus much of them, that they are the trunk, while the unions of the metropolis were but the limbs of a great body; but he most fervently hoped, that as an universal conviction prevailed that union was necessary, that those of the capital would become more numerous. It had been said that the King believed the people to be indifferent to reform; but the gentlemen from Birmingham could soon unfold a different tale, and give ample proof to the reverse, if indeed proof was wanting after the display, this day and yesterday, so much nearer home. These indeed were proofs that the people were in earnest, and would have reform. The gallant Colonel concluded, amidst loud cheers, by moving—"That the thanks of this meeting are due, and are hereby given, to Earl Grey and the rest of his Majesty's ministers, for their courage, patience, perseverance, and unexampled endurance in the cause of the people, whilst promoting the reform bill."

Mr. Scholefield, one of the deputies from Birmingham, apologized for interrupting the business of the day. He and his fellow-labourers in the cause of reform had left Birmingham on the previous evening, deputed by a meeting of 100,000 persons, who had assembled, he might say, on the spur of the moment, to ask the council of the Union what they should do in the hour of difficulty, arising from the conduct of the Lords. He had the pleasure of assuring them, that the people of Birmingham were as firm as any people in England, but they were determined to exhibit conduct as peaceful and legal as human conduct could be. Still, as a poor man had remarked of patience yesterday—"Patience—ay, gentlemen, we may take it, but it won't fill our bellies." (Cheers and laughter.) He held in his hand a petition which was published in *The Times* of that day, which they were about handing to Mr. O'Connell, for presentation in the House of Commons. This must excuse their departure. They would not have made so late a visit, had they not attended, by invitation, the reform meeting in the city, where they had received the honour of a vote of thanks. There was one



of the resolutions of yesterday, which he would cite for their adoption if they deemed it worthy their approval. They had resolved that the colours of the Union should be nailed to their coats, there to remain until the great measure of reform was obtained. Those who could not conveniently procure the blue riband, their union jack, would be supplied with it at Birmingham. (Cheers.)

Messrs. Scholefield and Parkes then bowed to the chair, and withdrew amid loud acclamations.

The inhabitants of the borough of Southwark met on Saturday in such numbers, that an adjournment to St. Margaret's Hill was necessary. Here also the supplies were attacked. A strong symptom of the public feeling was called forth by the speech of Mr. Ellis: "He could not bring his mind to believe that his most gracious Majesty, King William the Fourth, had given up his people." (The speaker paused slightly here, as if expecting a cheer, but the silence of the meeting was most marked; perfect silence having succeeded to the hum which generally prevails in large assemblies.) "He could not bring his mind to believe but that his Majesty wished well to the country." (The same silence.) "It was to the base advisers who had altered his Majesty's mind, that they must attribute the frustration of their hopes." (A solitary, hear!)—The parliamentary district of St. Mary-le-bone, St. Pancras, and Paddington, met on the following Monday to the number of 20,000 and upwards, Joseph Hume, Esq., in the chair. A true English address to the King was agreed to. Whilst these larger meetings were convened in the metropolis, the inhabitants of every parish and ward were assembling for the same purposes, and the National Union sat every night.

The intelligence of Earl Grey's resignation reached Birmingham on Thursday morning, May the 10th. By eleven o'clock, a printed placard was to be seen in many of the windows, of which we give an exact copy.

"NOTICE!

NO TAXES PAID HERE

UNTIL

THE REFORM BILL IS PASSED!"

"May 9."

In the course of the day, 500 gentlemen, who had hitherto stood aloof, enrolled themselves as members of the Union. At 4 P.M., the inhabitants of BIRMINGHAM and the surrounding towns



assembled at Newhall-hill. No placards, no regular citation, had been issued, but their numbers could not possibly be less than a hundred thousand! They occupied a space of six acres, and the whole plot was densely filled. A petition was voted to the House of Commons, which, in addition to the prayer to stop the supplies, contains the following remarkable sentence:—"That your petitioners find it declared in the Bill of Rights, that the people of England may have arms for their defence"—(here the speaker was interrupted by tremendous cheering, which lasted for several minutes,)—"suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law; and your petitioners apprehend, that this great right will be put in force generally, and that the whole of the people of England will think it necessary to have arms for their defence, in order that they may be prepared for any circumstances that may arise."

A deputation was then named, to take the petition express to London, and communicate to the Common Council, and the city of Westminster, the determination of the people of Warwickshire and Staffordshire to aid them in the common cause. The delegates, Messrs. Scholefield, Parkes, and Green, were followed to the verge of the town by the cheering of assembled multitudes. At Coventry, they were enthusiastically welcomed—and when they arrived in London, they experienced the most cordial reception at the meetings of the Common-Hall, the electors of Westminster, &c. &c. &c.

By the inconceivable exertions of the rival "*Suns*," the news spread like wild-fire through the country. MANCHESTER received the intelligence on Thursday forenoon—the day after Earl Grey's resignation. At twelve o'clock, a meeting was held at the Town Hall, at which it was agreed to petition Parliament to stop the supplies. In the course of four hours, the petition had received upwards of 25,000 signatures.

The following was the petition—

"To the Honourable Commons of the United Kingdom, &c. The petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of Manchester, &c., sheweth—

"That your Petitioners have heard, with feelings which it is impossible to describe, that the Reform Bill has again been virtually lost in the House of Lords, and that Earl Grey and his administration have, in consequence, been compelled to withdraw from his Majesty's councils.

"That your Petitioners, considering that the plan of Reform which has thus been defeated, was a measure which merely restored to the people a right to which they were always entitled by the Constitution, and of which



they have been too long defrauded by a faction: considering also that the Bill had been twice passed by your Honourable House, and was earnestly desired by the people: and, moreover, that it is a measure which, legally and honestly, can affect the people and their representatives only, they are at a loss to find words to express their indignation at being again denied their birthright by the manœuvres of a small number of interested individuals.

"That your Petitioners, thus situated, have recourse to your Honourable House, that you will assert your own collective dignity, and the indefeasible rights of your fellow-subjects, by a determined adherence to the Bill, and by refusing to vote any supplies, until a measure, essential to the happiness of the people, and the safety of the throne, shall be carried into a law."

The Parliamentary Reform Union of LIVERPOOL, convened a meeting in Clayton Square, on Monday, May the 14th, when Lord Viscount Molyneux, son of the Earl of Sefton, being called to the chair, a string of Resolutions was moved and passed, to the following effect:—

1. That this Meeting has learned, with indignation and alarm, the present position of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords; a Bill which this Meeting considers, in all its main provisions of Disfranchisement, Enfranchisement, and Qualification, to be absolutely essential to the good government of the Country, and not less so to the prerogatives of the Crown, the best interests of the Aristocracy, and the rights of the People.

2. That the warmest thanks of this Meeting, and the grateful acknowledgments of the British nation, are due to Earl Grey, and to his late colleagues in Office, as well as to those Members of both Houses of Parliament, who, by their zeal in the cause of Reform, have twice carried the Reform Bill through the House of Commons, and to a second reading in the House of Lords; and that this Meeting most deeply laments that such obstacles should have arisen to the completion of the Reform Bill, as to compel the resignation of his Majesty's Ministers.

3. That, in the present alarming crisis, this meeting feels itself called upon to petition the House of Commons, and to represent to that House its total want of confidence in the government of the country, until a Reform in the Representation of the People shall be accomplished, at least as efficient as that provided for by the Bill now before Parliament, and also to pray that Honourable House to withhold any further supplies until such Reform shall become the law of the land, and that the Petition now read be adopted by this Meeting, and be signed by the Chairman on behalf of the Meeting.

4. That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, stating to his Majesty, that it is the opinion of the Inhabitants of Liverpool, in public meeting assembled, that no bill for the amendment of the representation of the people will satisfy the British nation, which shall fall short, in any of its essential provisions, of the bill lately introduced into Parliament; and that whilst this Meeting feels entire confidence in Earl Grey and his late colleagues, it feels the utmost distrust of those counsellors who have heretofore ranked as the enemies of Reform, and the notorious opponents of a liberal and pacific policy, foreign and domestic. And further, to state to his Majesty, that such is its sense of the alarming crisis in which the country is placed, that it has petitioned the House of Commons to withhold all supplies until an efficient Reform is granted, and an administration appointed, which shall deserve the confidence of the people, and that the Address now read be adopted by this Meeting, and be signed by the Chairman on behalf of the Meeting.



5. That this meeting, being sensible of the vast importance of unanimity among the people of Great Britain at this serious emergency, on which the welfare of the present and future generations so much depends, is determined that whatever may be the *Constitutional* line of conduct which the great majority of our Countrymen in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other great towns, shall follow, we will pursue; and we recommend the adoption of this Resolution throughout the three kingdoms.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,

MOLYNEUX, Chairman.

In tracing the march of the spirit that was now abroad, and pursuing its career from the south to the north, we shall avail ourselves of a short extract from one of our best periodical journals; and the rather, as the writer narrates some interesting particulars which fell under his own observation.

“The un-preconcerted unanimity of the people was most cheering in more respects than one. It shewed that they knew their rights, and the legal forms invented to guard them, as well as that they were prepared to move in their defence. Birmingham and London cried at once, ‘Stop the supplies.’ The sound was repeated across the level plains of Lancashire, and over the wolds of Yorkshire. Taking its way through canny Cumberland and Northumberland, it was re-echoed by Salisbury Craigs, and on the green of Glasgow, and spread from these central points up every green strath and heathery valley of Scotland. The shout had not yet subsided, when an echo, richly tipped with the brogue, came ringing joyous and shrill across the Irish channel. In the black north, Belfast and Newry did their duty. The boys of Tipperary were gathering to the fun. Within the Pale was held an honoured meeting. Dublin sent forth her congregated citizens by tens of thousands; and among them one before whom our hearts bow with devotion—one who in youth periled life and fame for liberty, and for her consented to waste his best years in exile—this was Archibald Hamilton Rowan.

“It would be vain to attempt a record of all the generous patriots who stood forward—of all the burning words they uttered. Some chanced upon a happier phrase than others; but in the essentials all were one. Birmingham alluded to the provision in the bill of rights, which vindicated the title of the citizen to have arms for his defence. Sheffield reminded the King in respectful, but manly language, that the stability of the crown, as well as the peace of the country, might be endangered by adherence to the whispers of incendiaries. The Political and Trades’ Unions of Edinburgh, declared that they trusted in the nation alone, and called upon the reformers of the whole empire simultaneously to petition the House of Commons to assume the office of their fugleman and central committee.

“We are truly proud of the commanding attitude assumed by our countrymen on this occasion. They have proved themselves worthy descendants of the men who resisted and vanquished Charles the First, and expelled his son. They have shewn that they possessed the devoted bravery, and more than the knowledge, of their ancestors. There has been no wanton destruction, there have been no vain boasting and braggadacio threats. Assembled at every point, in multitudes such as have never before been seen, they have not once allowed themselves to be hurried into undue transport by the contagion of sympathy. Their words were weighed, and valued—subdued, not exaggerated. Under the influence of the most intense excitement, they struggled successfully to maintain the ascendancy of reason: by the most violent efforts of self-control, they repressed the instigations of hurrying and blinding passion; they looked round for a spot to plant their foot upon, from which it would be impossible to drive them. Their stern determination and the energy



with which they submitted themselves to the restraining voice of reason, must have reminded the Duke of Wellington, rather disagreeably, of the intense whispers of his officers whenever the enemy advanced on the British lines—'Steady, men, there, steady; down with your muzzles;' and of the irresistible force with which the repressed energy of his soldiers, when the leash was slipped, thundered through the opposing ranks. The aspect of the nation was like an approaching thunder-storm, black, grim, sultry, suffocating, but breathless and silent as death.

"A sight of any of the numerous meetings, held at this crisis, would have satisfied the most infuriated Tory, that the case of his party was hopeless. We were only present at one, but the features of all were much the same. Standing on the declivity of Salisbury Craigs, we looked down upon the hustings erected in the King's Park, (Edinburgh.) The members of the committee were ascending the platform at irregular intervals, and already a dense mass was crowding around its base, while dispersed groups were crossing each other over the field, buzzing and restless as insects on a summer evening. A low distant murmur was heard in the direction of the palace; as it drew nearer, muffled music was distinguishable—'The land of the leal.' Passing the corner of Holyrood, a broad black banner rose into sight behind the wall, and glided, flapping onwards, until, with its bearers, it emerged into the open field. It was followed by the standard of the Trades' Union, bearing on a sable field a bunch of rods—'United, who can break us?' And for upwards of half-an-hour, the procession, five men abreast, continued to defile into the field, advance towards, and encircle the hustings. As one black banner after another arose upon the view, and was borne forward, till the inscriptions and devices became legible, it seemed as if the human tide would continue to flow for ever. The cheers with which several favourite mottoes and the tri-colour were received, swelled upwards to the spectators of the hill, one dense shattering volume of sound. The heart of a nation, devoting itself through the most perilous emergencies, to persevere in a just cause, was in the sound as it slowly wreathed up the hill-side on its way to approving Heaven. The view from the hustings was yet more striking. On every hand extended a dense semicircle paved with human heads, all shouldering to get near. The outward circle of curious spectators was very thin; every man was anxious to press forward, and take part in the business. Fifty thousand faces looked eagerly up at every speaker: some with their hands at their ears to catch the sound more distinctly, others shading their eyes from the sun, sad determination expressed in every brow. There was not, as on ordinary occasions, a quick, gleesome interchange of remarks on what fell from the speakers—every man seemed to check his breathing, lest it might interrupt the stillness. The movers of the resolutions wore also an aspect of anxious solemnity. While revealing the whole exigency of the case, and exhorting to every sacrifice, they, one and all, felt the necessity of regulating the determined spirit of the people. Their exhortations to preserve order were received with re-iterated cries of 'We will.' The names of traitors and oppressors elicited hootings of derision, or deep-enduring hatred; those of Earl Grey and his friends, hearty applause. And every bold expression of resolutions to brave the worst, was met with the triumphant rustling and waving of banners, and with a *hurrah*, which, commencing beneath the hustings, spread backwards to the outskirts of the assembly, where, after some preliminary questioning, it was taken up, and tossed back to the platform, on every side of which it dashed upwards like the waves of the ocean. It was plain that the stern spirit of the covenanter was again breathing through the land; that, in defence of a regulated freedom, the people were ready to dare all extremities.

"In this emergency, the House of Commons did its duty nobly. Even before being called upon, it placed itself at the head of the national movement. Lord Ebrington's motion was simultaneous with the earliest meetings out of doors. This was followed up by Mr. Hume's notice of another and



stronger motion; and by the prompt seizure of every occasion which offered to resume the theme night after night. The party in the House opposed to reform maintained a wise silence, or only spoke to some minor point, for the purpose of relieving their awkward consciousness of insignificance. The liberal members—Ebrington, Hume, Duncombe, O'Connell, Macauley, Gillon, and others—discharged their duty to their country in a bold and fearless spirit, which entitles them to rank with the Hampdens, Pym, and Elliots—the fathers of our liberties. The benefit conferred upon the country by the prompt and decided measures of the House of Commons, cannot be over-rated. It gave to the people throughout the country a common centre of discipline and organization; it reared aloft a banner, to which they were to look in every unexpected eddy of the headlong fight: it gave order, purpose, and legality to their movements. The popular phalanx was by this means rendered as united as numerous. The mass of the nation was up, and ranged under their natural self-elected leaders—those members of the commons who really represented the interests of the community.”\*

SECTION XI.—*Discomfiture of the Tories.—Ministers recalled to Office.—The Reform Bills carried.*

The annals of our country do not present a more appalling crisis than the interval from the 9th to the 16th of May, 1832—the former being the day on which the King accepted the resignations of Earl Grey and his colleagues; and the latter, that on which they were re-instated in office. This memorable week was occupied by the minions that flutter about the court in an attempt to patch up an administration which should take place of his Majesty's late servants. The Tories, who for some time had been encouraged by their success in practising on the King's disposition, and at the critical moment had private intelligence of his resolution, endeavoured to put the Bill out of joint, by postponing the disfranchisement to the enfranchisement clauses; calculating, that if they should succeed in this, the crippled thing would pass into their hands; or that if Lord Grey unsuccessfully resisted, he might be represented to the King as a wilful, impracticable man, stickling for a point of mere form, against the opinion of a majority disposed to put the measure into a shape of success, and bringing defeat upon himself by his unreasonable pertinacity. They calculated correctly enough on every circumstance—but the event. The mind of the monarch was well known to them; they had a perfect understanding of the hidden effect of the amendment for reversing the order of the Bill, which would be to put it on its head instead of its feet; but they were not prepared for the readiness with which Lord Grey comprehended the design, and for

\* Our Three Days—Tait's Edin. Mag. June, 1832.



the firmness with which he limited its operation to the one defeat. The minister applied to the King for the aid of the prerogative, or the acceptance of his resignation; and his Majesty chose the latter. It was no part of the plan of the Tories to drive Lord Grey unblemished from office, and to pass him into opposition with all the honours of popularity. The design was to put him through a series of concessions or defeats, to exhibit him in every attitude of feebleness, to make him suspected of dishonesty, or derided for impotence; to shew him as an incapable, powerless champion, or a betrayer of the cause to which he had pledged uncompromising devotion. They did not wish to destroy the minister with a blow dealt in open hostility, but to exhibit him an object of derision, contemptuous pity, or angry suspicion. Lord Grey, however, was not the man to be played upon by these courtly sycophants; by a single effort, he delivered himself from such toils; and instead of his disgrace, which was so ardently desired, he at once exalted his own fame to the pinnacle of popularity, and overwhelmed the whole intriguing junto with confusion and ruin.

The cautious and guarded explanations of ministers have left considerable obscurity about the King's conduct towards them, respecting the creation of peers. There is, however, little reason to doubt that his Majesty had promised them the aid of a creation; and there is as little reason to doubt that a knowledge of that promise induced the Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe to make a pretence of yielding, by which they drew Lord Grey into the snare of owing the second reading to their adhesion, instead of having recourse to a creation of peers; at which time, the application might *possibly* have been successful. It has indeed been suggested that Lord Grey was thwarted in his efforts to obtain the performance of the King's promise at an earlier period, by a difference of opinion in the cabinet. If the King's engagement was to make peers when the necessity should be apparent, and certain of his colleagues had their doubts of the necessity, or their aversions to the expedient, when the premier himself was convinced of the necessity; we do not see how he could make the application to his Majesty, without first re-modeling the cabinet, so as to bring it into accordance with his views. The King could not fail to have information of the difference



of opinion, if it really existed, and that would naturally prompt the question, whether the cabinet generally concurred as to the necessity ; and the premier would have been compelled to admit that he was in the minority. This may have been the hitch that caused a delay, in which the King's former patriotic purpose was worked upon to yield.

As soon as the division of Monday evening was declared, the result was transmitted to the King, who was at Windsor. On Tuesday a cabinet council was held, when it was unanimously agreed, that unless the ministry were allowed by his Majesty to create as many peers as would give them a majority in the upper house, they must resign. Earl Grey and Lord Brougham, the two highest functionaries of the cabinet, immediately proceeded to Windsor on the afternoon of Tuesday, and laid before his Majesty the result of the cabinet's deliberations. The nature of the interview between the King and the two ministers, is not very likely to be known to the public. His Majesty requested a day for deliberation, and the ministers returned to town in the evening. On Wednesday morning a special messenger was sent with a letter to Earl Grey, stating the King's intention of accepting the resignation of the cabinet, rather than their advice to create peers. On the same day, the King having come to London in order to hold a levee, the whole of the cabinet attended, and their resignations were formally received.

No sooner had the King accepted the resignation of his ministers, than he sent for Lord Lyndhurst, to consult with him on the position in which he was placed, and on the forming of a new ministry. His Majesty apprized Lord Lyndhurst that "extensive reform" was the express condition on which such a ministry must be based, and directed him to make inquiries as to the practicability of forming it. The noble lord—somewhat strangely, considering the duke's well-known sentiments—carried the King's communication, in the first place, to the Duke of Wellington ; and he and the duke having consulted together, they agreed to offer the premiership to Sir Robert Peel ; the Duke thinking it advisable not to take office at first. The knight of Tamworth, however, was too cautious and wily to take the bait—he refused even to nibble ! When Sir Robert point blank refused to accept office on his Majesty's terms, Lord Lyndhurst's negotiations were



brought at once to a stop. He had communicated with Mr. Baring, and received a kind of half-promise of his support—with Lord Carnarvon, and perhaps Lord Winchilsea, and the Duke of Buckingham,—in all about six. The subordinates were ready and willing, but there was no leader forthcoming. In the mean time, the House of Commons declared for the bill, and threatened the still stronger measure of stopping the supplies, several of which remained to be voted. So far as the legislature was concerned, the machine was stopped. The utter hopelessness of any change from a dissolution of parliament was apparent from the temper of the people. In every quarter, meetings had been held, and proceedings were taken to organize a steady and practical resistance to the duke's power. There was no mobbing or breaking of windows; but there was an evident determination to meet the crisis, by refusing, for the present, the payment of taxes, and by every means of lawful resistance.

The exasperation of the people was redoubled on hearing that the national liberties were about to be entrusted to the hands of the man, however noble and gallant in other respects, who had declared all public meetings a farce—and who now, to complete the climax of his political iniquities, was ready to carry a measure which he had himself characterized by the most opprobrious epithets. Loud and emphatic was the declaration from all quarters, that they would not receive even their rights from such a polluted source. A feverish rage and jealousy burned hotter every hour—public credit was shaken. A great number of the small fundholders sold out, and a run for gold was made on the Bank of England. Orders for remittances in gold began to pour in from the country bankers. It is said that during three days upwards of a million and a half was paid in gold at the Bank; a large portion, in sums from £20 to £100! A deputation from the Bank is said to have waited upon the King, for the purpose of requesting an order in council to suspend cash payments, and grant an amnesty. The effect on trade was like that of a stroke of the palsy on the human body. Disturbance, if not revolution, being dreaded, confidence and credit shrunk up like the sensitive plant. Speculation was at an end; no more business was done than was absolutely needful to supply the wants of the nation. Half-completed bargains were broken off by the purchasing party. Markets which



were proceeding when the news arrived, were suddenly stopped. Manufacturers declined buying the raw material of their goods, and many stopped manufacturing : retail dealers bought only as much as they needed for the supply of their pressing wants. In London, mercantile transactions were brought to a stand. If an earthquake had shattered the city, there could scarcely have been a more general suspension of business. Had the cause continued, the effects would doubtless have been dreadful, even if no sudden revolt had brought matters to the decision of the sword.

But it is now high time to turn our attention to the proceedings in the House of Commons, which were too replete with interest to be passed over in this narrative. The debate which took place on Tuesday, May the 15th, the day previous to the recall of ministers, can never be forgotten ; and the speeches of Lords Ebrington and Milton, Mr. T. Duncombe and Mr. Macauley, Sir Thomas Denman, and Sir Francis Burdett, in particular, will long continue to interest the public by the boldness of their invective, and their spirit-stirring declamation.

The debate was opened by Lord Ebrington, who said he was anxious, after the report which had gained such general ground, and which had produced a general excitement throughout the country, superior to any which had ever before agitated it, and which had also excited universal consternation, (loud cheers,) he was anxious to ascertain the truth or falsehood of a report that his grace the Duke of Wellington had again taken office, on the pledge of carrying the reform bill, or at least its principal provisions ; and hoped that some of the friends of the illustrious duke, who were in his confidence, would satisfy the house on this momentous subject. After a few more pointed remarks, Sir Henry Hardinge accordingly presented himself on behalf of the Duke of Wellington : he said, when he heard the words of the noble lord, which implied that the acceptance of office by the Duke of Wellington would be an act of public immorality, he could not but protest against any such charge. He, as a friend of the Duke of Wellington, would boldly say, that there was no act of the noble duke's life which would justify any member either in making such a charge, or in throwing out even an insinuation of the kind. Upon the point in question, however, he might add, that, if his



Majesty, in consequence of advice tendered him by the late ministry, was compelled, by their voluntary resignation, to call on any of his subjects to form an administration, he should only say thus much, that the Duke of Wellington in that case would act, as he ever had done, the part of a loyal and devoted subject.

Lord Milton said, it must gratify the house to learn from such a source, that the Duke of Wellington was incapable of an act of political immorality. Sir Henry, however, had mistaken what Lord Ebrington said. What Lord Ebrington had said was, that if the Duke of Wellington, after the speeches he had made, and the protest he had written, could consent to occupy office on the condition of carrying a bill which he had characterized as revolutionary, then the noble duke would be guilty of public immorality. This was a charge which no man, not even Sir Henry Hardinge, could deny. Lord Milton then remarked on the pretext of loyalty proffered by Sir Henry. That gallant officer had said, that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington would be that of a loyal and devoted subject. Lord Milton hoped that loyalty was not to be construed to mean a subservience to the caprices of any man. If Sir Henry would say that there was any individual in the kingdom, however high in station, who ought to have the power to call on any man under the name of loyalty, to sacrifice his own sincere and recorded opinions, Lord Milton would tell him, that not only would such a power be incompatible with the existence of any thing like honest freedom of opinion, but would totally destroy that responsibility of the ministers of the crown, which the constitution had imposed upon them for its own preservation.

Mr. Alexander Baring then came forward, to give what he called the true state of the case: "It was not that his Majesty had dismissed his ministers, but that his ministers had renounced the service of his Majesty," (loud laughter, and cries of hear,) "that was the state of the question, and upon that, as the sneer of the honourable gentlemen opposite intimated, there would undoubtedly arise another question—whether the resignation of ministers was their own fault, or that of his Majesty. It would, however, be more conformable with the practice of that house, and the principles of the constitution, not to speak of his Majesty as having committed a fault, but to attribute the fault, if fault it be, to the influence which some phantom adviser might be supposed to have



over his Majesty's mind. Such being simply the state of the question before the country, he would ask honourable gentlemen to consider whether it was generous or fair towards the crown, to be irritating the country from one end to the other, before the crown was in a position to make an answer to the accusations brought against it. He acquitted ministers of having employed any irritating or indecorous language, and counselled equal moderation to their friends.

Lord Althorp concurred in opinion with Mr. Baring that the country ought to suspend its judgment until the King had a responsible servant through whom to communicate with the house. He defended lords Ebrington and Milton's line of argument, and expressed his gratification at hearing from Mr. Baring, that, in his opinion, a large measure of reform was necessary. It was, therefore, no small satisfaction to him to know, that though it might not fall to the lot of himself and his colleagues to carry the reform bill as ministers, yet they had done this service to their country—they had by their labours and exertions secured the passing of a measure of reform, and of extensive reform too. The honourable gentleman had said—and said most truly, for, from hearsay, Lord Althorp could confirm the statement—that many months ago he was of opinion that it was necessary to carry an extensive measure of reform. He had been aware that the honourable gentleman entertained that opinion, though it would undoubtedly have been extremely difficult to have made the discovery from the honourable gentleman's votes or speeches in that house." (*Cheers and laughter.*)

Mr. T. Duncombe, member for Hertford, then addressed the house to the following effect.

"Within these few minutes, I have heard that a declaration has been just made in another place, by Lord Carnarvon, that the new administration is for accepting some of the minor parts of the reform bill, and that it has been postponed until Thursday, in order that it may then be taken into consideration by the other house of parliament. We know that the Duke of Wellington was appointed on Saturday last. We know also what was his first act—his first act was to insult the people of Birmingham. He sent back their petition, and refused to lay it at the foot of the throne, on the idle pretext that he knew of no such body as that from which it emanated. We are now to understand that the administration has been formed; and as the bill is to be taken into consideration on Thursday, I suppose that the next we shall hear will be that public principles, like public meetings, are 'a farce.' If the Duke of Wellington did not mean to pursue the reform bill, instead of postponing it until Thursday, the motion would have been to discharge the order for taking it into consideration. Where he has found ministers to fill his



cabinet, I know not ; but we all know who was the noble and learned individual first employed to compound the administration ; and we now find that that administration is about to adopt the very bill which it denounced only a few hours ago as revolutionary. I cannot say that the measure has fallen into hands more worthy of it, or more worthy of the task of passing it. I do not deny the noble lord's (Lyndhurst's) learning or talents, but his whole life has been one scene of political prostitution and apostacy. Again I say, of what materials the administration will be formed, it is impossible yet to guess ; but if it is to be composed of the opponents of the reform bill, their principles must be, like certain vehicles, set upon crane-necked carriages, the advantage of which is, that they turn round in the smallest possible space. In such a vehicle must the Duke of Wellington go down to the House of Lords. What will be the beasts that draw him, who the charioteer that drives him, or who the pensioned lacqueys that stand behind him, I know not ; but this I know, that, under such circumstances, I would rather be the tailor that turns his coat, than the Duke of Wellington with all his glories. But if the temporal lords have no consciences to be consulted, what is to become of the spiritual peers ? Are the bishops to be hung upon crane-necked carriages too ? Are they of a sudden to fling up their mitres, and halloo for 'the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill ?' One of these right reverend prelates made a most solemn appeal to the house upon the subject ; and as it has since been published from authority in the shape of a pamphlet, I may be excused for quoting a passage from it : it was a speech delivered on the question, that the reform bill be read a second time—'My lords,' said the bishop, 'but one thing is right, and one thing only—to walk uprightly ; that is in your own power. As for the consequences, they are in the power of God. Will you distrust that power ? My lords, you will not.' I say to the House of Peers—'My lords, you will distrust that power,' unless the Duke of Wellington and place are your God. The honourable member for Thetford has talked about the creation of peers—forsooth that it would degrade the House of Lords ; but this base violation of public principle, this base violation of public protest, will do more to degrade the House of Lords than the creation of a hundred peers."

Some interruption was occasioned here by Sir Henry Hardinge's rising to demand an explanation from Mr. Duncombe. The speaker suggested, that Mr. Duncombe should be allowed to proceed ; and Sir Henry, who made a second attempt, was drowned with cries of "Spoke!"—

"I repeat, that if the House of Lords be guilty of the base violation of public principle and recorded protest, it will do more to lower them in the estimation of the people of England, than the creation of a hundred peers. I agree also with the right reverend prelate I have already quoted, in another sentiment contained in his speech, where he says of the lords—and let that house look to it—'My lords, if this house shall ever fall from its palmy state, it will fall by corruption from within. It will fall by folly or by guilt—by the cowardice or treachery of some, if there shall be any such, of its own degenerate members.' I say, that they cannot be so degenerate ; I do not believe that there are any such ; that they will so grossly violate the pledges they have given in the face of God and their country. But we are told, by the honourable member for Thetford, that the Duke of Wellington has, at last, heard the imperious call of the people for reform ; that the voices raised at those 'farces'—public meetings—have at length reached him ; and that the Duke of Wellington means to give us reform. Reform from the Duke of Wellington ! reform from the Tories ! We are to be taught reform by these honourable and right honourable apostates !" The people are to learn the value of reform, as Dean Swift tells us the ancients learnt how to prune their vines ; they found that when asses had browsed upon them, they throve



more vigorously, and produced better fruit; so in this case, because the Tories have, at last, nibbled at reform, it is to thrive more vigorously, and to produce better fruit. I say, that what comes from so polluted a source must be corrupt, and that we ought never to distrust the Tories more than when they affect to be liberal. But if this administration be formed, what, I want to know, are they to do with this house? Will they dissolve the parliament, which the King called, in order that it might speak the sense of the people? It has been said that we have connected the King's name with reform. Let me ask the honourable member for Thetford, this: Will dissolving the parliament separate the King's name from reform? will dissolving the parliament separate the names of other members of the royal family from reform? I will give the house the titles of some of those members—the illustrious Cumberland, and the sapient Gloucester”—

On this mention of their royal highnesses, Sir Henry Hardinge again rose, and the speaker also interposed. Mr. Duncombe apologized, and proceeded—

“If the new ministry should venture to dissolve the parliament, they may depend upon it they will not better their situation; and the inevitable result will be their defeat, disgrace, and dishonour. You may reject the petitions of Political Unions, but it will be in vain: the people will and ought to be heard. On Saturday I heard that the petition of the Birmingham Union had been sent back. I have never yet belonged to any of those bodies; but the moment I learned that fact, I enrolled my name. You may talk as you please about putting down Political Unions; I should like to see the question tried, whether Political Unions can be put down. I maintain that you cannot put them down but by granting reform. A Political Union is quite as legal and constitutional a body as that political union known by the name of the Cumberland or Conservative club. I shall trouble the house at present no farther; but in sitting down I think it right to say, that I shall oppose and defeat the new administration by all the means the forms of this house allow. Out of doors, I shall adopt every possible constitutional measure to resist and embarrass them—by agitation, if you like to call it so, or in any other way, until I see those who have been the prime movers of this base outrage upon the nation's feelings hurled from their lofty station, and biting the very dust of reform, amid the curses of an insulted people, and the execration of an indignant parliament.”

The debate now became general, and in the highest degree animated. Mr. Beaumont and Mr. Macauley took the same side as the last speaker; while Sir George Murray and Sir Henry Hardinge defended the Duke. Lord John Russell replied to them with great ability, and, having spoken at considerable length, thus concluded:

“Whether the Bill should be passed by Whig, Tory, or Radical—come from what party soever it might—it would be a great and permanent blessing to the country, by securing to the people good government: but after having passed the Bill, he declared now, once for all, that never for a single moment would he give his confidence to men whom he thought would stand publicly dishonoured to the latest posterity.”

Mr. Alderman Waithman declared that it was impossible to conceive of more shameless apostacy than that of which the Duke of Wellington appeared to be guilty. And even Sir Robert Inglis said, that—



“If the Duke of Wellington accepted place with the intention of giving his sanction to Reform, he was doing that which was wrong, and vastly out of keeping with all his former declarations on the subject. He would not take upon himself to say what might be the motive—whether it was ambition, or whether it was any thing else; but be it what it might, he thought that there were no considerations which, under such circumstances, could justify the noble duke in taking office; for it was impossible that there could be any doubts as to his sentiments, after the protest and the speeches which he had made upon this subject.”

Sir Robert Peel, and Sir Edward Sugden each addressed the honourable house, making their apology for declining to take office under the illustrious Duke; on which—

Sir Thomas Denman rose to reply to Mr. Baring, whom he designated “the phantom defender of an uprising government—the white lady of a political Avenir.” (A laugh.) After repeated interruptions from Mr. Baring, in which the latter declared that he had nothing to do with the new government, and that he had no authority to speak there for any body but himself, Sir Thomas thus proceeded—

“The house had understood the honourable member for Thetford to be so kind as to inform it that he had no connexion with the administration now forming, but that the Duke of Wellington had. The honourable member might be high authority: but if he was, he was a high self-constituted authority, who imputed to others sentiments which they never uttered—who read lectures upon good faith (great ministerial cheering)—upon honour—and upon common decency—to that house; and who addressed them to two noble lords, who wanted them the least of all men in that house; volunteering these lectures too, not as the representative of a phantom government, but as the representative of some future substantial government. He could not help congratulating the house on the benignant manager which it would have in the honourable gentleman. He could not help offering to the honourable gentleman his grateful thanks for the great kindness with which he had treated him (Sir T. Denman) the other day in his absence. He had been told that during his absence one of his friends had called the honourable member for Thetford to account for having spoken of him as a mob-courting Attorney-General, and that the answer given by the honourable member was this—“If I did call him the mob-courting Attorney-General, it was a long time ago, and therefore I am not bound to explain that phrase now.” Admitting that excuse to be valid, he had still another point to settle with that honourable member. He had been told, or he had read, or he had heard something uttered by the honourable member, to this effect—that though atrocious libels had lately been published regarding the Queen, and other members of the Royal Family, there was no Attorney-General to prosecute them. Now, this charge was made in consequence of an article which appeared in a newspaper on the day before that on which the Attorney-General sent in his resignation. He asked whether, under such circumstances, the proceeding of the honourable member was generous—nay more, whether it was just? Was the imputation which he had cast upon the Attorney-General one which he was justified in casting? He had no doubt that those somebodies, whom nobody knew, and who were busy somewhere, but nobody knew where, (a laugh,) had made the most of that imputation. He was ready, whenever he should be called on in a distinct and manly way, to defend his conduct against all comers; but on this occasion, he would confine him-



self to saying, that if he had been called upon to gratify one of the somebodies by such a prosecution as the honourable member for Thetford approved, he was convinced that he should have done no good to the crown, but, on the contrary, should have placed it in a perilous condition. What man, besides the honourable member for Thetford, was ignorant that the execution of the libel law rested entirely upon public opinion, and that any unfortunate interference with the press would have recoiled upon the heads of those for whose benefit it was made? But twice before had the honourable member for Thetford designated him as an individual incapable of serving the Crown as Attorney-General, because, forsooth, he was the representative of a popular place, and was known to entertain popular sentiments. He had taken the liberty of asking the honourable member in private, whether, when the special commission went down into Hampshire, there was any betrayal of duty to be discovered in his conduct as Attorney-general; and the answer which he had received from the honourable member on that occasion was both kind and courteous. He was therefore surprised to hear the honourable member that evening quoting placards which had appeared in the streets—reading extracts from speeches which had been made at public meetings—dilating on various other things which had recently appeared, and which must always be expected to appear in times of great public excitement, and concluding all his readings and all his quotations by charging him with having allowed them to pass unpunished, when he did not even know of their existence, adopting that vulgar opinion, that an Attorney-General and a libel could not exist at the same time. For the last fourteen months, the honourable member had daily been exercising his powers of sarcasm, and improving his talent for dark hints and secret inuendos: he would no doubt become more powerful in sarcasm, and more artful in insinuation, when he had qualified himself by the acceptance of office for the management of that house. Still he (Sir T. Denman) would at all times protest against the unfairness of the honourable member's proceedings. The noble lord who introduced this motion, had introduced it without any reference to the King, or to the new government now forming, and yet the honourable member for Thetford had thought proper to say, "Don't force the Crown into this discussion, when the Crown has no one here to represent it." Why, this was a little too bad. It was nobody but the nonourable member himself, who had introduced the Crown into this discussion; and for any mischief that might arise from that introduction, the honourable member, and no one else, was answerable. It was very convenient for those who were forming an administration to say, "Do not attack the administration, while it is yet unformed." But that was not all that the honourable member for Thetford said, for he went on to observe—"You have informed the people that there has not been fair dealing between the Crown and the administration,"—you have stated "that the Crown had acted not honestly, but treacherously, by it." Now, into that question he would not enter at all at present; for what had the question of whether the Crown had or had not given a promise to the late administration, to do with the question respecting the formation of a new administration? The honourable member well knew that these two questions had little or nothing in common; and yet he had joined them together in the same artful and insidious way in which he had strung together several of his sarcasms.

The honourable and learned gentleman then proceeded to make some comment on the conduct pursued by the heads of the church during the discussions on the bill. When the rotten boroughs bound themselves to the church, he thought them wise in their generation: but now that the church was binding itself up with the rotten boroughs, he more than doubted the wisdom of its conduct. With regard to the new administration, he would not say much, as it was still in a state of generation. The sooner it was generated, the sooner would the suspense of the country be ended, and the better would it be for all the interests which were bound up with that country.



We were at present in the situation of the philosopher, who asked the Indian on what it was that the world rested. The Indian replied, on a large elephant. The answer would be the same now if we were to ask on what the phantom government rested; we should be told, that "the government, like the world, rested on a large elephant;" and, if questioned further as to what the elephant itself rested upon, should be told that "it was on some gigantic rat." He was happy to have had this opportunity of replying to the attacks which had been made upon him in his absence by the honourable member for Thetford, and which, he must say, were neither candid nor parliamentary. On the public measure now under discussion, he would only say, that he went fully along with his honourable friends, who had expressed a hope that the country would not disgrace itself, nor mar its prospects by turbulence or violence. He hoped that the people would give no excuse to those who were anxious to exhibit the sword, which, if once exhibited, might not so easily be replaced in its sheath. He was sure that there was not a single member of the late administration who would not willingly forego all future hopes of place, for the satisfaction of seeing the reform bill carried through parliament in an unimpaired and un mutilated form. An honourable member had said that the reform bill would be carried, even though the King's name should now be given to the anti-reformers. He was sorry to hear that observation made, for hitherto it had always been his hope that the King's name would have gone down to posterity in company with this great healing measure, of which the necessity is now admitted on all hands. He would not enter into the mere personal considerations of those who were to form the government destined to carry it. If he were to die that minute, he would say to the house, "Care not for the men, but care for the measure, and benefit yourselves and your country by passing this bill of reform." Yes, if the House of Lords would only pass this bill, he would never consider who the ministers were that conducted it to a successful issue. The bill itself was what the house had to look to, and what they must support, in whatever hands it might be. He could not conclude without making one observation on what was called the light and trifling nature of the amendment moved in the other house of parliament, and on which it was said that a defeat ought not to have induced ministers to resign. Now, first of all—was the question raised by that amendment, a question of their seeking? Next, was it not avowed by the waverers, that a defeat on that question was a piece of mortification which it was useful that ministers should suffer, as a check to the exultation which they had displayed in consequence of carrying the second reading of the bill? Lastly, was it not also avowed that this punishment was to be inflicted more than once upon them, to make them feel the advantage which they derived from such hollow support? Under such circumstances, what could they do but resign? There was no difference in the circumstances of the country since the noble duke signed his celebrated protest against the bill, and the present moment when he was preparing to pass it. What, then, could have led him to a change of such unexampled extent and rapidity, that language was too weak to describe it? For his own part, he was above the affectation of being indifferent to the emoluments of office—"Quis negat hæc esse utilia?" but he would gladly resign them all, and with them the anxieties of office, which were great enough, even though an Attorney-General and a libel were to exist together, provided he could see the success of this bill, which, when passed into law, would, he had no doubt, render us the most free, the most happy, and the most contented nation on the face of the globe." (Cheers.)

On the question that the London petition (which gave rise to the preceding debate) be brought up, Lord Ebrington replied to Sir Henry Hardinge and Mr. Baring—



"The noble duke's friends are under a mistake, if they suppose that there is any thing in his great name, in his high situation, or even in his eminent services—which no one is more ready gratefully to acknowledge than myself—I say the noble duke's friends are much mistaken if they suppose that there is any thing in these circumstances which can screen his character as a public man, from undergoing the same investigation, from being subject to the same discussion, from being judged on the same principles, and from being decided upon on the same grounds, with those of every other public man in this country. Sir, it is with this freedom and in this manner that I shall always assert my right as an independent member of parliament. I trust that I shall always do so with the respect that is due to this House, and in language becoming myself as a gentleman; and, indeed, I trust that I am not in the habit of bringing any charge against my political opponents in any other language, notwithstanding what Mr. Baring has been pleased to lay to my charge. That honourable gentleman has thought proper to read me a lesson with respect to my supposed want of common decency, for such, I think, were the words that he presumed to apply to me. Sir, I will not bandy with him; but he must allow me to say, that if there is any one in this house to whom I should be disposed to apply such language, it would be to him—rising this night, as he has done, to make a tardy defence of political inconsistency on the part of himself or others, when I have heard him, time after time, in this house, raking up speeches made ten and twenty years ago, and extracts from pamphlets; and, on the strength of these, applying to my noble friend, Lord John Russell, terms of vituperation, which, until this Reform Bill was introduced, I never heard applied by anybody, in the greatest heat of political party, to any minister of the Crown."

Lord Ebrington proceeded—

"Gentlemen seem this evening to have argued as if there was no alternative to be adopted by the noble duke, except either admitting a forced creation of peers by the King, or accepting the government of the country, and dragging the lords to the passing of the bill. But, Sir, is there no third course? Is it absolutely necessary that those who have so deeply pledged themselves against the bill should now be compelled to eat their words? (*Hear, hear!*) I wish that the right honourable baronet, or any person not liable to any imputations, would shew how it can be settled. If the noble duke himself could stand up, and say that the impossibility he finds to conduct the affairs of the country would make him use all his influence among his friends to pass the measure, he would succeed, no doubt, in putting an end to further discussion. I will not say when that should be done, or when it would come too late. If a course of that description had been adopted within the last few days, even within the last forty-eight hours, much peril would have been avoided in the country. The character of the noble duke would have stood a great deal higher, and he would have entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the country. At the same time, the character and conduct of the House of Lords would not be subject, as under other circumstances they would, to lasting execration."

Mr. Baring, in a second speech, defended himself and the Duke of Wellington. He stated, on the authority of a noble Lord, (whom he did not name,) that so secure was schedule A, that not twenty peers would have voted against its retention; and that if ministers had waited for forty-eight hours, they would have discovered this. He came at length to the concluding part of Lord Ebrington's speech—



"The noble lord says, or at least his words, I think, bear that construction, that he should be glad if any thing could be done to give an approach even to such a proposal ; and that if the peers would vote schedule A, that might induce the ministers of the crown to relax in their determination, and not to advise that which they only thought a less evil than not risking the measure. I should think myself, that if Lord Grey goes back to the King, stating his unwillingness to employ those means which he had already admitted he entertained a great repugnance to perform, and stating that he expected, with great probability, that the lords would not differ from him, except as to the details of the bill—if Lord Grey would so state to the King, I see no difficulty in the ministers again taking their places. I do not see any objection to this."

He thought it would be most unfortunate for the country, should the present ministers quit office ; for if the Bill passed, and if less good accrued from it than was expected, the popular notion would be, that if the ministry that projected had carried it, the disappointment would not have happened.

Sir F. BURDETT said, that what had fallen from the hon. gentleman who had recently addressed the house was given in a manner which imparted to it a greater degree of weight than would, perhaps, be attached to it under ordinary circumstances. No person could feel more sensibly than he did the unpleasant circumstances in which ministers were at present placed. After what had occurred, it was impossible for them to retain their situations, even for a moment ; and every one who had heretofore spoken had laid great stress on that point. Certainly no duty was more incumbent on them than that of preserving their character and their honour. He, for one, entertained no doubt of the fair intentions which the King bore towards the public ; and though His Majesty might feel himself placed in circumstances of extreme difficulty,—in circumstances much to be deplored,—still he was convinced that His Majesty felt himself bound—those peculiar circumstances having unfortunately arisen—to pursue the course which he had adopted. Further, he would say, that he had no doubt that His Majesty felt, though his ministers had resigned, that they had done no act of which he ought to complain. It was useless to discuss whether the adoption of the proposed measure would be beneficial or injurious. The public mind was decided on the subject ; and he thought that every gentleman must have come to this conclusion, that, under the present circumstances of the country, the passing of the measure had become inevitable. Therefore it was their imperative duty, as honest men towards the country, and as loyal men towards the King, to pursue such a course as appeared most likely to conciliate all parties. (Cheers.) The hon. gentleman who had just sat down, had expatiated on this point with that sort of feeling which was calculated to operate strongly on the public mind. No person could for a moment imagine that his Majesty did not wish to do good to his people. His Majesty could have no private views—no private feelings to gratify. Ever since he had ascended the throne, no proposition had been brought before him, with respect to which he did not say to his ministers, "Do what seems fitting for the public service ; do not look to my convenience : I am well convinced, that whatever is good for the people, will also be found good for myself." Now, it would be harsh indeed, if one so fond of his people,—if one so friendly to public liberty,—if one whose many acts of beneficence were before the country,—should, by any misunderstanding, be deprived of the affections of his subjects. The hon. member for Thetford had stated, almost in terms, that the Duke of Wellington ought to come into power,



in the present, as he called it, great dilemma, for the purpose of preserving the public from a mighty danger. Now, he would contend that all danger might be prevented by adopting a different plan; and he would say, that had it not been for a low, and factious, and intriguing party, who opposed the just course of events, which was in happy progress, the present unfortunate crisis never would have arisen. When it was said that the bill was not objected to on great points, but that the opposition arose upon trivial matters, then he would say, that those who cavilled about those trivial points acted, to say the least, unwisely. Under such circumstances, what could a minister, a man of high character, do? He was bound to preserve his own character and his own honour. Indeed, the first duty of a public man was, not to risk his character or his fair fame. With this impression on his mind, he would say, that it was utterly impossible for Lord Grey, as a man of high feeling, and of high honour, to have submitted to the recent vote of the House of Lords. But what should they say of the factious band in the House of Lords, who, by their votes, had risked all those alarming consequences to which many gentlemen had alluded? (Cries of "Hear," and "Order!") They must be, he would assert, the most blind and factious set of persons that ever lived; they appeared to be willing to risk every thing—to risk the peace of the nation, for the purpose of securing that peculiar species of power and of privilege which belonged to themselves only. When the hon. gentleman opposite said that the matter on which the House of Lords dissented was a mere trifle—did he not recollect that it was a refusal to adopt schedule A? The hon. member said that the opposing party in the House of Lords were willing to grant schedule A. But how was this proved? Why, their motion and their vote proved the very contrary. Even the hon. baronet over the way must admit that the point which was then debated was one of great importance, and that in fact it constituted the main feature and principle of the bill. All this difficulty could have been easily avoided. The Duke of Wellington had, however, concurred in the vote, on the occasion to which he alluded; and he knew not how he could make it satisfactory to his mind, after having been instrumental in bringing the country to the state in which it now was, to turn round, and come to this tardy conclusion, that at length he found out that the measure was necessary. There was, in such conduct, a want of foresight, which shewed that the noble duke ought not to be called on to direct the affairs of the country in a crisis so difficult as the present. If the noble duke were prime minister of this country, it would not be sufficient to say that he would pass this reform bill. The public would require more. There must be an investigation of all the circumstances which occurred before he took office, and he must be responsible for the conduct pursued by his Majesty. (Cheers.) His Majesty could take no step unadvisedly. He might select a new minister; but so soon as that minister was appointed, he was responsible for the advice under which his Majesty acted. As to the bill, the proper way to begin was with schedule "A." That was the plain and evident course of proceeding. A different line of conduct had been adopted. If what had been said by the noble lord below him were correct, then all this inconvenience, all this excitation, might have been avoided. If it were true that the lords meant to pass the bill, might not those who had expressed themselves hostile to it withdraw their opposition? No change need then take place; the public would be satisfied, and the tranquillity and safety of the country would be preserved. (Cheers.) He had formerly maintained, and his opinion remained unaltered, that the old prerogative of the Crown, for issuing writs for places of growing importance, and for refusing to issue them for places which had become insignificant, was a most useful and necessary one. If that prerogative had been properly exercised, the House of Commons would never have been in the state in which it at present



was. Learned gentlemen, he knew, had declared this doctrine to be illegal, and select committees of that house had come to the same conclusion; but where, he would ask, was the same statute, where was the law, which took away that power from his Majesty? Well then, when a measure of great importance was introduced,—a measure called for by the people in a manner that could not be mistaken,—if the House of Lords, unmindful of the salvation of the country, repudiated that measure; could any one doubt that the Crown had a right to resume the power to which he had adverted? He now came to a point of painful importance; he alluded to the extraordinary circumstances of a judge—a person holding a high situation in the country—standing foremost as a criminal judge, being suddenly converted into a decided politician. (Hear.) For his own part, he should suppose a judge to be a very reserved sort of person,—a character cut off from party feuds, and from party feelings; but here was a noble lord who acted upon a principle completely different. He would suppose a stranger to enter his lordship's court, and to find him giving his decisions calmly and dispassionately. How much surprised would that stranger be, if, immediately afterwards, he entered the House of Lords, and found the same individual heading a violent and virulent faction. (Loud cries of "Order.")

Lord STORMONT rose to order. The terms which the hon. baronet had used, when speaking of the other branch of the legislature, were, he contended, most unparliamentary. The hon. baronet was not justified, in speaking of the House of Lords, to apply to a portion of it the phrase, "a violent faction." He appealed to the speaker, whether it was decorous or orderly to make use of such language when speaking of the other house of parliament? If they themselves wished to preserve the inviolability of their own rights, they ought certainly to respect the rights of the other branch of the legislature.

The SPEAKER said, that to accuse any party in that house of being factious, would unquestionably be a breach of order; and it was evident that that which would be disorderly in speaking of the members of the House of Commons, must be disorderly when applied to members of the House of Lords.

Sir F. BURDETT said, he knew very well that in strictness he had no right to allude to the House of Lords at all; but in the heat of debate, they were subject to those sort of maladies, (a laugh,) if so he might express himself, and he did not think it wrong, when touching on this subject, to use the word "faction."

The SPEAKER observed, that though strong expressions might escape from honourable members in the heat of debate, they did not cease on that account to be irregular. The word "faction" certainly ought not to have been applied as the honourable baronet had applied it.

Sir F. BURDETT proceeded to observe, that what he had been speaking of was the conduct of certain persons holding very high situations. He was talking of the intrigues (amongst other misfortunes by which the country was afflicted) which some of those individuals were at present carrying on. There was one person amongst them, who ought, in his opinion, to be free from such transactions altogether—who ought wholly to dis sever himself from politics. He much regretted that a criminal judge, an individual of high station in this country, should assume the character of an opposition leader. He appeared as the maker and unmaker of cabinets—he was one whom they saw every where—and who, as it seemed to him, had, under his judge's robe, a harlequin's jacket. In short, he was

"A man so various that he seem'd to be  
Not one, but all mankind's epitome."

("Hear, hear," and laughter.)



This individual, in consequence of his exertions, expected to be raised to a very exalted situation. The conduct of this personage was a matter to be greatly deplored. He knew not what administration they were to have. At present there was a sort of miscreated being, but half produced (laughter,) which they could not view as an administration. If any thing unpleasant happened in the country, he knew not to whom the King could apply for advice. He knew not who could give the necessary orders in the case of any sudden emergency. Such was the consequence of the rejection of the bill. Those miners, however, who had effected that object, had been blown up by their own mine. Those unskilful gunners had been destroyed by the explosion of their own petard. Thus it sometimes happened, that when Heaven vouchsafed to listen to the prayers of mortals, they were undone, in consequence of their petition being assented to. But how was the King to be released from his present most uncomfortable situation? The only mode of effecting that object, was to place the government of the country in those hands in which alone it could be placed with safety and confidence. He believed that the King had no other wish than to pass this bill. They were told that the opposing party were anxious to pass it. How that was to be brought about, he was entirely at a loss to know. He had, however, confidence in the government which yet existed,—he had a firm reliance on the feelings of the people,—he saw with pride the spirit which pervaded the public mind,—and he saw no other mode of rescuing the country from the evils which were impending, except the determination of that house to call on His Majesty to restore to his confidence those honest ministers who, without any fault on their part, had been disunited from His Majesty's councils. If this were done, he trusted the country might confidently look forward to a peaceful and equitable adjustment of all its difficulties. A noble lord had told them, that the other house meant to vote schedule A. How could the noble lord make such a statement? If any intention of that kind ever existed, it was never intimated to Earl Grey; and, in point of fact, the vote to which their lordships came was directly contrary to such an intention. What was the argument used on that occasion by the learned lord to whom he had before alluded, and who had placed himself in such an unfavourable light before the public? His argument was, "let us enfranchise first, and then see how far it is necessary to disfranchise;" thus overturning the whole system on which the bill proceeded, by leaving it in the power of those individuals to preserve the nomination boroughs. If, as had been said, his Grace of Wellington wished the bill to be carried, all he had to do was to withdraw his opposition. The constitution would then stand where it was before,—the people would be satisfied,—and the King would again be greeted with the lively thanks and the fervent gratitude of his people. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hume now rose, and said, that, under existing circumstances, he thought no greater blessing could happen to the country than an arrangement by which Lord Grey might return to office. He felt sure, if that nobleman saw a prospect of being restored to the full confidence of the King, he had the interests of the country too much at heart to stand on any idle etiquette. He, therefore, was of opinion, that the best thing they could do was to adjourn, in order to allow an opportunity for such an arrangement. Mr. Labouchere spoke to the same effect; and, after several other gentlemen had spoken, the motion for adjournment was carried.



On the following day (Tuesday) Earl Grey, having moved the adjournment of the house till Thursday, stated that he did so in consequence of having received a message from his Majesty. In the commons, on the same evening, Mr. Baring rose and stated, that the communications with the Duke of Wellington for the formation of a ministry were at an end. After having made that statement, he had no other observations to offer, but to express his ardent and sincere hope that the state of things, to the administration of which the government were about to return, would terminate in some arrangement for the benefit and peace of the country. Mr. Baring added, that he begged to correct a misapprehension which Lord Ebrington had fallen into on the previous evening, viz. that the Duke of Wellington had accepted office. He had not done so : matters had not reached that point. Lord Althorp said, that, had he not been anticipated by the honourable gentleman, he had intended to inform the house that Earl Grey had received a communication this day from his Majesty, in consequence of which he should suggest to the house the propriety of adjourning till Thursday ; which was accordingly done.

The lords were no sooner met on Thursday evening, than the Duke of Wellington rose, and proceeded to give what he called an explanation of his conduct for the last ten days. His grace's speech was extremely lengthy, and was much cheered by the peers on his own side of the house ; and on his arriving at a conclusion, in which nothing was concluded, Lord Lyndhurst rose to make *his* explanation. The speech of the honourable member for Westminster had made the noble lord very angry. He complained that he had been—

“ Slandered throughout the country by the periodical press, which now reigned paramount over the legislature and the country, and in defiance, if not with the connivance of the public authorities, flings its calumnies without respect for age, sex, or station ; I should be ashamed to belong to a government which permitted the article in the *Times* journal of this day to pass unprosecuted and unpunished ; and if I were the Attorney-General, I should consider myself guilty of misprision of treason, if I neglected to prosecute such an article as that, which I have no hesitation in pronouncing revolutionary, treasonable, and subversive of the monarchy of the state.” They, however, might wound the feelings of those allied to him by the dearest ties, and so far they were a source of pain to himself ; but, apart from the feelings of others, he held them in the utmost scorn. Not so, however, could he overlook the charge which was reported to have been brought against him in another place by an honourable baronet (Sir Francis Burdett,) the member for Westminster. Whether that charge be correctly stated or not, he had no means of ascertaining. His only knowledge of its authenticity was that furnished by its pub-



licity in the daily papers. That honourable baronet was reported to have declared, that he, in obeying the commands of his Sovereign in the manner in which he had just stated, had been 'guilty of gross dereliction of his duty as a judge.' He denied the assertion. The honourable baronet ought to know, that, as a judge, he was a member of the King's privy council, and that, by his oath as a privy councillor, he was bound to not only tender to his Majesty his best advice upon matters of public interest when called upon, but to volunteer it when he saw the safety of the throne or the welfare of the country in peril. It was plain, then, that the honourable baronet was totally ignorant of the judicial functions, when uttering the rash assertions imputed to him. There was another attack also reported to have been directed against him by a member of the House of Commons. It was made matter of censure, that, though a judge of the land, and as such the occupant of a bench which should ever be kept free from political or party contagion, he was the leader of a virulent faction in that house. He would not stay to observe upon the compliment that was paid to their lordships' dignity and integrity by the insinuation, but would appeal to those who knew him, whether any charge could be more unfounded? The fact was, that such a station as that assigned to him was foreign from his habits and inclinations—was contrary to his temperament, and very leisure. So far from aspiring to a leadership, he had not, since the accession of the noble earl to office, been a frequent attendant upon their discussions, and had not, in a single instance, taken a part in a political discussion.

He concluded—

"Reform, my lords, has triumphed; the barriers of the constitution are broken down; the waters of destruction have burst the gates of the temple, and the tempest begins to howl. Who can say where its course shall stop? Who can stay its speed? For my own part, I earnestly hope that my predictions may not be fulfilled, and that my country may not be ruined by the measure which the noble earl and his colleagues have sanctioned."

Earl Grey said, he would not by one word add to the irritation that prevailed among the peers on the opposition benches. With respect to the line of conduct they might see fit to pursue, it was for themselves to choose—

"It is for them only to determine what sacrifices of former opinions—of reiterated declarations—of recent pledges—they are prepared to make, from a sense of duty. They, I repeat, are the sole judges on this head. It is not my wish or inclination to impute to them improper motives; it is not for me to lay down any standard of duty, or to impose any rule of political consistency, or political good faith. But I cannot help expressing my surprise, that on an occasion like the present, when the house and the public expected a temperate explanation of the important proceedings in which the noble duke and the noble and learned baron have been for some days engaged, they should have indulged in violent party invective against the reform bill and ministers. Again have the trite commonplace assertions of the bill being a revolutionary measure—of its tending to destroy the constitution—been broached with all the violence of party rancour and disappointment. Again are our ears dinned with denunciations of the advice which we felt it to be our duty to offer to his Majesty; and again are we told by the noble and learned baron, that that advice, if followed, would prove fatal to the independence of the House of Lords, as well as to the monarchy. Before I enter into a more particular consideration of the charge implied by this assertion, permit me to remind the noble baron and your lordships, that there are dangers, not imaginary or hypothetical, but substantial and imminent, to this house and the monarchy, to be apprehended from proceedings at all tending to risk a



collision between the hereditary and representative branches of the constitution. The circumstances that have occurred this night, and the course taken by noble lords on a former occasion, prove that the fact of this house getting into a conflict with the House of Commons and the general sense of the country on important subjects, would alone be sufficient to expose it to dangers more imminent and greater far than any to be apprehended from the course which his Majesty's ministers may think it their duty to pursue."

He proceeded to justify his conduct in respect to reform, which he had entered on office for no other purpose than to support. He repeated what he had frequently stated on former occasions, that reform, to be satisfactory, must be extensive. The necessity of its being extensive, he thought to be sufficiently proved by the admission even of its most strenuous opponents, that no other than an extensive measure ought to be attempted. He came at length to the motion of Lord Lyndhurst on Monday sennight—

"When the bill came into committee, it was hoped that your lordships would consent to pass it without alteration in principle, and without any changes in detail which would make it impossible for me and my colleagues to consent to proceed with the measure. But on the very first clause, a motion was made which some noble lords affect to consider as of trivial importance, but which, in my opinion, proved such a disposition in its opponents, and which appeared to me so prejudicial to the bill, that it was impossible for me to go further, deluding the public with a vain expectation of success, and opening up fresh ground for irritation in every step of the committee. It was then to be considered by ministers what course they must adopt, and but two alternatives presented themselves—either at once to abandon the bill, or to recommend the Sovereign to enable the government to take such steps as would put them in a situation to carry it. We adopted the latter course, and did offer to his Majesty that advice which we deemed the exigency of the case to require—advice which the noble duke has this night arraigned so strongly. The noble duke not only censures the advice, but complains that the making of peers was used and acted on by us as a threat. My lords, I am not aware that I am liable to that imputation, nor am I aware that, when pressed and goaded for a declaration on the subject, I ever uttered a single syllable relative to it, except once, and that was to the effect that I felt as much opposed to such a measure as any man, except in a case of necessity which might justify the exercise of the royal prerogative, with a view to prevent a collision between this and the other house of parliament. In my mind, by the vote alluded to, such a case had arisen: the situation in which ministers were placed was this—we must either abandon the bill at once, or give advice to the crown in order to prevent a collision; in which I openly declare if this house shall at any time be unwise enough to commit itself, the issue will hardly be satisfactory to your lordships. The noble duke expresses his surprise that the recommendation of his Majesty in his speech from the throne, has not been attended to in this bill. The recommendation is, that the contemplated reform 'shall adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the crown, and the authority of both houses of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured.' 'Who could have thought,' says the noble duke, 'that a measure of this kind was contemplated, judging from the tenor of the speech from the throne?' The passage of the King's speech quoted was written by ministers, and related to this identical measure of reform, which I am prepared to contend does possess the qualities described in the speech—which, as I shall at any time show, goes to remove the abuses and blemishes that disfigure the constitution, to give it additional vigour in the restored confi-



dence of the people, and thus reanimate and strengthen the great body of our institutions. The measure recommended by ministers to the crown on the late division in your lordships' committee, stood on the ground of enabling us to carry in this house a bill, the rejection of which by your lordships puts us in direct opposition to the other house of parliament and the country. On these grounds, the advice we tendered to our Sovereign was absolutely required by the circumstances of the case ('Hear!'); under these circumstances it was constitutional, and I can refer the noble and learned lord to books on the constitution, in which he will find that this prerogative of creating peers was given to the crown in order to counteract the serious evils that might arise from this house placing itself in opposition to the remaining estates of the realm. My lords, but for the existence of this prerogative, your proceedings would be without control, while upon all other branches of the legislature salutary checks are imposed. The commons possess a check upon the misconduct of the crown, in its power of stopping the supplies: a check upon factious conduct in the commons, was placed in the king's power to dissolve the house. Are the lords alone to be exempt from control? My lords, should this house combine, in some purpose adverse to the crown and House of Commons, and should it be able to hold out in its determination, with no power existing to check its proceedings, then is this no longer a government of King, Lords, and Commons, but an obligarchy ruling the country."

He noticed the charge of the Duke of Wellington, that ministers had abandoned the King—

"How did our resignation differ from any other resignation of ministers? A minister tenders advice to his sovereign as to the course to be taken on an important subject of public interest; the crown rejects the advice; ministers present their resignations—for no other course lies before them, if they be honest and independent men."

After expressing his strongest sense of the kindness and condescension with which his Majesty had ever treated him and his colleagues, Lord Grey concluded—

"I do not know, that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, it is necessary for me to say more than I have said before. I have received, as I formerly stated, a communication from his Majesty since the resignation of the commission held by the noble duke for forming a new administration; but I am not prepared at this moment to state the result of that communication. All I can state—and I owe it to myself, to the country, and to your lordships, to declare it; because there ought to be no concealment by an individual situated as I am, as to his motives of conduct and views of action, in accepting or refusing office—all I can state is, that my continuance in office must depend on my conviction of my ability to carry into full effect the bill on your lordship's table, unimpaired in principle, and in all its essential details."

The cheering that followed Lord Grey's speech lasted for a considerable time after he had sat down.

Several noble lords now rose in succession to make their apology, or exonerate themselves from the imputation, of being sharers with the Duke and Lord Lyndhurst in their recent negotiations. Among these were the Earls of Mansfield, Winchilsea, and Carnarvon; the latter of whom spoke of the ministers and their plans



with great bitterness, while each of them discharged a moderate portion of bile ! As all the noble lords had thought proper to interlard their speeches with compliments to the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Mulgrave took occasion to say, that—

“Much as he had heard the conduct of the Duke of Wellington applauded, he should, on another occasion, take the opportunity of remarking upon it in a different way. If the noble duke were present, and if he attempted to defend his new opinions, he (Lord Mulgrave) would present to him his own protest ; and, in reply to the noble duke’s arguments, he would read that protest paragraph by paragraph, and see how the noble duke could escape from it. Had those noble lords who had been called upon to form an administration plainly said to his Majesty—“We see that a measure of reform must be carried—we will therefore withdraw our opposition to it,” would there, in such case, have been any thing like inconsistency on their parts in so doing ? He was glad to find, from what had fallen from the noble lords on the opposite benches, that there was not likely to be on their parts a pertinacious opposition to the measure of reform ; and if he recollected rightly the observations which had been made, it would appear the result of all that had passed was, that in a few days a measure would probably be passed, either by reformers or anti-reformers, which would tend to tranquillize the country.”

The Marquis of Salisbury rose with great heat, to defend the duke, who had just left the house—

“The statement that noble duke had made, reflected as much honour on him as it did disgrace on those pretended friends of the monarchy, who dared to insult their Sovereign, by offering him advice, which he did not scruple to pronounce highly treasonable, and one which, in other and better times, would have been instantly followed by the impeachment of those who tendered it. The time might yet come, when they would be called to the bar of the house, to answer for that advice ; but, at all events, he had the consolation of knowing that history would mark them as the destroyers of their country.”

After some more compliments to the duke from Lord Delawar, and some further deprecation of the creation of peers from Lord Roden, the order of the day for the further consideration of the bill was discharged, and the house adjourned.

In the House of Commons, on Thursday, in answer to a question put by Mr. Paget, Lord Althorp said—

“On Tuesday I stated to the house that my noble friend, Earl Grey, had received a communication from his Majesty, and it was on that ground I suggested that it would be a convenient course for the house to adjourn over to this day. Now, Sir, I am not prepared at this moment to say that any arrangements consequent upon that communication have been completed ; but I hope that I may go so far as to state, that there is a probability that a satisfactory arrangement will take place. In the mean time, I trust that the house and the country will place this much confidence in the late administration—not to suppose that we would return to office, if we should not perfectly know that we would be able to carry the reform bill, without any alteration in its essential and main principles.”



Lord Ebrington expressed his gratification at the announcement, and at the same time impressed most strongly on Lord Althorp the necessity of bringing the arrangements to a speedy conclusion.

Sir John Wrottesley took the same view. He rejoiced at the announcement, that there was a strong probability of Lord Grey returning to office; but he at the same time much regretted that that return had not yet taken place. Alluding to a petition from Wolverhampton, which he had received for presentation, Sir John said—

“In consequence of the situation of public affairs, a vast number of the petitioners and others of that town and district were thrown out of employment: and if measures were not taken to put an end to the stagnation of trade, and the want of confidence throughout the country, the people would be driven to acts which, without the excitement of the most galling distress, they would not be capable of committing.”

On the following day, Friday, May the 18th, the reinstatement of Earl Grey and his colleagues in their official departments was certified in both houses, to the inexpressible joy of the whole country. The debate in the upper house was opened by the Archbishop of York, in a very pacific speech. His grace adverted, in feeling terms, to the violent excitement which prevailed in their debate on the preceding evening—if debate it could be called—excitement, to which, in unbecoming violence he had never witnessed any thing similar during the forty years of his political life, and which he fervently hoped he should never witness again. After commenting upon the bill at some length, and expressing his approbation of the enfranchising clause which gave members to such places as Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Wakefield, &c., he proceeded to say that it was with pain and sorrow he had that morning received a letter from the mayor of York, informing him that he had found it necessary to call in the military to assist in protecting his (the archbishop's) house and property at Bishopthorpe, from a mob, which had evidently assembled for purposes of destruction, and attributing their motive to the support his grace had given to Lord Lyndhurst's motion.

The Duke of Rutland followed in a speech of considerable length, in which he eulogized the King in unmeasured terms, for the firmness and decision of character which he had manifested in a moment of the most trying difficulties to which perhaps a monarch was ever exposed, and by which he had proved himself to be a thorough-



bred son of George the Third, and a true descendant of the illustrious house of Brunswick. (*Cheers.*) In the course of his speech, the noble duke displayed his intimate acquaintance with classical literature, by a most felicitous quotation from the historian of the Jugurthine war, relative to an excitement created by the ambition of a bold demagogue, who was raised to power by what the writer called a "cupientissima plebs," and sagely concluding that their lordships could not fail to see its applicability to Earl Grey.

The noble premier then rose, and, in answer to a question put to him by the Earl of Harewood, whether ministers were to continue in office, said, "he had now the satisfaction to inform the house, that, in consequence of his Majesty's desire, graciously expressed to that effect, and in consequence of his now seeing those grounds of confident expectation of his being enabled to redeem his pledge of yesterday, not to continue in office unless he possessed an authority which might afford security for passing the reform bill unimpaired in principle, and in all its essential details—in consequence of now finding himself able to state that he had a confident expectation of being able to pass the measure, and having received his Majesty's gracious commands to that effect, he had now to announce, that ministers were to continue in office. This declaration was received with loud cheering, which having subsided, the noble earl proceeded to say, that, in common with the Archbishop of York, he felt deep regret at the irritation and excitement displayed on this subject—he lamented the factious shape which the question had assumed in recent debates, but thought he might in confidence throw it upon their lordships to say, whether he had done any thing to provoke such a spirit—nay, whether, on the preceding evening, when exposed to a series of personal attacks not usual in that house, and by no means characterized by the proper feeling necessary to be maintained between noblemen—whether all he said was not perfectly exempt from personality and violence? he concluded with proposing "that the house do resolve itself into a committee on the reform bill on Monday next." (*Cheering.*)

The house was now successively addressed from the opposition benches, by Lord Winchilsea, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Wharncliffe, and Lord Carnarvon, with only a slight interruption to their hostile declamation by a few clever defensive remarks from the Earl of Radnor.



“In charity to these noble lords,” says the editor of the Times, “we shall offer no comment on their imtemperate, inflammatory, and dangerous effusions. The Roman senate (if we may be allowed the Duke of Rutland’s parliamentary privilege of resorting to our school common-place-book,) in important conjunctions of the republic, were in the habit of assembling in ‘the temple of Concord,’ on whose altar the peers of Rome were supposed to sacrifice their factious interests and their angry passions. The nobles of our English senate, though convoked under more sacred auspices, though attended by functionaries of a more holy character than heathen priests, and though professing the language of peace and conciliation, shew that they have never approached the altar of Concord, or have never felt any of its inspiration. Judging from the defiance hurled against the people, and the violence displayed by the anti-reforming lords towards that part of their “order” which supports the popular cause, we should have thought, that on the last two evenings the British senate had been assembled in the “Temple of Furies,” rather than in that of “Concord.”

In the commons, Lord Althorp gave the same explanation as Earl Grey did in the peers; and there, of course, it was received with satisfaction by a great proportion of the members. If the desired result had not been communicated, Lord Milton was at his post to do his duty. Sir Robert Peel was the principal actor on the occasion. He seemed to exert himself, to demonstrate the truth of the proverb, “that friends are often more dangerous than enemies.” But of the conduct of the Tamworth baronet, in this instance, we have already spoken—and therefore need not enlarge.

The annunciation of Earl Grey’s return to office spread like wildfire throughout the kingdom, and every where diffused the most lively joy. Meetings were instantly convened, and addresses of congratulation drawn up, seconded, and passed, thanking the ministers for their uncompromising fidelity to the cause of the people, and approving their conduct in the most unqualified terms. So numerous were these meetings, that, to present the reader with only a bare catalogue of them, would require pages of our work; a meagre abstract must suffice.

Amongst all the meetings that have taken place, from first to last, those of *Birmingham* stand out in proud and unrivalled eminence. The last which we have to record, was that which took



place on Wednesday, and which was called together by the joyful tidings conveyed by Mr. Parkes and his honourable coadjutors, who formed the first deputation to London, that Earl Grey's recall had been determined on. "There was never witnessed," say the accounts, "on any previous occasion, so universal or extravagant a display of enthusiasm. We saw many floods of tears—tears of joy—and the heartiest interchange of gratulation. The state of the town at nine o'clock was most important; each person, early in possession of the cause of public rejoicing, was busy in imparting the grateful news. Printed placards instantly appeared, calling on the people to meet, and rally round the standard of the premier. To the honour of the town, the first move of numbers was to Harbourne, the residence of Mr. Thomas Attwood, three miles from Birmingham. Immediately near his house, and on the roads adjacent, great masses of people were in motion. At ten o'clock a large procession of music and banners proceeded from his house, Mr. Attwood riding in a carriage drawn by four horses (sent for him from Birmingham,) attended on his right in the carriage by Mr. Joseph Parkes, on his left by Mr. Boulton, and by several other of his personal friends, and his sons in the carriage and dickey. As the procession came within a mile of Birmingham, upwards of 50,000 inhabitants met them, with a forest of banners and the bands of the Union."

There is one feature in this meeting, which is more worthy of recording than either its numbers or its speeches, and to which no parallel is to be found in our history—no, not even in the religious but fanatical and fierce times of the Commonwealth and of the Covenanters. When the vast multitude had assembled at Newhall Hill, Mr. Attwood said—"My dear friends, I feel so much gratitude to Almighty God for the escape which the nation has had from a most tremendous revolution, that I cannot help wishing that our reverend friend near me would publicly return thanks to our merciful and beneficent Creator for the success of our righteous cause."

No sooner was this intimation made by the Chairman, than all hats were taken off; a solemn silence pervaded the immense assembly; and the Rev. Hugh Hutton, standing forward, offered up the following fervent petition to Him by whom kings rule and princes decree judgment—



“O Lord God Almighty, who orderest the affairs of all men, behold thy people before thee with grateful and rejoicing hearts, looking up to thee as the Author of every blessing. We thank thee for the great deliverance thou hast wrought out for us, and the great and bloodless victory which thou hast conferred. We thank thee, the God of all blessings, for delivering us from the bonds of our oppressors, and the designs of designing and bloody-minded men. Imbue, we beseech thee, the hearts of all now assembled with a spirit of Christian benevolence, so that in the hour of our triumph we may cheerfully forgive all our enemies and oppressors. Grant that we may so use and improve the great privileges thou hast conferred upon us, that we may secure them to us and our children, for thy glory, and for the universal benefit of the family of man. Accept, we beseech thee, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the thanksgivings and petitions of thy humble creatures; and to thy Name be ascribed all the glory. May thy blessing rest on the proceedings of this day, and more especially on him called to preside at this glorious meeting of emancipated and exulting freemen. May the feeling of all hearts be more united in the glorious cause in which we have engaged, and, through thy blessing, enjoy a more abundant victory!”

And fifty thousand voices responded “Amen!”

On Monday, the following declaration was unanimously agreed to by the Council of the Union—

“We, the undersigned, think it necessary, in this awful crisis of our country’s fate, to make known to our fellow-countrymen the alarm and horror with which we are impressed by the report of the Duke of Wellington’s having been placed at the head of his Majesty’s councils. We entertain this alarm and horror on the following grounds—First, the Duke of Wellington’s general avowal of arbitrary principles. Second, his speech against all reform, made only about a year and half ago. Third, his protest against the reform bill, as entered on the journals of the House of Lords, on the 17th of April last. Fourth, his reported expressions in the late parliament, amounting to those of regret that the Irish people “would not” break the law. Fifth, his being a pensioner of foreign despots; and, as such, exposed to their influence, and unfit to govern a free people. Sixth, his conduct to Marshal Ney, who was murdered by the Bourbon government, in violation of the convention of Paris, notwithstanding his appeal to the Duke of Wellington, who had signed that convention. Seventh, his general support of arbitrary power on the continent of Europe, and the certainty that his policy, if he be true to his principles, will necessarily involve the nation in unjust and ruinous wars against the liberties of Europe. Eighth, his utter incompetency to govern England by any other means than by the sword, which has never yet been, and never will be, submitted to by the British people. For these and various other reasons, we hereby solemnly declare our fixed determination to use all the means which the constitution and the law have placed at our disposal, to induce his Majesty to reject from his councils that faction, at the head of which is the Duke of Wellington, who have, by their arbitrary principles, excited the distrust and abhorrence of the whole population of the United Kingdom; and we declare our firm conviction that the public excitement and agitation can never be allayed until the great bill of reform shall be carried into law by that administration by whose wisdom and virtue it was first introduced. These are our fixed and unalterable sentiments; and we hereby appeal to all our fellow-countrymen throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, and we confidently call on them to unite with us, and to sign this our solemn declaration in support of the liberty and the happiness of our country.”



*Wolverhampton* followed with becoming spirit the example of *Birmingham*. The news of Lord Grey's resignation reached the town on Wednesday, and on Monday the meeting of reformers took place. The resolutions, with a petition to the commons and an address to Earl Grey, passed of course unanimously. Mr. R. Fryer (the chairman,) Mr. Pearson, and the Reverend J. Roaf, were appointed a deputation to carry up the address.

*Bristol* met for the second time on Monday evening; when, to the general joy, a letter was received from Mr. Protheroe, announcing the consolatory fact, that the Duke had been left alone in the glory to which he aspired, not being able to find a single person that would join his would-be ministry. The meeting consisted of the townspeople who are reformers; the Political Union, led on by Mr. Hera-path; and the reform committee, headed by Dr. Carpenter. Mr. Taunton the barrister was in the chair.

A numerous meeting took place on Monday at *Leeds*. An attempt appears to have been made by the Tories, through the medium of a barrister named Robert Hall, and the editor of the radical newspaper, Mr. Foster, to produce a split; but this respectable coalition between the Wellingtonites and the Huntites, only stimulated the honest men of Leeds to do their duty with more decision. We need not observe, that Mr. Foster's intelligence was defective on this occasion; his leader, Mr. Hunt, has expressed himself decidedly against the duke. Mr. Hall came forward to the meeting, but he was not allowed to speak; and he retired, or was driven out rather, with his coat torn from his back. This was wrong—as he appeared for the duke, his coat ought to have been *turned* only. The Leeds meeting was held in the Coloured Cloth Hall court; it is said to have consisted of at least 30,000 souls.

In *Liverpool* there was a numerous and important meeting on Monday; Lord Molyneux in the chair. The resolutions were moved, among others, by Mr. W. Currie, Colonel Williams, and Mr. Thornley, the man who ought to have been member for Liverpool instead of Lord Sandon. The meeting was held in Clayton Square, which was nearly filled. At *Manchester*, on the same day, there was a meeting important in every respect, but especially for the spirit exhibited by the operatives there.

In Scotland, a numerous and most respectable preliminary meeting of not less than 500 gentlemen met at the Waterloo Rooms,



Edinburgh, on Friday, Sir James Gibson Craig in the chair; and on Tuesday, another open-air meeting was held on the same spot as the former. This meeting is described as much larger than the first. "We cannot form a correct estimate of the number," says the Weekly Journal, a paper cautious in such matters; "but, *if 40,000 were present at the former meeting, we should suppose that not less than 60,000, or upwards, were assembled on this occasion*, as the multitude not only occupied a greater space, but seemed much more closely wedged together." This meeting took place at a moment when the universal impression in Edinburgh was, that the Duke of Wellington was again in power. Sir T. D. Lauder, baronet, presided. Mr. J. A. Murray, who presided at the last meeting, addressed the multitudes on a subject which many of his auditors could well sympathize in, for not a few of them recollect the dark times of which in England the people have but a faint idea compared with the inhabitants of Scotland—

"I do not wish to revive the remembrance of the old calamities and distresses of my country, and I would never have alluded to them, if it were not as a caution to all—to all, even the most imprudent and most unwary. Beware of such times; they may occur again; and I say, follow the wise course—follow the path of the law, and then I say you will be safe. But you ask me how? *Say nothing in private which you would not now say, as I say, in presence of thousands. Do nothing in secret, which you would not do in the open face of day.* Then, I say, you will be safe. And consider that the person who acts otherwise, and who shews violence, and who forgets the safeguard of the law, is not merely sacrificing himself, but he comes unconsciously and unwarily to be the cause of triumph to the enemies of it; he is the source of all the triumph to them, and of all the evil to you. If these cannot be the means of getting such men brought forward—and in all probability, if times grow worse, it will be attempted—they will be reduced to the necessity of hanging their own spies."

The petition agreed upon at the meeting, calling on the House of Commons to refuse the supplies, was signed, between the hours of seven and ten o'clock the same evening, by about 17,000 individuals. The meeting commenced at two o'clock, and terminated at half-past five.

The inhabitants of Dundee, to the number of ten or twelve thousand, and headed by the magistracy, met in the Magdalen Yard on Saturday; Provost Lindsay in the chair. The petition, carried by acclamation, says—

"That the people are prepared to hazard every thing, rather than submit longer to be misgoverned and oppressed by an unprincipled oligarchy;" and it prays the House of Commons "to adopt such constitutional measures, by addressing his Majesty, and should this prove of no avail, by withholding the supplies,



refusing to pass the mutiny act, or otherwise, as will render it *impossible for any set of men, professing and acting on the principles of the majority of the House of Lords*, to retain the powers of government."

The good folks of Glasgow met on Saturday, in the Green. There was an immense array of flags, most of them bordered with crape, and thirty or forty entirely black. The meeting was the largest ever assembled in that town. Sir John Maxwell, of Pollock, was in the chair. Throughout Scotland, many of the gentry have earned for themselves lasting credit, for the readiness with which they have met the people, and acted with the people. On leaving the Green, three flags, bearing the effigies of his Majesty, were burnt, and the bare poles carried home instead. The prayer of the Glasgow petition runs thus—

"May it therefore please your honourable house to withhold all supplies from the public money, till measures are adopted for securing either the reform bills in all their efficiency, or a more extensive measure of the same kind; which we earnestly submit ought to be effected by the recall of Earl Grey and his colleagues to office, of which they have proved themselves so highly worthy."

At Paisley, the inhabitants met in the open air on Saturday. In the course of the meeting, Mr. Spiers said—he put no trust in princes, and he put trust in no man who was under petticoat government. Mr. Spiers urged obedience to the laws; but if they did not get reform, he would be the first to pay his taxes "at the Cross of Renfrew;" that is, he would not pay them at all. Mr. Ritchie trusted the people of Scotland would follow the precedent of their forefathers, and join in a solemn league and covenant to abstain from all taxed articles.

Pursuant to adjournment, the peers met on Monday, May the 21st, to consider the bill in committee; and now, to adopt the words of a weekly journalist, "the victory which the energy of his countrymen and his own good sense had gained, was followed up by Earl Grey with equal moderation and firmness. The bill moved swiftly to its consummation. Many were the trials that had attended the progress of the great measure towards this long-wished-for point. Scarce had the vessel "fraught with a nation's hopes" left the harbour, when it took the ground: setting forth once more with a brisk and favourable breeze, it had completed three-fourths of its long and perilous voyage, when an adverse gale compelled it to put back: fitted out once more, its crew still as hearty, and more



prudent, it doubled the cape where it had formerly been stayed : but hardly had it struggled through this difficulty, when a sudden squall from off the land laid it on its beam-ends, and compelled its gallant navigators to take to the boats, and leave it to its fate. But the good ship was not foundered, though it was distressed. The squall soon passed away ; the sun again shone out ; the crew leaped on board once more—fresh trimmed their sails ; and now, with a smooth sea and a flowing sheet, studding-sails alow and aloft, and the haven in view, they moved onward to the great reward which is laid up for all those that plan wisely, and labour honestly and perseveringly.

“ The lords went into committee on Monday. The inverted order in which they had determined, at the suggestion of my Lord Lyndhurst, to take the schedules, was of course persevered in ; but in how different a spirit from that in which he meant they should be !—Schedule C was voted, up to the Tower Hamlets, at the first sitting. The Tower Hamlets, on which the question of the metropolitan districts depended, a question which, three little weeks ago, was the subject of so much and well-grounded solicitude,—was discussed on Tuesday, and divided upon : but, oh ! what a falling off was there ! Out of 155 barrons bold, who rallied round the chief baron of the exchequer on the 10th, only 36 answered to the whistle of the “ tame elephant ” on the 22d. On Wednesday, the faction adventured on a second division ; when the 36 dropped to 15. On Thursday night, there was, as the Stock Exchange people express themselves, a slight rally ; and on a third division they mustered 23 ! Seventy-one clauses of the bill—the whole except the first and second—are already discussed. Schedules A and B must be read over—they can hardly provoke a debate. In a very few days, therefore, the bill will have gone through that ordeal which looked so fearful at a distance, and has been found so insignificant on approaching it.

“ The ultimate causes of the change which has come over the dreams of the opposition lords, are—first, the energy of the people ; second, the exceedingly wise and dignified conduct of Earl Grey ; third, the steadiness of the House of Commons. The proximate cause was doubtless the sincere attachment of the King to reform, and the strong appeal made through his private secretary to the anti-reform peers, calling on them to forego their opposition to the



bill.\* It was this appeal, backed by his known confidence in Lord Grey, which led more than one hundred peers to withdraw on Thursday last, with the Duke of Wellington, after his weak and blustering speech, in which he shewed his equal inability to go on with boldness or to retreat with dignity. The secession was at the moment looked upon as a mere compliment to the duke; it turns out to have been a real and substantial withdrawal."

On Monday, June the 4th, Earl Grey moved the third reading of the reform bill, when, after a short speech from Lord Winchilsea, and a long one from Lord Harrowby, to both of which Earl Grey made a most spirited reply—the Lord Chancellor put the question, that the bill be read a third time; and it did not appear for some moments that the house meant to divide upon it. On Earl Grey, however, moving that the bill "do pass," Lord Roden remarked, that the third reading was not yet carried. Strangers were accordingly ordered to withdraw, and their lordships divided; when the numbers were reported—content 106—not content 22—ministerial majority 84. The whole of the 128 peers were *present*—there were no proxies. One or two verbal amendments having been made by way of rider, the bill was then passed, and ordered to the commons. The amendments were agreed to on the following day (Tuesday;) and on Thursday, June the 7th, the royal assent was given to it—by commission.

The history of the reform bills for Scotland and Ireland is easily given. The Scotch bill was brought in by the Lord Advocate on Friday, January the 20th, read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday, the 3d of February. The slow progress, however, of the English reform bill, added to a prodigious influx of other business before the house, prevented its being brought forward again until Monday, May 21st, when it was read a second time, and ordered into committee. During the discussions which arose upon it, Mr. Fyshe Palmer, the member for Reading, took

\* The following copy of Sir Herbert Taylor's letter appeared first in the *Age*. It seems to be regarded as pretty nearly correct—

"St. James's Palace, May 17, 1832.

"My dear Lord—I am honoured with his Majesty's commands to acquaint your lordship, that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the house to-night, from a sufficient number of peers, that, in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the reform bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape. I have the honour to be your's sincerely.

"HERBERT TAYLOR."



occasion to allude to the well-known cases of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, who forty years ago got transported to Botany Bay, for advocating that very measure which the British parliament was now granting. "These gentlemen had encouraged the people of Scotland to petition for their rights, and for this they were punished. Their object, to quote their own words, was—to claim for themselves a full, fair, and free representation of the people in parliament. These very words were now ringing from one end of Scotland to the other; and for using them were Muir and Palmer sent to Botany Bay. They were sentenced to be transported for using words that were now idolized throughout Scotland. They were treated as if they had been guilty of highway robbery. They were sent to the hulks; where he had visited Mr. Palmer, and found him loaded with irons, and placed amidst housebreakers, footpads, and highwaymen. These men were punished for saying that Scotland was entitled to a full and fair representation. That was forty years ago. What a change had now taken place! The actions for which men were then punished, were now idolized throughout the country. What had brought about this change? Had not persecution tried to prevent it? Banishment had been tried; every punishment had been tried; but they had not prevented the effect of those principles which were calculated to benefit society. The measure of reform was now beyond the power of man to stop it; and he was convinced that it was calculated to add to the happiness of the people." Little opposition was made to the bill in its progress through the two houses, and on Friday, August 3d, 1832, the bill received the royal assent.

The Irish reform bill was introduced by Mr. Stanley, on Thursday, January the 19th, in a plain, solid, statesman-like speech, in which he took a review of the bill in all its ramifications, and explained its various bearings. The Irish members cried out lustily for an increased number of members: but Lord Althorp was proof against their importunity. The bill advanced *pari passu* with that of Scotland, and having passed both houses, received the royal assent on the 7th of August, 1832.



SECTION XII.—*State of Ireland in 1832, and Proceedings in Parliament for its Amelioration.—Cursory Review of the State of England.*

Some little notice has been taken of the condition of Ireland, during the year 1831, in our former volume;\* but it will be proper, in this place, to resume the subject, and bring it more prominently forwards.

Ireland is an important member of the British empire, and her population is treble that of Scotland. The inhabitants speak our language, are governed by the same laws, and enjoy the blessings of the same constitution as the people on this side the channel—yet how different is their moral and social state from that of Britons! As regards the advantages of soil and climate, and whatever is calculated by nature and art to contribute to human happiness, Ireland is no way inferior to England, while it is much superior to Scotland; yet, in point of civilization and social order, what reflecting mind can contemplate it without feelings of pungent grief? Whatever may be the other latent causes that contribute to this, it cannot be denied that much is to be attributed to the ecclesiastical establishment with which its inhabitants are saddled—of which the tithe system forms an integral part. This, at any rate, constitutes the present burden of complaint, and of that we shall first treat.

It can scarcely be necessary to tell our readers, that the great mass of the Irish population are professedly Roman Catholics, in comparison of whom the Protestants, for the use of whose clergy the tithes are collected, are a mere fraction. We cannot better illustrate this point than by a short extract from a work lying on our table.

“In the diocese of Graigue, at a late census, there were, Catholics, 7441—Not Catholics, 127. Tithes, £1,600 a year, with two houses and glebes, independent of a church cess of £60 a year!

“Killaben, (same diocese,) Catholics, 5,855—Not Catholics, 326. Tithes, 1,400 a year.

“Geashill and Ballycane, (same diocese,) Catholics, 7,559—Not Catholics, 1,140. Tithes, £1,705 a year, with a glebe of ninety-one acres, besides a church cess of threepence an acre on 22,500 acres.

“Castletown, (diocese of Killaloe,) Catholics, 2,798—Not Catholics 12, Tithes, £1,081 a year, with a glebe of three acres, and a church cess of two-pence an acre on fifteen thousand acres.

\* See Life and Times of William IV., p. 672.



“Kinvarra, Catholics, 4,376—Not Catholics, 2. Tithes, £360 a year. The clergyman being paid, we suppose, for educating (query, edifying?) himself and his wife.

“Yet even this solution fails in Kilmoon—Catholics, 769—Not Catholics, —. Tithes £300 a year! and off Catholics!”

This is surely sufficient to demonstrate the badness of the system. Indeed, the main thing to be wondered at is, that it should have been tolerated so long. The people of Ireland have, during the present year, by one grand movement, brought the evil nearly to an end—they refuse to pay tithes any longer. The minds of the educated as well as the uneducated, have been roused to inquire into the nature of the impost; and the country has declared that it will no longer submit to such a heavy, unearned, contumelious load. Men who, on religious grounds, object to the payment of tithes, and men who oppose them on economical principles, have now found willing auditors. O’Connell has taught his countrymen how to vindicate their rights in a legal and constitutional manner. The consequence is, that, over, at least, one-third of Ireland,—throughout Leinster, in the western district of Ulster, and in different parts of Connaught—the people have resolved that tithe leviers may *take it if they can*. The orders to pay are not complied with, the distresses executed are not resisted, but no person will buy the distrained chattels.

The first decided opposition to the payment of tithe took place in the parish of Graigue, on the borders of Kilkenny and Carlow, in November, 1830. The subsequent progress up to the present year is beyond the limits of our retrospect. It has gone on increasing since January. In the course of February, several meetings to petition against tithes were held in the county of Carlow. There was a meeting in almost every barony of Wexford. But the spirit of resistance has spread beyond the boundaries of Leinster. The inhabitants of the parishes of Kilworth, Kilcumper, Macrony, and Leitrim, in the county of Cork, met on the 26th of February, to petition against the present oppressive system. Both Protestants and Catholics convened for a similar purpose at Atheney, and other parishes in the county of Galway, on the same day. Even the inhabitants of Pettigo, in the distant Donegal, transmitted a memorial to Government on this all-absorbing question, by the hands of the military commandant of the district. But the most imposing of all the meetings were those of Graigue,



Naas near Dublin, and the Curragh of Kildare; at each of which upwards of ten thousand men appeared.

These proceedings of the manly resident landlords and yeomanry of Ireland must not be confounded with the outrages committed under the pretext of the tithe cause. Such excesses are, perhaps, inseparable from moments of popular excitement. We hear, indeed, of hurlers, of proctors beaten, and threatening notices; but it is a great mistake to suppose that these are any more than the eruptions which attend any great change in the constitution of the body politic. So far from being the result of the system, they are directly opposed to it in spirit and practice—they may retard its success, but they can do it no good. The system now pursued by the anti-tithe payers in Ireland is the very reverse of violence—it is humble submission to the law—it is the extremity of passive obedience, but dictated by the most determined spirit of resistance. The cattle are seized—impounded—brought to auction; but a plague seems upon them—no one will bid a shilling—no one will buy them. *Tithe* had been branded on them by the owner the moment they were seized! A Roman could not shun with greater horror any thing devoted to the infernal gods, than a whole people the cattle branded with that single word. They are driven to Dublin under a guard, and there shipped for Liverpool; but their evil fame is gone before them, the obnoxious word is on them, and there, too, no buyer can be found. The consequence is, that no cattle are seized; and tithes are, therefore, apparently at an end.

On the 11th of January, the Earl of Gosford announced to government an assault committed a few days before upon some of the tithe-drivers in the parish of Croggan, county of Armagh. On Thursday, the 13th, a body of two thousand men paraded the barony of Ennisowen, in the county of Donegal, in a violent and threatening manner, and attacked the house of an individual. On the 23d, they collected in yet greater numbers at Carndonagh, and broke the windows of the lieutenant of police, exclaiming they would not pay rent, tithes, nor taxes, until O'Connell had got new laws for Ireland. A party, estimated at seven thousand men, assembled in like manner at Clonmanny on the 24th, and obliged the tithe agent, by threats, to refund what he had collected. Rockite notices were posted liberally throughout the four



provinces. Sir John Hervey, inspector-general of police for the province of Leinster, states in his evidence before the committee on tithes, that by directing the whole force of military and police which government could bring to bear upon the county of Kilkenny upon Graigue for two months incessantly, he had not been able to collect above one-third of the arrears of tithe due in that parish alone. The Rev. Hans Hamilton stated to the same committee, that the disturbed districts (meaning thereby those also in which the opposition was entirely passive) must be proclaimed, and "an overwhelming force of military and police poured in upon them, or tithes must be abandoned;" and to do the reverend gentleman justice, he seemed no way disinclined to the adoption of the first alternative!

A privy council met at the Castle on the 15th of February, consisting of one earl and one soldier, the rest clergymen and lawyers, which declared that certain districts of Kilkenny and Queen's county were in a state of disturbance, and required an extraordinary establishment of police; and this laid the foundation for Mr. Stanley to promulgate his arms-bill to a wondering senate. In the mean time, a select committee having been appointed by the lords to take into their consideration the subject of Irish tithes, their report was brought up on Thursday, March the 8th, by the Marquis of Lansdown. In recommending to their lordships certain resolutions founded on the report, the noble marquis went into a view of the facts connected with resistance to tithes in Ireland, the effects of that resistance, and the inferences arising out of both, in as far as they were connected with a legislative remedy. In proof of the systematic opposition to tithes, he read the evidence of the Rev. S. J. Roberts, and two other clergymen, which proved, not only that the resistance had spread to Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, Wicklow, Queen's County, and Kildare, but that it was rapidly extending in other parts of southern and western Ireland. The marquis cited, in corroboration of these statements, the evidence of Colonel Harvey, Mr. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Green, magistrates of Tipperary, and of Major Tandy, a magistrate of Kildare. His lordship quoted from Major Tandy's evidence an instance of the resistance:-

"At Maynooth, there were processes served upon different persons, and the process-server came to me (Major Tandy,) and told me that he received two threatening letters through the post-office, to deter him from going to May-



nooth. I told him he should have every protection. The man went there, and when the tithe case came to be called on, the attorney declined to proceed. He told me that he was afraid to proceed; that he received two threatening letters, forwarded to his house in Dublin, through the post-office, and that he went to one of the principal clergymen by whom he was employed, and shewed him those letters; and this clergyman said, 'I see your life is in danger, and therefore I will not press you to proceed upon it.' The consequence was, that this gentleman was afraid to proceed upon any of the tithe cases, and they all fell to the ground, to the number of a hundred and sixty."

Lord Lansdown proceeded to lay before the house the plans which government proposed, namely, to give relief to the suffering clergy, according to a scale laid down in the appendix to the report, allotting a larger proportion to the poorer, and a smaller proportion to the richer among them; to adopt such measures as might be necessary for the prompt and effective enforcement of the law, in order to remunerate government for the sums thus advanced to the clergy—to substitute for the present mode of paying the clergy, one which might be generally acceptable to the people. After some general observations on the tithe system, the noble marquis quoted the evidence of Archbishop Whately, to shew the impossibility of its continuing on its present footing.

"As for the continuance of the tithe system," says his grace, "it seems to me that it must be at the point of the bayonet—that it must be through a sort of chronic civil war. The ill-feelings that have so long existed against it, have been embodied in so organized a combination, that I conceive there would be continual breakings-out of resistance, which must be kept down by a continuance of very severe measures, such as the government might indeed resolve to have recourse to for once, if necessary, but would be very unwilling to resort to habitually, so as to keep the country under military government."

The same subject was taken up in the Commons, where Mr. Stanley went over much the same ground as Lord Lansdown had done; he then moved a series of resolutions, the last of which was to this effect: "That it is the opinion of this house, that with a view to secure both the interests of the church and the lasting welfare of Ireland, a permanent change of system will be required; and that such a change, to be satisfactory, must involve a complete extinction of tithes, including those belonging to lay impropriators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or an exchange for, or an investment in, land."

These resolutions elicited some very warm discussions, and ended in Mr. Stanley's bringing in a bill, but not before the beginning of July, which had for its object to commute the payment of tithes in Ireland on an agreed composition. The bill elbowed its way



through the commons, was read a third time on Monday, August the 6th, and sent up to the lords, where it passed without let or opposition—his Grace the Duke of Wellington praying their lordships to express their sense of its value by their unanimity. What wonders it is to work for the peace of Ireland, are yet in the womb of time.

It is apparent that a reform of a most searching nature impends over the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland. The opposition to the payment of tithes continues and spreads. One tithe-meeting has already been held, at which a deputy-lieutenant of a county presided. The language of the opponents of the Establishment grows daily bolder; and the final settlement of the question is left to a reformed parliament. As soon as that body meets, ministers will be obliged to declare themselves; at present they have the apology of standing between an inimical court and an uncertain parliament. We shall, at this time, only observe further on this subject, that Mr. Sadler in the Commons, and Lord Roden in the House of Peers, have both been making a parade of their favourite remedies.

Since the present administration came into office, various other measures for the relief of Ireland have been brought forward; among which are, “A Bill for consolidating and amending the laws relative to Jurors and Juries in Ireland;” and “A Bill to repeal an Act &c. entitled ‘an Act to amend the law of Ireland, respecting the Assignment and Subletting of Lands and Tenements, and to substitute other provisions in lieu thereof;” “An Act to extend the Jurisdiction of Civil Bill Courts in Ireland, from the late Irish Currency to the present Currency of the Realm;” and “An Act to enable his Majesty’s Post-master-general to extend the accommodation by post, and regulate the Privilege of Franking in Ireland.” And if to these we add the Irish Education Bill, it will appear that that part of the empire has received no small share of attention from ministers.

#### STATE OF ENGLAND.

The riotous proceedings which took place at Bristol, Nottingham, Derby, &c. towards the end of the year 1831, have been adverted to in our previous volume,\* and need not be here

\* Life and Times of William the Fourth, p. 732—742.



repeated; but the melancholy consequences which ensued could not there be narrated, and of course remain to be placed upon record.

On Monday, January the 2nd, a special commission was opened at Bristol, for the purpose of investigating the late disgraceful proceedings in that city; on which occasion, Chief Justice Tindal, Mr. Justice Bosanquet, and Mr. Justice Taunton presided. The grand jury having been impanelled, found true bills against a number of individuals who were already in custody. More than twenty were convicted, and sentenced to death; but the extreme penalty of the law was allowed to take its course on only three or four, and the rest, nineteen in number, were transported for life.

But that which more especially engaged public attention in this affair was, a court-martial held on Colonel Brereton, who had the command of a military force stationed in Bristol at the time of the riots. A preliminary court of inquiry had been held, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there appeared to exist any ground of blame on the part of the military in this instance, and the result was the putting of the commanding officer upon his trial. The charges against him were, that during a state of extraordinary tumult and insurrection he had mingled with the mob, entered into familiar conversation with them, shook hands with the ringleaders, and done all he could to persuade them to go home quietly; by which mistaken kindness he had encouraged rather than checked their outrage on the peace and order of the city. On the other hand, the Colonel contended, that he had not sufficient authority from the magistrates to fire upon the mob.

The court-martial commenced its proceedings on Monday, January the 9th; and on the morning of Friday the 13th, the unhappy gentleman despatched himself by a pistol-shot—prematurely terminating the military investigation. It had been remarked in Court, that he seemed deeply dejected by the nature of the evidence given on Thursday; but no suspicion was entertained of the effect which it seems to have had on his understanding. From the commencement of the court-martial he had taken up his residence at Reeves' Hotel, where he spent the evening of Thursday, and retired to his own house, Redfield-lodge, Lawrence Hill, a cottage on the Bath Road, about eleven o'clock, P. M. About twelve he retired to his bed-room, where, as is usual with military



men, he laid his pistols on the table. From twelve till three o'clock, the Colonel appears to have been engaged: in writing a statement which he had drawn up, it is supposed in that interval, occupied half a quire of paper. About a quarter before three o'clock, the report of a pistol-shot was heard in Colonel Brereton's room; and his valet having entered it on the alarm being given, the unfortunate gentleman was found stretched on the bed lifeless: the pistol had been pointed to his side with so true an aim, that the ball had passed directly through the heart.

Colonel Brereton was very respectably connected, and was about fifty-two years of age, thirty-three of which had been spent in the army. Though never present in any remarkable engagement, he had acquired the reputation of being a trust-worthy and meritorious officer. He served at the Cape of Good Hope during the government of Lord Charles Somerset. Appointed to the command of a regiment on the Caffre frontier, which was reported to be in a state of subordination, he was entrusted by the governor with the command of the whole frontier. The officers of his regiment presented him, through Sir Henry Torrens, with a sword valued at two hundred guineas. He had been eight years inspecting field-officer of the Bristol district. He was a widower, and left two daughters, of very tender years, to mourn the loss of a kind and tender parent. From the whole of his conduct during the riots, indeed, he appears to have been an eminently humane man; and his private life seems to have been distinguished by acts of benignity and kindness of heart. When his death was made known in the neighbourhood where he resided, his loss was generally bewailed as that of a benefactor. He has been blamed as deficient in the great military principle of decision; but it ought to be recollected, that, in his last military acts, he was surrounded by difficulties, such as probably never before surrounded a military officer; and it is equally necessary to recollect, that all the civilians who gave evidence against him, had a direct interest in his condemnation, as the only event which in public or private estimation could prevent their own.

About the same time that these affairs were transacting at Bristol, a special commission was opened at Nottingham, for the trial of a number of persons concerned in the destruction of Nottingham Castle, the burning of Burton Mill, and Colwick Hall,



&c. For the first offence, the destruction of the castle, there were no convictions; and his Grace the Duke of Newcastle has subsequently obtained from the county a verdict of twenty-one thousand pounds damages, which will enable him, if he so incline, to reinstate his mansion in more than its former glory! Of the five men who were convicted on charges of riot and incendiarism, two were reprieved, and the other three were left to undergo the extreme penalty of the law.

#### CHOLERA.

The visitation of our country by the pestilential Cholera, was particularly noticed in our former volume, p. 760—762, where the reader will find a concise, condensed, and accurate report of this frightful malady, and of its progress from the shores of the Ganges, in 1817, to the shores of Great Britain, which it reached in the month of October, 1831. Before the end of the year it found its way from Sunderland and Newcastle to the suburbs of the metropolis; and during the first three or four months of the year 1832, its ravages on the banks of the Thames, and in the borough of Southwark, were very deplorable, but in a great measure restricted to the victims of intemperance. For some weeks, it remained nearly stationary at Sunderland, Newcastle, Gateshead, and among the adjacent collieries; but in process of time it made its appearance at Haddington, Musselburgh, and other towns in Scotland, where numbers fell victims to it. Edinburgh has suffered comparatively little; but Glasgow, Paisley, and their vicinity, have been grievously assailed by it. It was some time also before it began to spread from the metropolis into the provinces, and not very considerably, until it began to abate in the former. In the month of February, the privy council issued an order, prohibiting the custom-house from granting clean bills of health; the consequence of which was, the placing of the port of London under quarantine, and thereby subjecting its commerce to restrictions which proved exceedingly injurious to the mercantile interest. A board of health was established, which made a daily report of cholera cases, with the deaths and recoveries; but which was remarkable for nothing so much as the contrariety of opinions which it elicited from gentlemen of the profession. The main points controverted were, whether the disease was contagious, or non-



contagious—whether the prevailing epidemic was the Indian cholera, or a new disease—whether it partook of the properties of the plague, or was to be regarded merely in the light of a scourge—whether the disease had been imported, or were indigenous. And on all these sage questions, the letters which filled the columns of the daily journals cannot soon be forgotten, for the specimens which they afforded of the most egregious folly which has for a century past disgraced the character of any body arrogating to itself the name of scientific. A pamphlet also appeared, under the title of the Cholera Gazette, in which cases and cures, real or pretended, were given in most admired confusion.

The following table as given in the Edinburgh Weekly Journal, of February the 16th, will afford some view of the progress of the Cholera in the north, up to that period, and the relative proportion of deaths.

| ENGLAND.                                    |        |         |                               |
|---------------------------------------------|--------|---------|-------------------------------|
|                                             | Cases. | Deaths. | Died in each<br>100 of Cases. |
| Newcastle and neighbourhood, up to Feb. 16, | 945    | 296     | 31                            |
| Sunderland and ditto .....                  | 536    | 203     | 37                            |
| North Shields and ditto .....               | 290    | 77      | 26                            |
| Hetton, &c.....                             | 432    | 87      | 20                            |
| SCOTLAND.                                   |        |         |                               |
| Edinburgh, up to Feb. 20. ....              | 24     | 15      | 62                            |
| Musselburgh .....                           | 432    | 191     | 44                            |
| Tranent .....                               | 280    | 77      | 27                            |
| Prestonpans .....                           | 115    | 21      | 18                            |
| Haddington.....                             | 125    | 57      | 45                            |
| Kirkintilloch, up to 19th .....             | 76     | 30      | 39                            |
| Glasgow .....                               | 43     | 14      | 32                            |
| Paisley .....20th .....                     | 30     | 20      | 66                            |

It would be interesting to know, whether it were the treatment, or what other cause, that led to so great a variety of mortality. At Hetton, where the hospital was for a considerable time in the charge of Mr. Kennedy, the cures, in instances where the disease was early encountered, were almost beyond belief numerous. In 241 cases, to which Mr. Kennedy was called within seven hours of the first appearance of the symptoms, he lost only one. So far, therefore, from cholera being an intractable, it seems, when properly met, to be one of the most manageable of diseases to which the human frame is subject.

In London, the cases were, up to this time, 174, and the deaths, 108; which was a fearful proportion to the recoveries—a fact which can only be reconciled to the character of the disease elsewhere, by concluding that only the desperate cases were reported, or taken cognizance of, by the board of health, or that none but persons so shattered in constitution, or of such dissipated habits,



or of such miserable circumstances, were yet attacked, as to afford either nature or medicine fair scope. The former, indeed, seems the more probable theory, though, perhaps, both are in some degree true; for it seems almost incredible, whether we regard the cholera as epidemic or as contagious, that it should have exhibited itself in fifteen different and distant points of the metropolis, comprising a million and half of inhabitants, and in the course of three weeks or a month have affected only 174 persons—that is, little more than one in ten thousand of the population.

From this time, however, the epidemic advanced with more rapid strides; for, on the 15th of March, we find the number of cases reported, from the commencement, were 817, and the deaths 426; the places from which reports were forwarded being augmented from 15 to 23, in London and Westminster only. On the 23d, the reported cases had increased to 1243, and the deaths to 647. A week afterwards they rose to 1729, and the deaths to 915. On the 28th of April, the return for the metropolis were—cases from commencement 2532, deaths 1334.

From this period the disorder began visibly to subside in the metropolis, but it was only to extend its ravages into the interior of the country; and in process of time all the great towns of the kingdom were ravaged by it. The Isle of Ely suffered greatly—Plymouth, Bristol, Exeter, Gloucester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Sheffield, Manchester, Hull, Leeds, Bilston, Wolverhampton, Dudley, Walsal, Whitehaven, Carlisle, were to be added to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Ayr, Greenock, Port Glasgow, Stirling, Kilmarnock, York, &c. We cannot go into any minute and circumstantial detail on this subject, but must content ourselves with briefly remarking, that on the 21st of August the cases of cholera were, in Bilston, 322; Tipton, 55; Wolverhampton, 23; Dudley, 23; Walsal, 38; Worcester, 21; Gloucester, 52; Bristol, 180; Clifton, 42; Exeter, 203; Plymouth, 200; East Stonehouse, 38; Whitehaven, 59; Liverpool, 211; Manchester, 77; Sheffield, 258; Leeds, 91; Edinburgh, 42; Glasgow, 194; Port Glasgow, 18; Kilmarnock, 14; Ayr, 43; Wick, 14; Bridport, 10; Droitwich, 93; Kingsbridge and Dudbrook, 65, &c., independent of a number of minor cases, which we cannot specify. To conclude this article, the cholera returned, and with increased violence during the summer months, both in town and country,



and has attacked a number of individuals who moved in a superior line of life, and many of whom have fallen victims to it. Among these we may mention, Lord Amesbury, and Sir James Macdonald; Mr. J. Wood, surgeon, Bridge-street, Blackfriars, who was carried off while in the discharge of his professional duties; Mr. Crooks, solicitor, Brunswick place, City Road; Serjeant Cameron, of the N division of police, who was ill little more than half an hour; Dr. Adam Clarke, of the Methodist connection—with many others that might be specified.

The number of cholera cases reported during the week ending 25th of August, is 6032; of deaths, 1979; being an increase of 1234 cases, and of deaths, 333. The number of cases then remaining in the country amounted to 2736. The entire cases, since the commencement of the disease in Britain, amount to 38,103; and the entire deaths to 13,982. The places in England where cholera chiefly rages, are—Bilston in Staffordshire, where there are at present 363 cases; Bristol, where there are 210; Exeter, 203; Liverpool, 272; Plymouth, 164; Sheffield, 265; Glasgow, 174. In all these places, the ratio of deaths is about one to three.

The following truly affecting narrative of the loss of human life at sea, by means of cholera, deserves to be recorded in this place.

The ship *Brutus*, of 384 tons burden, sailed, on the 18th of May from Liverpool for Quebec. She had on board 330 emigrants, men, women, and children, who with the crew made a grand total of 349 souls. Previous to sailing, the vessel underwent the usual examination, the crew and passengers apparently healthy. She carried an experienced surgeon, who, it is said, was well supplied with medicines, though the statements current differ on this subject. On the 27th, the ninth day out from Liverpool, a healthy man, about thirty years of age, was seized with malignant cholera. The common remedies were used, and he recovered. The next case was that of an old woman, sixty years of age, who died in ten hours after the attack. The ravages of the pestilence then rapidly increased, the deaths being numerous in proportion to the cases. The greatest number of deaths was 24 in one day. The captain had not, it seems, any intention of returning to port, until the disease began to attack the crew. He then saw, that to continue his voyage was to risk the lives of himself and the survivors, as well as the property intrusted to his care. Under these circumstances, his vessel a lazar-house, and men



women, and children dying about him, he resolved to put back to Liverpool. The resolution was formed on the 3d of June, and the *Brutus* reached port on Wednesday morning. Up to that day the cases had been 117, the deaths 81, and the recoveries 36. Seven cases remained when the vessel entered the Mersey, two of which proved fatal in the course of the day, making the total number of deaths 83. Among the sufferers were four of the crew. The survivors were immediately, on their arrival at Liverpool, put on board the *Newcastle*, lazaretto ship.

The intercourse between Liverpool and Dublin is now become so easy, by means of the numerous steam-vessels and other small craft which are constantly plying between them, that it was not to be expected Ireland should escape a contagion which had reached the shores of the Mersey. Accordingly, it made its appearance in Dublin about the beginning of May, where its ravages have been frightful. It has since spread into the interior of the country, and continues up to this time (the end of August,) to carry off numbers of our fellow-creatures. The following extract may serve as a specimen of its progress in that quarter.

CENTRAL BOARD OF HEALTH FOR IRELAND, MAY 28.

DUBLIN, May 28.—New cases, 42 ; died, 3 ; recovered, 39 ; remaining, 331.  
 CORK, May 25-27.—New cases, 91 ; died, 27 ; recovered, 88 ; remaining, 201.  
 TRALEE, May 23-26.—New cases, 10 ; died, 5 ; recovered, 3 ; remaining, 8.  
 GALWAY, May 27.—New cases, 31 ; died, 12 ; recovered, 12 ; remaining, 72.  
 NEWRY, May 26.—New cases, 4 ; died, 2 ; recovered, 1 ; remaining, 17.  
 DUNDALK, May 27.—New cases, 2 ; died 2 ; recovered, 0 ; remaining, 11.  
 DROGHEDA.—New cases, 48 ; died, 36 ; recovered, 6 ; remaining, 62.

BOARD OF HEALTH, IRELAND, JUNE 27.

New cases, 173 ; deaths, 62 ; recoveries, 91 ; remaining, 776.

We take our leave of this distressing subject, by submitting a short paragraph from the *Spectator* of August 25, 1832, as exhibiting the latest report on the subject.

“In Ireland, cholera seems to be abating: the only places in which it can be said to prevail are Dublin, Sligo, and Belfast. Among the more remarkable deaths reported during the week, are those of Dr. Keene, son of Mr. Keene, of Beech Park, Clare: and Lieutenant Colonel Wetherington, brother-in-law of Wolfe Tone, at Dublin. The disease has again broken out at Newcastle, and has cut off several persons of a higher rank there than it had attacked on its previous visit. In Scotland it has spread at length to the shores of Fife, which hitherto had been free from any attack.”



## PROSPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

We turn with pleasure from the contemplation of the appalling ravages of disease and death, to a more cheering subject. It has pleased that gracious Being, whose delight it is to mingle mercy with judgment, to favour the country with one of the most abundant harvests ever remembered, and with the most favourable weather for gathering it in, whether hay or corn.

In the southern and midland counties, the wheat was mostly housed by the 25th of August, as would appear from the following extracts: "The wheat crops in the neighbourhood of Chard (Somersetshire) are nearly all got in; and their abundance exceeds the most sanguine expectations. Mr. Culverwell, an extensive farmer at Chardstock, has reaped a field of wheat which produced more than forty bushels to the acre! And Mr. Bevis, a farmer of this town, has lately cut a crop from a piece of ground which has not been known to bear so plentifully for thirty years past." *Bath Journal*. "We are happy to find, that most satisfactory progress is making with the harvest in Yorkshire. At the beginning of this week (August 20th) the farmers in the fine corn district extending from Wetherby, Boroughbridge, and Ripon to the borders of Durham, were cutting their corn as fast as the reapers could get through their work. A few fields, though very few, were even led. It is generally represented in that extensive district, that the crops were never known to be finer. In the southern corn districts of Yorkshire, the harvest is now at its height; while in Cambridgeshire and the southern counties, the labours of the reaper have nearly ceased, and the farmers are celebrating their 'harvest home.' On Tuesday last, (21st of August,) two samples of new wheat were sold in our market. About East Retford, during the greater part of the week, the weather has been most propitious for gathering in the harvest, so much so, that nearly the whole of the wheat crop is safely housed in the very best condition. The produce is fine, and exceedingly abundant." *Leeds Mercury*. All this is surely very cheering amidst the gloom that surrounds us, and presents a loud call to gratitude and praise from every reflecting mind.



## RETROSPECT OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

The session of Parliament which has lately terminated, will be for ever memorable in the annals of the country ; and yet not many sessions have brought to completion so few legislative acts—but their magnitude and intense interest will be found abundantly to compensate for their paucity. Had no measure been considered but that of a reform in the representation of the people, that measure alone, so vast in itself and in its yet dimly discovered consequences, would have sufficed to give to any session eternal fame. But the late session has other claims to respect than the passing of the reform bills. Let us take a cursory glance of its main proceedings.

The much opposed and much misrepresented tithe bill of Ireland, though local in its operation, has let in a principle scarcely less important than that which the reform bills established. The English farmers appear desirous of imitating the example of their brethren on the other side the channel, in resisting the payment of tithes ; which cannot fail to bring the question again before a reformed parliament. The purification of the representative system, and the inceptive amelioration of the ecclesiastical system, have been accompanied by two measures of great improvement in the criminal law—the cattle-stealing and forgery Acts, which, though altered in their progress by the aristocratic branch of the legislature, afford satisfactory evidence of that homage to the progress of humanity, which the least feeling are now content to offer.

To the subject of the Education of the people—one of the most important objects of a statesman's study—a considerable portion of the session has been profitably devoted. For though the ministerial plan of education in Ireland did not originate with parliament, it has been wonderfully strengthened by the discussion which it there received. It is true that the taxes on knowledge still remain, but their speedy extinction may be considered as likely to take place.

In the management of public business, an important step has been made towards a more simple and effective system, by the consolidation of the Naval boards. And though the abolition of the Scotch exchequer be a matter, considered in itself, of small im-



portance, yet, as an acknowledgment of the necessity and propriety of lopping off, in every department of the state, not merely what is injurious, but what is inefficient, the precedent is a valuable one.

These may fairly be ranked among the positive good deeds of the last session: the way to others has been opened, if not finished. The evidence taken on the Bank charter will add greatly to our knowledge on a subject of equal interest and complexity. Two bills of great utility, one public, the other private, have been delayed, we trust, only to be brought forward in such a form as will insure their success—these are, the general Registry bill, and the London and Birmingham railway bills. The law improvements of the Chancellor have proceeded slowly; but those that have been effected are not without their value; and for those which he has indicated, more especially that great one, the separation of the political and judicial functions of the Chancellor, it is to be hoped that next session will afford him ample leisure and opportunity.

Much has been effected, but much remains to do. His Majesty's speech of the 6th of December, 1831, commended to the serious consideration of parliament, the question of reform—it deplored the general distress—it spoke of cholera—of the opposition made to the payment of tithes—of the unsettled state of Portugal—of the disputes in Belgium. Reform has been carried, but the cry of distress has not ceased; the cholera still afflicts the country, and with increased virulence; tithes are more vehemently opposed than ever; Portugal is the theatre of civil war; and the discussions respecting Belgium are yet unfinished.

Of the future, however, we are not inclined to despond; it may be, that the registry clauses, with which, in case of necessity, it is in the power of the ministers to dispense, from being indifferently understood and acted upon, will render the new parliament less effective than it otherwise would be: but the machinery is now in our hands; and, in order to turn out good work, we have only to use it wisely and honestly. Our endeavours after improvement will no longer be neutralized by influences beyond our control. If the next House of Commons be not wholly the people's house, it must be the people's fault; they can make it so, if they please.

A few days before the prorogation, Mr. Manners Sutton announced



his intention of retiring from his arduous duties as Speaker of the House of Commons; an office which he had filled with great dignity and honour to himself during the last sixteen years. He retires with a pension of 4,000*l.* from the nation, and a reversion of 3000*l.* for his son—and from the King he will, in all probability, receive a peerage. Few Speakers that have occupied the chair, have descended from it with more undivided approbation than Mr. Sutton. The office does not require, for its discharge, abilities of the very highest order; but it demands a union of firmness and gentleness, of dignity and affability, which is no every-day quality. Mr. Sutton had the knowledge of forms and precedents which was requisite for his office; and with the capacity, united a disposition to instruct, which being always accompanied by kindness of manner, has won him the personal regard of every shade and denomination of party in the house; in the chair he was a very pattern of meekness and long-suffering. No tediousness of speech ever lulled him into negligence, no fretfulness or irritation ever called from him an angry retort. His impartiality was consummate. Whig or Tory, right hand or left, rich or poor, titled or common, his ready attention was never denied. In keeping the often conflicting elements of the house within the bounds of parliamentary order, his great secret lay in the kind and soothing appeal to the offending member, with which the annunciation of the trespass was accompanied. It was impossible to refuse compliance with a command which bore so much the appearance of a fatherly entreaty. Something also might fairly be attributed to the effect of his magnificent voice; whoever has heard him call out, “Order, Gentlemen, Order!” will readily understand what is here intended. The broad deep roll of it was irresistible.

The prorogation took place on Thursday, August 16th, when the Speaker took the chair of the commons a few minutes before two o'clock.

Precisely at two o'clock, the firing of the guns announced the King's arrival; and the Lord Chancellor, Earl Grey, and the other officers of state, left the house to receive his Majesty. At ten minutes past two, his Majesty, accompanied by the great officers of state, entered the house in his robes and crown, and took his seat upon the throne. The space on the throne, to the right of his Majesty, was occupied by the Lord Chancellor, bearing the purse; the Earl of Shaftesbury, with the cap of maintenance;



and the Duke of Norfolk, with his baton, as Earl Marshal : to the left of his Majesty stood Earl Grey, bearing the sword of state ; the Marquis Wellesley, with his wand of office, as lord high steward ; and the Marquis of Cholmondeley, as deputy great chamberlain.

The commons having come to the bar, the royal assent was given to several bills ; among them, the Chancellor's salary bill, and the Irish tithes and procession bills.

The Speaker then presented the appropriation bill, and addressed the King as follows :—

“ May it please your Majesty—We, your Majesty's faithful commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, attend your Majesty at the close of a laborious and most important session. Your Majesty was graciously pleased, at the commencement of the session, to recommend to our careful consideration the estimates for the current year ; and, Sire, it is with sincere gratification that we have found ourselves enabled to accomplish your Majesty's paternal wish, by a great reduction in their amount. But, Sire, it would ill become me at this moment to attempt to enumerate all the various measures, however important and necessary in themselves, yet of usual sessional recurrence, which have come before us. This session, Sire, has been peculiarly marked by matters most difficult in themselves, most pressing in their immediate emergency, and yet lasting in their effects upon the highest interests of the country. Among these measures, I would advert to your Majesty's injunction upon us, that we should deliberate on the present state of Ireland, with reference particularly to the payment of tithes in that country.

“ Sire, we have deeply deliberated on that painful and difficult subject, and we have passed a bill, which we hope may afford the necessary protection of their legal claims to the established church, and which we hope may also form the basis of future measures calculated to remove the present causes of complaint.

“ But, Sire, of all the questions, that which has most engaged our time and attention, paramount to all, from the earnestness with which it was called for, from the difficulties and intricacies with which it was embarrassed, from the great change it was productive of, and from the lasting effects it was to produce—of all the measures we have had to shape, to contend with, and to complete, the most prominent has been the great measure of the reform in the commons house of parliament.

“ Sire, it is not within the range of mortal intellect at once to embody and bring to maturity of perfection so vast a scheme ; but, Sire, we have laboured with incessant assiduity, with honesty of purpose, and, we hope results may prove, with security to the state, and contentment to the country.

“ Sire, I dare not longer address your Majesty than to present you with our last bill of supply, entitled “ An Act to apply a Sum out of the Consolidated Fund, and the Surplus of Ways and Means, to the Service of the Year 1832, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament ;” to which, with all humility, we pray your Majesty's royal assent.”

The King then addressed both houses, in the following speech—

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ The state of the public business now enabling me to release you from a further attendance in Parliament, I cannot take leave of you without expressing the satisfaction with which I have observed your diligence and zeal in the discharge of your duties during a session of extraordinary labour and duration.



"The matters which you have had under your consideration have been of the first importance; and the laws in particular which have been passed for reforming the representation of the people, have occupied, as was unavoidable, the greatest portion of your time and attention.

"In recommending this subject to your consideration, it was my object, by removing the causes of just complaint, to restore general confidence in the Legislature, and to give additional security to the settled institutions of the State. This object will, I trust, be found to have been accomplished.

"I have still to lament the continuance of disturbances in Ireland, notwithstanding the vigilance and energy displayed by my Government there, in the measures which it has taken to repress them. The laws which have been passed, in conformity with my recommendation at the beginning of the session, with respect to the collection of tithes, are well calculated to lay the foundation of a new system, to the completion of which the attention of Parliament, when it again assembles, will of course be directed.

"To this necessary work, my best assistance will be given, by enforcing the execution of the laws, and by promoting the prosperity of a country blessed by Divine Providence with so many natural advantages. As conducive to this object, I must express the satisfaction which I have felt at the measures adopted for extending generally to my people in that kingdom the benefits of education.

"I continue to receive the most friendly assurances from all Foreign Powers; and though I am not enabled to announce to you the final arrangement of the questions which have been so long pending between Holland and Belgium, and though, unhappily, the contest in Portugal between the princes of the House of Braganza still continues, I look with confidence, through the intimate union which subsists between me and my Allies, to the preservation of general peace."

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"I thank you for the supplies which you have granted to me: and it is a great satisfaction to me to find, notwithstanding large deductions from the revenue occasioned by the repeal of some taxes which pressed most heavily on my people, that you have been enabled, by the exercise of a well-considered economy in all the departments of the State, to provide for the service of the year, without any addition to the public burdens."

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN—

"I recommend to you, during the recess, the most careful attention to the preservation of the public peace, and to the maintenance of the authority of the law, in your respective counties. I trust that the advantages enjoyed by all my subjects under our free constitution will be duly appreciated and cherished; that relief, from any real causes of complaint, will be sought only through legitimate channels; that all irregular and illegal proceedings will be discountenanced and resisted; and that the establishment of internal tranquillity and order will prove that the measures which I have sanctioned will not be fruitless in promoting the security of the state, and the contentment and welfare of my people."

Parliament was then prorogued in the usual form, until the 16th of October; and the King retired, attended in the same way as he had entered. The Lords then broke up; and the Commons, after having returned to their own house, also broke up.

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APPENDIX.

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In the preceding pages of "Historical Register," a few topics of a political nature were touched upon, which being only, as it were, in progress, we promised to resume at a future period, and, if possible, to record the result: to that subject we now return, with the view of redeeming our pledge. The first thing that claims our notice is

## LORD DURHAM'S EMBASSY TO ST. PETERSBURG.

It was towards the end of June that the British public were first apprized of the intention of the cabinet to despatch the son-in-law of the noble premier, and one of their own diplomatic body, on a special mission to Russia. What the immediate and proximate causes are which induced the cabinet to send one of their most distinguished members to the court of Russia, cannot certainly be known to us; but unquestionably they cannot be trivial ones. The abject condition of unhappy Poland is doubtless one of them.

The affairs of that wretched country have been already adverted to in the preceding pages,\* to which our readers are referred, and enough is there said to harrow up all their sensibilities. Since that time, however, much has been related in the public journals, of the persevering measures that are in progress by their cruel oppressors, to depopulate the country, and, if possible, blot unhappy Poland out of the map of Europe. But on this affecting subject, perhaps we cannot do better than lay before our readers an extract from the speech of Count Plater, a Polish nobleman, delivered, on a recent occasion, to a meeting held at Leeds.

"After so many years of most cruel oppression, Poland rose to vindicate her rights—to be free and independent. There are no sacrifices that she has not submitted to—no effort that she has not made. Old men, women, and

\* See pp. 646—655.



children—every one, indeed, has joined most bravely in the national struggle. Every where the same efforts, the same love of country; and if the brilliant victories of Poland did not longer continue, we must ascribe it to the indifference of some powers who guaranteed the Polish nationality, and who did not prevent the shameful secret assistance which Prussia gave to Russia. Without this intervention, and with a more energetic exertion on the part of its government, and less confidence in any favourable assistance, Poland would have been saved, and the Russian despotism crushed for ever. At present the barrier between barbarism and civilization—between liberty and oppression—is destroyed; and Poland being sacrificed, let us see into what state the indifference of the European powers towards Poland has plunged that country: let us see what are her sufferings.

“Will you believe, Gentlemen, that at this very moment, many thousand citizens are sent in the most atrocious way, attached to a bar of iron, on foot, in the way to Siberia—that infants are torn from their parents, and sent by thousands, (boys to the military schools, and girls to the manufactories in the interior of Russia,) where they lose for ever their nationality—that even the women are sent to Siberia—that many mothers, in their despair, have plunged the dagger in their infants’ breasts, and have with the same dagger killed themselves—that those unheard-of cruelties are perpetrated without any consideration for age, for sex, or the rank of the inhabitants—that great numbers of this unfortunate people die on their way, in consequence of the most barbarous treatment—that Poland, in a very short time, will be peopled by the Russians, and Siberia by Poles—that the language, religion, civilization, are destroyed; many of the churches in ruins, many occupied by the Russian priests—the universities and the schools abolished—military tribunals established—all fortunes confiscated, and the Polish villages peopled by the Russian peasantry, committing the most atrocious enormities—that by Russian intrigues the greatest part of the Polish army, who had taken refuge in Prussia, was, after many murders, compelled to return to Poland, and then sent to Siberia, or compelled to be common soldiers in the Russian regiments for all their lives! This is the wretched state of Poland, perishing under the despotism of Russia: and what hope can we have for her future recovery, if the free governments of Europe will not put a stop to those cruelties?”

If the mission of Lord Durham has for its object to check these monstrous aggressions, and mitigate the sufferings of the much-injured Poles, every feeling mind will applaud the object, and wish his lordship success. In his integrity and talents, we place high and deserved confidence; and are sure that he will not fail in the object of his mission from any want of pressing it honestly and boldly. The diplomatists of NICHOLAS’S court will find him composed of very different materials, both of head and heart, from the “red tape,” protocolizing gentlemen, with whom they have long been in the habit of doing business. The result, however, of Lord Durham’s mission is not likely to transpire before the meeting of parliament, which will be the close of the present, or beginning of the next year; and till then we must be content to wait in hope. While the subject is before us, however, it may not be amiss to remark, that, previous to the late prorogation of



parliament, the grievances of Poland were brought forward by Colonel Evans, member for Rye, who moved a resolution in the House of Commons, calling for the strict performance of the treaties entered into by Russia, and the other powers of Europe, with regard to Poland.

The gallant colonel detailed the conduct of Russia since the last subjugation and overthrow of the Poles :—

“ On the faith of the amnesty which had been granted on the representation of the Governor of Galicia, and at the request of Austria, the Poles, who had fled into Galicia for protection, returned to Poland. Immediately on their return, an ukase was issued by the Russian government, condemning all those Poles who had borne arms against Russia in the Polish insurrection, either to serve as privates in the Russian army, wherever Russia pleased to send them, or to be thrown into prison. The consequence of the promulgation of this tyrannical edict was, that a number of Poles fled back into Galicia for protection. The Austrian government, thinking that their presence there would be productive of inconvenience, resorted to measures, either to obstruct their entrance into Galicia, or to prevent them from remaining there. But the people of Galicia, united to them by that sympathy which a proximity of territory produced, were moved on behalf of the unfortunate Poles. The Diet of Galicia can address the Emperor of Austria through the medium of their governor; and it appears that three hundred members of the Diet of Galicia drew up a representation on this subject, and sent it through their governor to be transmitted to the Emperor. He did not know whether that address had been transmitted to the Emperor or not: but this he did know, that it was an authentic document—that it was signed by the principal persons in Galicia, resident on the frontiers of Poland, and who must be considered good authorities as to what had recently taken place in Poland: and it was a remarkable fact, that it corroborated all the statements which had been made in a former debate in that house, with regard to the atrocious conduct of Russia towards Poland.”

After adverting to the treaty of 1815—of the provisions of which the treatment of Poland offered so striking an infraction, he went on to notice the general character of the Russian government :—

“ The conduct of Russia had been one series of unjustifiable aggressions on other nations—of territorial aggrandizement, and of violations of national law and national faith. The war with Persia, and the subsequent war with Turkey, were both instances of unjustifiable aggression on the part of Russia in the first instance, and the result of both those was the territorial aggrandizement of that overgrown power. Russia, it was well known, was the principal moving power in preventing the establishment of constitutional governments in Naples, Piedmont, and the other states of Italy, in 1823; and it was equally well known, that it was principally owing to the influence of Russia that France sent that unjustifiable expedition which she despatched into Spain. Next came the case which they were then discussing; it was not necessary for him to dwell upon the atrocious conduct of Russia in that instance.”

The Colonel concluded by stating, that the great object of his motion was to give support and strength to those negotiations



which were at present being carried on between the British cabinet and the Emperor of Russia. His resolution was of the following purport:—

“That, in conformity to the spirit, though contrary to the letter, of a treaty dated 19th of May, 1815, his Majesty has agreed to renew certain obligations to the Emperor of Russia; that the said treaty and obligations were connected with, or arose out of, the general treaties between the allied powers of 1814 and 1815; that therefore, in the opinion of this house, the convention to the above effect affords his Majesty a special claim on the power profiting by it, for a faithful interpretation of other engagements, to which both parties may have been contracting parties, and especially with regard to that concerning Poland.”

Sir Francis Burdett also spoke strongly on the subject of the misfortunes and sufferings of Poland:—

“There was not to be found, nor could there be, one honest man in the civilized world, who would hesitate for an instant to deprecate the conduct of Russia towards Poland. It had been, and still was, most odious, tyrannical, and detestable. How far it was connected with the subject before the house, he would not now stop to inquire: but it was impossible not to deprecate the crimes committed, and now committing, after the hopes which had been held out to the gallant Poles before Warsaw, and on its surrender, that some relief should be afforded to them: from which period there had been one continued series of tyranny exercised towards them, such as history did not record any equal. It was true, that in early periods there were some instances where great conquerors had adopted abominable practices to exterminate a nation; but in the nineteenth century, it could scarcely be believed that such a line or course of conduct could be pursued by one nation towards another, if the nation and the present age had not seen the attempt and the object perfected before their own eyes, in the very case of the conduct of Russia to the Poles.”

Sir Francis, after noticing an expression of Sir Charles Wetherell, that no treaty had been broken by Russia, went on to contend, that the independence of Poland would have been a much worthier object of English interference than the independence of Belgium, about which so much had been said and done. He strongly doubted the motives of Russia in respect of the latter:—

“It really seemed to him that it had been a *ruse* on the part of Russia to divert the attention of England from that to which it should have been directed, and from the object which this country ought to have had in view. The *ruse* had succeeded; and with that success, he thought that Russia had made England the laughing-stock of Europe.”

On general principles, and independent of any treaty, he thought England had a right to interpose, to prevent such aggressions as those of which Russia and Austria had been guilty:—

“Independent of all treaties, England and France had a right to see that the other great powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were not making conquests under pretence of suffering injuries, of which this country could not judge, nor taking possession of whole territories on the ground of alleged



grievances. A claim was made now upon this country to establish the new state of Greece, and to place Prince Otho upon the throne. But why, he would ask, should this country be called upon to pay a single farthing for that object, but to maintain the balance of power and the independence of Europe? Greece, so established, at the expense of this country, might be seized by Russia; and that being done, the same argument which had been used with regard to Poland would meet such an event, and it would then, as now, be said that Greece was not worth a war."

The speech of the honourable baronet, on this occasion, was a noble specimen of English feeling, and worthy the best days of British eloquence. As such, we are gratified in the opportunity of recording the substance of it on our pages. We readily admit the difficulty of obtaining all the advantages of a military interference in favour of the oppressed, without the expenses and hazards of a war for their support; but we must unequivocally denounce the barbarous indifference to tyranny and perfidy which is inculcated by those who take the side of the Russian autocrat. If we are not to expose our resources, let us at least preserve our feelings; if we are not to meet the barbarians on their way to Siberia with their victims, for the purpose of rescuing them, let us not surrender the right of denouncing the atrocities of the exile. The woes and the sufferings of Poland should never be allowed to escape from the view of the British public, till the nationality and freedom of its much-injured people are restored: the barbarities of Russia should be universally recorded for the detestation of mankind, till humanity be no longer able to tolerate their continued perpetration.

But to return to Lord Durham and his mission: His lordship, accompanied by his family and suite, sailed in the *Talavera*, Captain Brown, and, on his arrival at Cronstadt, was received by the Emperor of all the Russias with extraordinary courtesy and respect. His Imperial Majesty, it is said, happened, opportunely, to be in the neighbourhood at the time of the ship's arrival, and instantly proceeded on board, where he received the British minister very graciously, and professed the utmost anxiety to meet the views of the British government on the subject of Poland. For the rest we must content ourselves with subjoining a short paragraph which appeared in the *Times Journal*, on the report of what took place.

"Two or three papers contain a long and trashy account of an attempt made by the Emperor Nicholas to cajole the officers and sailors of the ship-of-war which took out Lord Durham to St. Petersburg. The Tartar auto-



crat talked broken English, to please the captain—drank grog, to please the seamen—and, to make assurance doubly sure, feasted, it is said, all the officers of the ship, to repletion. The Czar has, we suspect, taken a very wrong measure of the intellects, principles, and feelings, of any body of Englishmen, if he supposes that the endless variety of a Russian dinner, though cooked in a way to astonish even the bowels of an alderman, and backed by a donation of £500 sterling, can shut the eyes of an Englishman against the despotic policy of the Russian government, or their hearts against its horrible results in the destruction of Poland. The whole account is a disgusting exhibition of humbug, and will be read with contempt by every man possessing one particle of common sense."

#### GERMANIC STATES.

Another interesting subject which was brought before the House of Commons, immediately before the close of the session, was, the Affairs of Germany, on which something has been already said in this publication. Mr. H. L. Bulwer, member for Coventry, on Thursday, August 2, moved for an address to the King, requesting his Majesty to exert his influence with the Germanic Diet, in opposition to the course pursued by them; in doing which, the honourable member traced the outlines of the political history of Germany. Originally, a free government, suitable to the genius of the times, existed in the various states of the Federation; which only terminated with the victories of Austerlitz and Jena, when the principle of oppressing the small states to aggrandize the larger ones was first avowed and applied. The defeat of Napoleon in the Russian campaign gave an opportunity to Germany to cast off a yoke which had been reluctantly borne. Russia and Prussia appealed to the former free constitutions of Germany, which they avowed their intention of restoring; and the rising of Germany in mass, and the battle of Leipsic, with the downfall of the French power, rapidly followed. By the second article of the Congress of Vienna, the promises of Russia and Prussia were respected, and the rights of every class of the nation were solemnly guaranteed, with the opposition only of Wirtemberg. He then noticed the part which this country took in these affairs, on which he dwelt at some length, after which he came to the late protocol of the Diet; and though we have already delivered our sentiments concerning it, we shall not hesitate here to introduce those of Mr. Bulwer. He stated the substance of that protocol\* to be—

"That the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia are willing to give Germany just so much constitutional liberty as will *not* allow its writers to write—its professors to teach—its chambers to vote taxes and to make speeches, or to

See p. 672.



propose resolutions ; while every state shall be so inviolate, so independent, that, with or without the invitation of its sovereign, a deputation of Austrian or Prussian hussars may be sent to keep it in order."

This was the question for consideration—Was it politic for England under such circumstances to interfere ?

"She is placed by peculiar circumstances in such a situation, that if she do not interfere, by some expression of her opinion at all events, in favour of the German people, she must be thought to take the part of the German sovereigns. One of the misfortunes of the otherwise happy event of the accession of the present family to the British throne, was that by which George the First remained elector, as the present king now is, King of Hanover. It may be very well to say, that Hanover and England are two separate kingdoms—that the one has nothing to do with the other. This may be the case theoretically ; but it never has been, it cannot be, so practically. It is impossible to contend that an individual can be so little identified with himself as to have his troops as King of Hanover fighting on one side of a question, and his troops as King of England on another. The policy pursued by the King of Hanover must, without strong proofs to the contrary, be considered as the policy of the King of England. So much, indeed, was this identity considered at the treaty of Vienna, that the plenipotentiary of Hanover strongly insisted, in urging the claims which that kingdom had to consideration, on the circumstance that it was closely connected with, and must in a great measure be supported by, the resources of Great Britain. The King of Hanover, it is said, during those three days in which the King of England was supposed to have adopted a new course of policy, and a new administration, signs and approves of the document which is the subject of our consideration. We cannot, therefore, at this moment—matters remaining as they are—be considered indifferent to, or aloof from, this question. All that moral influence, resulting from the supposition that the individual at the head of this government is favourable to the oppression of the Diet, is now in full operation against the resistance of the people. This consideration would call upon the house for some expression of its opinion. A hasty, foolish desire to interfere and intermeddle with foreign states, was as far from his idea of the course of policy that this country ought to pursue, as any thing he could conceive. Still he would not consent to England being a mere cipher, a nullity in the political combinations of Europe. He would not consent to the proposition, that she is to look with perfect indifference on the Continent, and think that no changes there can by possibility affect her. But if there is any thing which immediately affects the interests of England more than another, it is the fate of Germany. Unite that country under a good government, it is at once a check upon the aggrandizement of France and ambition of Russia. Leave it as it is, it is a tool in the hands of the one, or a prey to the other. The ancient empire was a grave and august body—always agitated, and never acting ; it crumbled to pieces at the first shock. But why did it do so ? Because it had no united national feeling—because it did not contain one nation, but two armies. This is the system which failed ; this is the system which, since the treaty of Vienna, Prussia and Austria have been labouring to re-establish. Is it possible to imagine that the events of the revolutionary war would not have furnished a better lesson ? Was it the troops of Austria, was it the troops of Prussia, which rolled back the tide of French invasion ? The sapient councillors of Austria were not once successful—the chivalry of Prussia was crushed in a single day. But the armies of these states, though so easily subdued themselves, had been sufficient to cramp and crush the energies of others. When they were defeated, the whole of Germany was lost—the South—the North ; and mark the hard fate of the minor powers, kept down by a tyranny sufficient to oppress them, but unable to keep off their enemies.



But when the armies of Germany were put down, then its people arose ; then they began to commune and to combine together ; a real confederation was then formed ; then its plans were laid—their opportunities were watched—the occasion came. Here is the result of the two systems. It is seen what the armies of Germany did, and what the people. The one was swept down in a single battle—the other was victorious in a hundred conflicts. If England wish Germany to be strong—and it is the strength of Germany that makes the peace of Europe—is it not the wisdom of the house to address the sovereign according to the terms of the motion ?”

Lord Palmerston complimented Mr. Bulwer on his zeal and ability, but dissented from his conclusions. Having alluded to the meetings and speeches which had led to the adoption by the Diet of so strong measures, he came to the only sound argument by which our interference could be justified :—

“ It was said that the resolutions of the Germanic diet would create such differences between parts of the Germanic body, as would compromise the peace of Europe ; and that, if a war were begun in consequence, it would be a war of opinion, which would spread far beyond its source. If it did, this country would be bound not only as a party to the treaty of Vienna, but, independently of that, by its extensive commercial relations, to take such steps as would best preserve her from the effects of such a war. Now, admitting the probability of our being drawn in by circumstances such as those to which he had referred, to take a part in such a contest, he would ask Mr. Bulwer, how any of those possible or probable events were to be prevented by the course which he proposed to the house ? He concluded—That whatever he might think of the measure adopted by the Diet at Frankfort, and of its having greatly magnified the danger against which it proposed to guard (though he would admit that danger did exist to a certain extent,) still he must believe that the governments which were parties to that measure must themselves see the danger of such conflicts as might arise between the people and the government in some states ; and that while they might be sufficiently alive to the necessity of putting down any dangerous combinations, they could not possibly be blind to the certain risks to which they would be exposed in the unjust and impolitic attempt to put down the free constitutions of the people.”

Colonel Evans complimented government for what they had done, while he thought they ought, by agreeing with Mr. Bulwer's motion, to do a little more—

“ His noble friend Lord Palmerston admitted our right to interfere in this instance, but he denied the discretion of doing so. He believed, in fact, that his noble friend did not so much deny the discretion of our interference, as the discretion of interfering in the way proposed by the present vote. (*“Hear, hear!” from Lord Palmerston.*) Indeed, he happened to know, from foreigners connected with the diplomatic missions in this country, that the noble lord and his Majesty's government, though they had not thought it prudent or expedient to say so in their places in parliament, had already interfered in a manner that did them much honour, and which he hoped might eventually lead to results of the most gratifying description.”

Mr. Hume said, the present government, though declaring against all interference with other states, had done so as often and on as light grounds as any that had gone before it. Its own con-



venience had formed, in that respect, its only rule. He deprecated interference generally, which had done much ill to England, and little good to its objects; but if we interfered in regard to Belgium and Italy, there seemed no reason why we should refuse to interfere respecting Germany:—

“If we should ever allow the expediency of this country interfering in the affairs of Europe, it was when the liberties of Europe were about to be destroyed; and if ever our interposition was justifiable and imperative, it was when it was required for the preservation of the privileges and rights of Germany. He, for one, thought that it was calculated to throw doubt and suspicion on the head of the government of this country, that when the liberties of Europe and the rights of mankind were menaced with destruction by a conspiracy of armed despots, when every sort of freedom and independence was put down in the lesser states of Germany, when their different assemblies were no longer to be allowed the expression of their opinions, and when those states were about being placed under complete subjection by the military forces of the despots of Austria and Prussia, this country did not at once come forward, and raise its voice against such iniquitous proceedings.”

#### BELGIUM.

We promised to resume this article;\* and though we now do so, the satisfaction is not yet permitted us, of recording an end to the long-pending dispute between that country and Holland. The prospect of war, indeed, seems in a good measure dissipated, and the grounds of dispute between the two countries considerably narrowed; but matters remain in the same undecided condition in which they have been for the last two months. The evacuation of Antwerp, and the free navigation of the Scheldt, have not been consented to; and so long as these points remain unsettled, no final arrangement can be hoped for. The prevailing opinion is, that the differences will not be settled before next spring.

In the mean time, LEOPOLD I. has been strengthening his government by a marriage alliance with the daughter of Louis Philippe, King of France. This event took place on Thursday, August 9th, at Compeigne. The persons officiating on the part of France were—the Baron Pasquier, president of the chamber of peers, and M. C. F. Couchy, keeper of the archives of the chamber, in the absence of the grand referendary:—for Leopold, there appeared M. Lehon, as ambassador extraordinary. To give the marriage its due effect in Belgium and elsewhere, it was celebrated

\* See p. 658.



according to both the Catholic and Lutheran forms. The letters from Compeigne are filled with descriptions of the festivities that accompanied a union which promises more happiness to the parties than most royal unions do. The bride is young and beautiful, and the bridegroom sensible and kind; and, happily for themselves, both have been reared in a private station. On the same day, the marriages of sixteen young women of Paris and the Banlieue, to whom dowries were given by the King of France in honour of the nuptials of his daughter, the Princess Louise, were celebrated in their respective parish churches with all due form.

Leopold and his blooming bride entered Brussels on the 19th, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. The private letters describe the ceremony of their reception as extremely gay. The whole of the streets, at short intervals, were lined on each side with posts, united by draperies in gauze and other stuffs. To each tree was affixed the French and Belgian colours united. Some of the houses were adorned with garlands, and others covered with rich tapestry, on which was wrought the Belgic lion and the Gallic cock. At equal distances were placed escutcheons, with the double L.L. in cipher, the initials of Leopold and Louisa. At Malieubeck St. Jean, the extreme limit of the commune of Brussels, on the Lacken side, the people had erected a triumphal arch, bearing the inscription, "L'Union de Leopold et Louise rend les Belges heureux." The royal pair were in an open *calèche*. The King was in a general's uniform, and wore all his orders; the Queen sat on his right hand, and was dressed with elegant simplicity in white, wearing diamonds, but not in profusion.

As there is no felicity in this sublunary state without alloy, so we have to record that the festivities of Brussels have been subject to the ravages of the epidemic which has traversed other countries. The cholera has raged in Belgium all the month of August, and the deaths average from sixty to seventy daily. It has also found its way into Holland, where it prevails to a considerable extent, while it is said to be greatly on the decline in Paris. Of its extent in Belgium and Holland, the following tables may serve to give some notion.

BRUSSELS. August 27 to 30. New cases, 117—deaths, 68.

GHENT. August 27 to 30. New cases, 30—deaths, 42.

ANTWERP. August 27 to 30, New cases, 36—deaths, 23.



The journals mention nearly thirty other places in which the cholera has appeared.

AMSTERDAM. Sept. 1, 2, 3. New cases, 149—deaths, 84—recoveries, 59.

THE HAGUE. Sept. 1, 2, 3. New cases, 17—deaths, 11—recoveries, 13.

LEYDEN. August 30 and 31. New cases, 66—deaths, 27—recoveries, 30.

ROTTERDAM. August 30, 31, and Sept. 1. New cases, 24—deaths, 19—recoveries, 27.

The total cases in England and Scotland, from the commencement of the disease, up to the 15th of September, are 52,472; deaths, 19,047. The cases remaining amount to 2,309.

## PORTUGAL.

We return to this subject, after an interval of two months, but without the satisfaction of recording such a settlement of the affairs of the country as inclination would prompt, and the rights of justice and equity would dictate. Our narrative terminated with the arrival of Don Pedro and his squadron at Oporto, on or about the 9th of July.\* Having landed his troops, and made the necessary arrangements, which occupied about ten days, Count Villa Flor, the commander-in-chief, had his head-quarters, on the 19th, at Fereiros, some twenty miles from Oporto, on the Coimbra road. On that day, he received information that the troops of Don Miguel were advancing in great force under the command of General Povoas. Their number was estimated at 16,000, of which 800 were cavalry—this was the flower of Miguel's army. The intention of Miguel's general was to get into the rear of Villa Flor, and so cut him off from the town of Oporto, and his communication with the fleet, in which case he could scarcely have failed to destroy the invading army. In this, however, he was defeated by the rapid, but orderly, retreat of Villa Flor on Villa Nova, and subsequently across the river to Oporto. Povoas, on this, left 5,000 men at Villa Nova, with the view of preventing Count Villa Flor's escaping from him a second time, proceeded up the left bank of the Douro for about thirty-five miles, to a place named Passos de Souza, where, having crossed over to the right bank, he advanced upon Oporto. At Vallongo, a position ten or fifteen miles farther down the stream than Passos de Souza, his advanced guard fell in with the advanced guard of Villa Flor,

\* See p. 695.



commanded by our countryman, Colonel Hodges, by whom it was driven back at all points, with considerable loss to the enemy, and at a very small expense to himself, amounting to only three killed, and three wounded.

In the mean time, the main body of Don Pedro's army, which had changed its front, took up a position of great strength, to the north-east of the city of Oporto; its right wing resting on the Douro; its left on the sea; and its centre on the town, which was immediately on its rear, and to which, in case of check, it had an easy retreat. In this position, an action commenced on the 22d of July; but it seems to have been little more than an affair of outposts. The reconnoitering party were driven back, or retired to the Tinto. On this occasion, a detachment of Pedro's army allowed itself to be surrounded, but cut its way back through the opposing enemy. Villa Flor was ordered to advance, for the purpose of covering their retreat; and Don Pedro, who was proceeding to visit the posts on the south of the Douro, on the intelligence of the reconnoissance being worsted, took the same route as his general: and in this way, the reconnoissance, the troops under Villa Flor, and the royal staff, seemed to have reached the Tinto at the same moment. The remaining bands which were in the rear at Oporto, and those that had advanced on the Vouga road towards Coimbra, were hastily directed on the same point; and the bridge of communication with Villa Nova was ordered to be destroyed, to prevent interruption on that side.

On the 23d, the army of Don Pedro took the field in three columns—the right commanded by Colonel de Brito, the centre by M. de Fonseca, and the left by Colonel Hodges. The action began about eleven o'clock. In the commencement, the riflemen of Don Pedro were suddenly charged by a squadron of the enemy's cavalry, and compelled to retreat: the left, which was early engaged, appears also to have been hard pressed by the Miguelites. The entire line was speedily in action, and continued so until dusk, when Povoas thought proper to retreat to the heights in his immediate rear, and afterwards to retire, by the Baltar road, upon Penafiel. The constitutional army occupied the field of battle on the 23d, and, on the following day, pushed forward a reconnoissance, which enabled them accurately to ascertain the new position of the enemy. Instead, however, of following up



his victory, we are told that Don Pedro immediately directed his own troops to fall back on Oporto!

In the engagement of the 23d, Don Pedro owns to a loss of 300 men—but estimates that of Povoas at 1,200. On the 18th, a party of light troops marched on Carvalhos and Grijó, of which the Oporto *Chronica* says they took possession without difficulty.

The same journal of the 30th speaks of the volunteers and militia of Miguel's army as having been entirely dispersed, and his whole force as being reduced to four regiments and part of a fifth, with about 200 cavalry and five guns. His advanced posts, however, even then, seven days after the battle, were still at Penafiel, his main body having fallen back on Almarante.

The doubts entertained of Don Pedro's success, which these accounts do not remove, were strengthened by the arrival of the Marquis Palmella in London, early in August; an event which gave rise to various conjectures. The object of his mission has not been made known, but there can be little room to doubt that it was to obtain assistance of some kind for the constitutional cause. Pedro found himself very deficient in cavalry; and to his weakness in that great article of war, must be attributed his stay at Oporto during the period of six weeks, and his throwing up entrenchments and constructing lines of fortification for the protection of the city. His force is evidently inadequate to his acting on the offensive; but reinforcements have been raised in this country, and probably in France also, which on their arrival will strengthen his hands, and enable him to protect Oporto from assault, until the rainy season sets in, and compels the army of Miguel to go into winter-quarters. The contest, however, does not promise a speedy issue.

The parties have had some little skirmishing by sea. Miguel's fleet, early in the month of August, put forth from the Tagus, where it had lain in quiet contentment for several months, with the twofold view of raising the blockade of Lisbon, and instituting a blockade of Oporto; in both which objects it was foiled. Sartorius, who had the command of Pedro's naval armament, consisting of two small vessels and a steam-boat, bore down boldly on Miguel's fleet, and had not the frigates of the latter sought shelter under the lee of the San Joao, a line-of-battle-ship, which carries the admiral's flag, he would, in all probability, have captured some



of them. Having poured two or three broadsides into the admiral's ship—with what effect is not known—he was obliged again to haul his wind. On the 14th of August the hostile squadrons were off Oporto, when Sartorius again offered battle, and the Miguelites again declined engaging. On the 17th, after they had been a fortnight at sea, the latter once more sought refuge in the Tagus, owing, it was said, to a shortness of provisions and water.

Whether the issue of the present struggle will be the restoration of law and order, or the confirmation of despotism and misrule in Portugal, time alone can disclose. At present, we see nothing in the position of Don Pedro's army to warrant despondency; the troops are said to be in excellent spirits; they want for nothing; and, in every rencontre with the enemy, they have been successful. Levies are making with a view to their reinforcement, and, according to report, an officer of high estimation and tried military talent, is expected to proceed from this country, to assume an important command under Don Pedro.

#### THE WEST INDIAN COLONIES, AND COLONIAL SLAVERY.

This is a topic on which we have already said a good deal, but to which we intimated our intention of returning,\* in a subsequent part of the volume, and discussing it more at large. Undoubtedly, we feel some satisfaction at having given that intimation, in as much as it affords us the opportunity of recording in this place, some interesting particulars, which have since then taken place, connected with the subject.

It must be well known to most of our readers, that, of all the towns or cities of the empire, Liverpool is entitled to the bad eminence of having encouraged the African slave-trade, and batten on the growth of slavery in the West Indies. Yet, in that large and populous town, a public discussion has recently taken place on the subject of Colonial slavery, possessing a degree of interest which will cause it to be long remembered, and, as such, entitling it to a place in these pages.

During the last week in August, conformable to arrangements previously entered into, four lectures were delivered, two on each side of the question, to an audience consisting of eight or ten thousand people, in the Amphitheatre in that town. On Tuesday

\* See page 723.



evening, August the 28th, Mr. Thompson, the agent of the Anti-Slavery Society in London, delivered a lecture on the evils of Colonial slavery. Mr. Borthwick, the ostensible organ of the West India planters, replied to him on the following evening. On Thursday night Mr. Thompson rejoined to Mr. Borthwick, and the latter gentleman rejoined to the former on Friday. The place was crowded in every part with persons desirous of hearing the discussion, the anxiety for which seemed to increase from day to day until its close. So much attention has been paid to the discussion by the public journalists of that town, that the reader cannot but be gratified at having laid before them, in this place, the substance of their animadversions. The following epitome we extract from the Liverpool Times, of Tuesday, September the 4th.

“The speech of Mr. Thompson on Tuesday evening contained a full statement of his case, and of that of the advocates of immediate emancipation. The proposition which he set himself to prove, after rather a long introduction, was, that slavery, as it exists in the West Indian colonies, was injurious to all who were connected with it, that it was incapable of any material improvement, and consequently that it ought to be *immediately abolished*. On the second evening, Mr. Borthwick endeavoured to shew that slavery was not what Mr. Thompson represented it, and also to prove ‘the impracticability, the danger, the immorality, and the sin of any attempt immediately to emancipate, unconditionally, the slaves of the West Indian colonies.’ The question of compensation to the planters was also touched upon; the charges against the Baptists, of exciting the late insurrection in Jamaica, was boldly asserted, and as boldly denied; and various other points were discussed, on most of which we shall say a few words, after we have stated and examined the assertions of the rival lecturers as to the present condition of the slaves, and the expediency of immediate emancipation.

“The evils of slavery enumerated by Mr. Thompson were twenty-six: and Mr. Borthwick boldly denied that any of the circumstances which his antagonist enumerated as evils, were in reality such, with one exception. The first evil stated by Mr. Thompson was, that slavery cursed with barrenness the soil on which it existed; barrenness being the inevitable consequence of the incessant reaping of ripe crops. To this Mr. Borthwick replied, that, even



according to Mr. Thompson's own shewing, it was not slavery, but a bad system of cultivation, which produced the barrenness, incessant cropping being as injurious in a free as an enslaved country. This, it must be admitted, is true; and Mr. Thompson's argument on this point is worth little, unless it can be shewn that the existence of slavery renders this ruinous mode of cultivation necessary. To a certain extent, we believe this to be the case. Slave labour supersedes the employment of cattle, and deprives the land of tillage, without which it must soon become exhausted and barren. So far, however, as the cultivation of sugar is concerned, we doubt whether the introduction of free labour would make any material difference in this respect, as there cannot be on sugar estates that rotation of crops which preserves fertility in the English system of husbandry. The second evil enumerated by Mr. Thompson is, that slavery has been in all ages the origin of the slave trade; to which his antagonist replied, that this was putting the cart before the horse, slavery being the consequence, not the cause of the slave trade. Mr. Borthwick, however, will scarcely deny, that if slaves were not wanted, they would not have been made, or that the desire to possess came before the possession. In the West Indies, however, it is especially true that slavery led to the slave trade; for when the Spaniards landed in that part of America, they found it thickly peopled, and it was not until they had literally exterminated the aborigines by an intolerable system of slavery, that the African slave trade was thought necessary, to fill up the gap in the population which slavery had produced. In the West Indies, therefore, slavery did produce the slave trade, and in all parts of the world the desire of possessing slaves leads to a similar traffic.

“The third evil stated by Mr. Thompson is, that it dooms the children of slaves, even before they come into existence, to eternal slavery. To this Mr. Borthwick replies, that this is nothing more than a mere statement of a fact of universal application, namely, that children are born to the same condition as their parents. This, however, does not make the matter any better. Children are, doubtless, born to the condition of their parents; and as it is one of the greatest blessings of freedom, that the descendants of free-men are born in the same condition, so it is one of the greatest curses of slavery, that the children of slaves are born to the same



sad destiny of toil, suffering, degradation, as their parents. If slavery ended with one generation, it might be endurable; but as the same principle that communicates so many privileges and rights to the descendants of freemen, communicates so much evil to the descendants of slaves, it furnishes an additional reason for desiring the abolition of a system which is not only a curse now, but which must also continue to be a curse, so long as it exists in its present state. The next argument of Mr. Thompson is, that slavery depresses the body by extreme toil, whilst it deprives the mind of all motive for exertion. To this Mr. Borthwick replies, that the slave has a double motive—first, he labours for his master like the free labourer; second, he labours to purchase his own freedom. It is true, that the slave and the free labourer both toil for their masters; the latter, however, has a strong motive for exertion, namely, the hope of receiving wages, and living on them in comfort; what the former hopes for, we know not, what he fears we know only too well. The cart whip is his stimulus. But it seems he may labour to secure his own freedom: why, so he may, if after toiling all day in a sugar plantation, under a tropical sun, he possesses strength to work. We suspect that Mr. Borthwick would not find it easy to discover one slave in a hundred capable of working out his freedom under such circumstances.

“The fifth and sixth evils stated by Mr. Thompson were, that the slaves were exposed to poverty, nakedness, imprisonment, and stripes. To this Mr. Borthwick answered, that similar evils exist in this country, and that their existence in the West Indies no more proves the institutions of the colonies to be defective, than their existence in England proves ours to be so. Now, first, as to the fact. That many of the English peasantry are exposed to great privations, is quite true; but that any of them are liable to be imprisoned and flogged at the whim or caprice of a hard-hearted master or brutal overseer, is totally false. But, even allowing that the condition of the lower classes in this country is as wretched as that of the negroes in the West Indies, what does that prove, except that there is as much occasion for reform here as there is in the West Indies? Every one admits that the condition of the working classes in this country is bad, and that measures ought to be taken to improve it without delay; though no one but an advocate of slavery would insult common sense by



comparing the free English labourer with the West Indian slave, and none but a mere sophist venture to argue that the existence of misery in one part of the world was a reason why no effort should be made to remove it in another. The separation of husbands from wives, parents from children, and the tearing asunder of the nearest and dearest ties, which too often takes place in a state of slavery, is admitted by Mr. Borthwick himself to be an evil. The rapid and alarming decrease in the numbers of the slaves is the next of the evils of slavery to which Mr. Thompson referred, and perhaps the most important of all. He asserted that the destruction of human life on the sugar islands was proceeding with such alarming speed, that in something more than half a century the whole slave population would be annihilated, in the same manner in which the aboriginal inhabitants of the West Indies were exterminated by the Spaniards; and mentioned that, during the last ten years and a half, a decrease of 52,000 souls had taken place in the negro slave population. Mr. Borthwick himself admitted, in his reply to these statements, that the decrease was going on at the rate of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum; but this he said was to be accounted for by manumissions among the slave population, and by the fact of the slaves on the sugar estates having been nearly all males at the time when the slave trade was abolished. With regard to the first fact, it is sufficient to state, that, the manumissions being allowed for, the decrease is still 52,000. With regard to the second, namely, the preponderance of the males on the sugar estates at the time when the slave trade was abolished, though it may be true to a certain extent, yet, as not less than twenty-five years have elapsed since that event, the balance of the sexes ought now to be restored. Mr. Borthwick admits, that at present the decrease in the slave population is seven and a half per cent. per annum, and the decrease of 52,000, to which Mr. Thompson refers, has taken place within the last dozen years. The fact of a rapid and fearful decrease in the numbers of the slaves, appears to us, therefore, to be proved, and admitted by Mr. Borthwick himself."

We are unable to make room for the whole of this article, and, therefore, take leave of the subject with an extract from the *Liverpool Albion* of September the 3d.



“The lectures on Colonial Slavery which have during the past week, been delivered in the Amphitheatre have excited an extraordinary degree of interest amongst all parties. The meetings have been most numerously attended ; and the patience and forbearance with which the auditories have listened to statements so diametrically opposed to their preconceived notions on the subject at issue, and so calculated to shock their prejudices, especially those entertained by the abettors of the present system of slavery in the West Indies, certainly does them great credit. We cannot, indeed, but augur well from this tone of moderation, and the strong desire to hear both sides of the question which has marked this discussion. Such a spirit of forbearance proves, at least, that, on the grand question of the desirableness of abolishing the system itself, very little difference of opinion, except among the few persons interested in it, now exists. All classes seem to admit, that slavery, considered *per se*, is an evil, which the sooner it be put an end to, the better. The only material question at issue between the parties is the *how*, and under what circumstances, this desirable consummation is to be effected. The Anti-Slavery Society have, in Mr. Thompson, chosen a most able champion of the rights of the oppressed and suffering negro. His style of eloquence is of a very high order ; and his powers of wit and satire are such as we have seldom seen equalled. His physical powers of endurance, while engaged in protracted debate, are also extraordinary, as was evinced on Thursday evening last, when, for four hours, he sustained an animated and continuous discussion, and carried it through to the last with scarcely any perceptible diminution of vocal or mental vigour. His opponent, who is confessedly much inferior to Mr. Thompson in the requisites just named, is not an unpleasing speaker. He possesses coolness, good temper, and deliberation, and contrives to make a skilful use of such materials as he has. We can only regret, that his talents are not applied to a better cause than that of attempting “to wash the Ethiop white,”—of trying to convince the people of this country, that West India slavery is, after all, a very harmless thing. A task this, which, we venture to assure him, will baffle all his efforts, though backed with the sophistry and the special pleading of Messrs. Macqueen, Hume, and the redoubtable Blackwood himself.



“ We have said, that on the main point, the moral evil of slavery, almost all are now agreed. Mr. Borthwick himself has virtually admitted the inexpediency of the system ; and we cannot but be surprised at the inconsistency which has led him, in the teeth of his own admission, to seek to bolster it up by a virtual denial of all its evils, and a justification of all and every part of its practice. Not content with denying the inhumanity, the cruelty, and the irreligious nature of the system, he has the temerity to assert the directly contrary to be the fact respecting it ! Slavery, in his view of it, is not only harmless, but positively beneficial, and abounding in comfort to the slave. Not only is the slave not tasked beyond his strength ; not only is he not punished, or punished but very slightly ; but his condition is, according to him, one of happiness and comfort, far superior to that of our peasantry at home ! So very happy and contented is the negro, indeed, that, even when liberty is tendered to him, he refuses it, preferring to remain as he is ; or, when he has escaped from what he once felt to be torture, he is eager to return and hug his chains ! Wonderful logic this, truly ! Pity, if such be the case, that the people of this country should so long have lain under a delusion as to the actual state of slavery ! Pity, if such be the real condition of slavery, and such the feelings of the negroes under it, that the mother country should, unfortunately, be deprived of a system so fraught with benefits and blessings to the fortunate people who have the happiness to live under its benignant shade ! Or that, long ere this, the misery of the lower orders in the sister island, Ireland, should not have been effectually relieved by drafting to the West Indies its superabundant and miserable population, not merely for the laudable purpose of benefiting their condition, but as a means of supplying the annual deficiency in the numbers of the slaves abroad, whose population, notwithstanding their abounding comforts, are, very unaccountably, diminishing by some thousands annually.

“ Mr. Borthwick has, by the ground which he has chosen in this debate, prejudiced the cause which he seeks to support. By attempting to defend all the vulnerable points of the slavery system, he has given to his opponent a vantage ground, an opportunity for exposing in detail all the evils of the system, and of thus creating, in the minds of the public, a feeling which it should have been the especial aim of the West Indian party, by all possible



means, to avoid, that of an utter abhorrence of slavery, and a consequent indifference to the claims of the party interested in obtaining, what we are by no means disposed to deny, an equitable compensation for any loss of property *which they can make out* to have been sustained by the emancipation of their slaves.

“ Had the West Indian advocate, after a candid, a manly, and a christian admission of the injustice and the inexpediency of slavery, and a statement of the readiness of the planters and others concerned to give up the system on a fair adjustment, appealed to the justice and the equity of Englishmen as to their claims to an adequate consideration, in the event of an abandonment of their present *property*, we verily believe he would have much more effectually served their cause than by the impolitic course he has adopted. But as he has sown, so must he reap. He cannot now, without dishonour, retrace his steps. He has imposed on himself the onerous task of supporting, through thick and thin, *per fas et nefas*, every part of a system which, the more it is considered, the more iniquitous and abhorrent does it seem, and the more repugnant to every sentiment of Christianity, of right reason, and to every principle of that constitution under which it is the glory and the happiness of free-born Britons to exist.

“ Seeing, then, that the best and the holiest feelings of our nature are outraged by the mere attempt to prove that negro slavery, as it exists in the colonies, is neither inhuman, nor impolitic, nor sinful, we earnestly call upon the champions of the West India interest to shun, in future, an attempt so impious. They must be made to understand, that what shocks common sense and outrages religion, cannot be tolerated in this enlightened age, and in this free and christian country. They must be taught to address their appeals in defence, not of slavery, for that is indefensible, but of the planters, to the justice, and not to the selfishness of our nature. They must be made to acknowledge, unreservedly to acknowledge, that slavery is as contrary to the principles of natural right, as it is to the whole tenor of the gospel; and to confess, that they and their employers are willing to co-operate in its complete abolition. All this, hard as may be the lesson, they must be taught. The planters and the mortgagees must discard their Borthwicks, their Franklins, *cum multis aliis*, who prejudice, instead of defend, their cause; a circumstance, the truth of which the last week’s discus-



sions in this town must, ere now, have fully convinced them. Re-  
crimination, above all things, will do their cause no good whatever.  
Let them plead their case as one of simple justice between the  
colonies and the mother country; let them claim compensation  
for the loss of the services of the slaves (if any loss they should  
sustain) on the common principles of equity between man and man;  
let them do this, instead of shocking the common sense and the  
religious feelings of the British public by the wretched sophistries  
and the ill-disguised impiety of their hired advocates, and the  
colonists will drive a better bargain with the mother county, when  
she shall command the abolition of slavery, than they are likely to  
make by a repetition of the harangues of such advocates as Messrs.  
Borthwick and Franklin."

These extracts may suffice for a specimen of the liberal tone of  
the leading journalists, and of the general feeling of the inhabit-  
ants, of that great commercial town, on the subject of West  
Indian slavery. When the writer of these lines looks back for a  
period of half a century, and calls to recollection what he then  
knew of the state of Liverpool—that little was to be heard of but  
Guinea ships, slaves, blacks, and the odious traffic connected with  
them—and now finds the entire system of Colonial slavery con-  
demned by the mass of its population, he feels thankful to that  
kind Providence which has lengthened out his days to witness the  
"march of liberal sentiments," in a town in which he passed  
twenty years of his life. And extending his views from a single  
town to the country at large, and from this country to a great  
part of Europe, as depicted in the volume now brought to a close,  
he cheerfully lays down his pen with heartfelt satisfaction on a  
contemplation of the present, and still more so on the bright and  
cheering prospect which opens upon the next generation.



## INDEX.

- Addington*, Mr., succeeds Mr. Pitt in office, 28.
- Albani*, Cardinal, his recent proceedings, 661.
- Althorp*, Lord, his family descent, 113; his birth and education, 115; enters parliament, 116; is fixed on by Lord Goderich as president of the finance committee, 123; advocates the repeal of the sacramental test, 127; and the Catholic relief bill, 136; his proposition respecting the civil list, 142; is made chancellor of the exchequer, 146; how taunted by Mr. Goulburn, 148; vindicates himself, 150; estimate of his talents and character, 152.
- American Revolution*, origin of the, 637; produced by a resistance to Tory counsels, 639; paved the way for the French revolution, 640.
- Attwood*, Thomas, Esq., addresses the Birmingham Union, 743; delivers an able address to an immense multitude at Newhall Hill, 755; his address on the recall of ministers, 810.
- Auckland*, Lord, his family, &c., 563; appointed president of the board of trade, 564; his speech on the glove trade, *ibid*.
- Bainbridge*, Dr., his speech at the Crown and Anchor, 773.
- Bank of England*, how affected by the resignation of Earl Grey, 788.
- Bankes*, Mr., loses his seat for Dorsetshire, 739.
- Baptist Missionaries*, how grossly treated in Jamaica, 731, &c.
- Baring*, Mr., Alexander, his explanations in parliament, 790; his second defence, 797; his explanations resumed, 802.
- Belgium*, affairs of, briefly noticed, 655; history of its affairs resumed, 845.
- Birmingham Political Union*, proceedings of the, 743; resolutions passed at the, 753; report of its grand meeting on the 7th of May, 755; their petition to the Lords, 756; resolution to pay no taxes, 780; another meeting at Newhall Hill, 781; meeting on the recall of ministers, 810; declaration of the council of the Union, 811.
- Brereton*, Colonel, his death and character, 825.
- Bristol*, proceedings of the Union, 812; special commission for the trial of rioters opened there, 822.
- Brougham*, Lord, his descent, 39; distinguishes himself as an author, 40; becomes an advocate at the Scotch bar, 41; removes to the metropolis, and practises in the English courts, 42; obtains a seat in parliament, *ibid*; brings in a bill for making the slave trade felony, 43; moves for a repeal of the "Orders in Council," 44; condemns the "Holy Alliance," 45; espouses the cause of the Princess of Wales, 47; estimate of his speeches in her defence, 48; his plans for the education of the people, 49; various institutions projected by him, 52; his *escapade* with Mr. Canning, 54; takes up the cause of Smith the missionary, 55; his memorable speech touching the state of the law, &c., 56; exerts himself for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, 57; defends the Catholic Association, 60; his speech on the battle of Navarino, 63; brings in a bill to amend the system of jurisprudence, 65; is raised to the dignity of a baron, and takes his seat as lord chancellor, 66; his address to Mr. Justice Bayley, *ibid*; estimate of Mr. Brougham's talents and character, 67; sketch of his forensic powers, 72; speech on Lord Althorp's proposal respecting the civil list, 143; his fracas with Mr. Peel, 144; how he repelled the charge, that the aristocracy were opposed to the reform bill, 539; his opinion of the conduct of Charles the Tenth, delivered at Sheffield, 713.



- Buckingham*, Duke of, his reform bill, 746; quotes Shakespeare against the ministerial bill, 749; reminds noble lords of the fate of Charles the First, and Louis the Sixteenth, 750.
- Bulwer*, Mr. H. L., his speech on the affairs of Germany, 843.
- Burdett*, Sir Francis, his address to the electors of Westminster, 771; his able speech in parliament on the resignation of Earl Grey, 798; his animadversions on the conduct of Lord Lyndhurst, 800; condemns the conduct of Russia towards Poland, 840.
- Carlisle*, Earl of, his family, &c., 537; accompanied Lord Malmesbury on his embassy, 538; made a commissioner for India affairs, *ibid*; and member of Earl Grey's administration, 539.
- Campbell*, Dr. George, his opinion of sacramental tests, 95.
- Chandos*, Marquis of, his opposition to the reform bill, 745.
- Charles X.* of France, his brief history, 700.
- Cholera Morbus*, its destructive ravages in Britain, 826; on board the ship Brutus for Quebec, 829; in Belgium, 846; in Holland, 847; total of cases in England and Scotland, up to Sept. 15th, 847.
- Colonial Affairs*, interesting discussions at Liverpool respecting, 840.
- Court of Common Council*, (London,) resolutions passed there, 767.
- Demerara and Essequibo*, insurrectionary proceedings there, 733.
- Denman*, Sir Thomas, his family descent, 612; his birth and education, 613; made deputy recorder of Nottingham, *ibid*; enters parliament, 614; appointed solicitor-general to Queen Caroline, *ibid*; compares her case to that of Octavia, 615; extract from his speech, 616; is returned member for Nottingham, 618; defends the reform bill against Sir Charles Wetherell, 619; quotation from Burke, 629; his reply to Mr. Alexander Baring, 794.
- Dillon*, Mr., his speech in Guildhall, 770.
- Donna Maria*, her right to the throne of Portugal vindicated, 695.
- Don Miguel*, his proceedings in Portugal, 690.
- Don Pedro*, endeavours to recover the crown of Portugal for his daughter, 694.
- Duchess of Berry*, promotes disturbances in France, 718.
- Duncombe*, Mr. Thomas, his powerful speech in the Commons, 791.
- Dundee*, meeting of the inhabitants there, 814.
- Durham*, Lord, (See *Lambton*, Mr.) defends Lord John Russell's reform bill against Lord Wharncliffe, 418; his memorable reply to the Bishop of Exeter, (Phillpotts,) 440; also the Duke of Wellington and Lord Mansfield, 442; estimate of his talents, &c., 450; his embassy to Russia, 835; his reception, 839.
- Ebrington*, Lord, his motion in the Commons, 742; and again on the resignation of ministers, 764; his reply to Sir Henry Hardinge, and Mr. A. Baring, 797.
- Edinburgh Political Union*, makes a grand display, 783; their proceedings on the recall of ministers, 813.
- Ellenborough*, Lord, his opposition to the reform bill, 748; proposes to parliament an improved edition of the bill, 762.
- Ellis*, Mr. his speech to the electors of Southwark, 780.
- England*, its state in 1832, 824; favourable harvest, 831; epitome of parliamentary proceedings, 832.
- Erskine*, the Honourable Thomas, supports Mr. Grey on parliamentary reform, 15; and again, 25.
- Evans*, Colonel, his speech at the Crown and Anchor, 773; his efforts on behalf of the Poles, 837; and the Germanic States, 844.
- Exeter*, Bishop of, his conduct as a peer of parliament stricturized, 440,—750. &c.
- Fox*, Charles-James, defends Mr. Grey, 9; his reply to Mr. Pitt on parliamentary reform, 18; his eulogy on Lord Henry Petty, 295.
- Francis*, Sir Philip, quotes Lord Chesterfield on the price of seats in parliament, 16.



- France*, sketch of its history since the return of the Bourbons, 697 ; the people of, want a reform bill, 716.
- French Revolution*, how brought about, 644 ; particulars of a second revolution in 1831, 705.
- Friends of the People*, society of, its object, 9.
- Gascoyne*, General, loses his seat for Liverpool, 739.
- George the Third*, insulted by his subjects, 22 ; what he required as a pledge from Lords Grenville and Howick, 29.
- Glasgow Political Union*, their proceedings on the recall of ministers, 814.
- Germany*, States of, in quest of freedom, 667 ; how treated by the holy alliance, 669.
- Goderich*, Viscount, his family connexions, 233 ; enters parliament, 234 ; presides at the board of trade, 236 ; his house attacked by a mob, 237 ; his exertions respecting the corn laws, 239 ; made chancellor of the exchequer, 245 ; and colonial secretary, 246 ; succeeds Mr. Canning as premier, 249 ; breaking up of his cabinet, 253 ; strictures on that event, 255 ; his speech in favour of the Dissenters, 259 ; the Irish Catholics, 264 ; and parliamentary reform, 271 ; summary of his talents and character, 285 ; his official transactions with the colonial governments, 724.
- Graham*, Sir James, his family connexions, 545 ; birth and education, 546 ; his speech on the circulation of Scottish bank notes, 546 ; made first lord of the admiralty, 548 ; his defence against Mr. Dawson, 549 ; his reforms in the admiralty, &c., 550.
- Grant*, Charles, his descent, &c., 374 ; succeeds his father as member for Inverness-shire, 373 ; is made vice-president of the board of trade, 374 ; advocates the cause of injured Ireland, 376 ; and Catholic emancipation, 378 ; renews the subject with great effect, 380 ; his eulogy on Mr. Canning, 386 ; ably supports Sir Francis Burdett's motion for Catholic emancipation, 387 ; and Mr. Peel's bill on that subject, 393 ; his character, 397.
- Grey*, Earl, some account of his family, 1 ; enters parliament, 3 ; his first speech, 4 ; his first onset with Mr. Pitt, 5 ; joins the ranks of Mr. Fox, 8 ; his first motion for a reform in parliament, 9 ; presents a petition from the Friends of the People, 13 ; opposes Mr. Pitt's traitorous correspondence bill, 20 ; and the payment of the Prince of Wales's debts, 21 ; moves for an impeachment of ministers, 23 ; renews his motion for parliamentary reform, 25 ; opposed the Irish union, 27 ; takes the title of Lord Howick, 28 ; succeeds Mr. Fox as foreign secretary, *ibid* ; loses his place by proposing the Catholic relief bill, 29 ; relaxes in his attendance on parliament, *ibid* ; declines office during the regency, 30 ; refuses his support to Mr. Canning's administration, 31 ; supports the Duke of Wellington's bill for Catholic emancipation, *ibid* ; advocates the cause of Queen Caroline, 33 ; estimate of his character and talents, 34 ; his speech on the affairs of Naples, 180—6 ; moves the second reading of the reform bill, 747 ; his retort on the Bishop of Exeter, 752 ; how he treated the Duke of Buckingham's new measure of reform, 762 ; resigns his office, but is recalled after one week's retirement, 763 ; his triumphant address on carrying the reform bills, 800 ; his speech on resuming office, 803 ; laments the irritation of noble lords, 808.
- Hardinge*, Sir Henry, defends the Duke of Wellington, 792.
- Hoadley*, Bishop, his view of the Corporation and Test acts, 94.
- Hobhouse*, Sir John Cam, his family and lineage, 483 ; signalizes himself as an author, 484 ; enters the House of Commons as member for Westminster, *ibid* ; supports Mr. Lambton's motion for inquiry into the representation, 485 ; his difference with Mr. Canning, 485 ; his lampoon of that gentleman, 497 ; ably supports Lord John Russell's bill, 502 ; replies to Sir R. Inglis, 509 ; and to Horace Twiss, 517 ; made war secretary, 522.
- Holland*, Lord, his family descent and education, 156 ; makes the tour of the continent, 156 ; takes his seat in the House of Peers, *ibid* ; opposes the war with France, 157 ; censures ministers for subsidizing the continental



- powers, 158; proposes a treaty with the French government, 160; visits Spain, 161; takes office in the Fox and Grenville administration, 162; advocates the cause of Catholic emancipation, 167; his inquiry respecting *ex-officio* informations, 168; his interview with the allied sovereigns in London, 173; again visits the continent, 175; parliamentary labours detailed, 180; his speech on the affairs of Naples, 186; supported Mr. Canning's ministry, 195; his defence of his conduct, *ibid*; his exertions in favour of the liberties of the Dissenters, 207; and the Roman Catholics, 228; his lordship's character and talents, 231.
- Hume, Joseph, his address to the Metropolitan National Union, 760; on the affairs of Germany, 844.
- Hutton, Rev. Hugh, his prayer and thanksgiving, 811.
- Inglis, Sir Robert, condemns the Duke of Wellington, 794.
- Jones, Colonel, his speech at the Crown and Anchor, 778.
- Ireland, its wretched state in 1832, 818; opposition to the payment of tithes there, 819; parliamentary proceedings for its relief, 822; progress of the cholera in that country, 830.
- Irish Reform Bill, history of its passing, 818.
- Italian States, in pursuit of liberty, 659.
- Jamaica, insurrection of the black population there, 728.
- La Fayette, General, referred to, 645, 711, 721.
- Lamarque, General, insurrection at his funeral, 720.
- Lansdown, Marquis, (see the article *Petty*,) moves the abolition of the slave trade, 299; brings forward a plan for extending the foreign trade of the country, 303; renews his motion for the abolition of slavery, 307; calls the attention of parliament to the state of Ireland, 311; results of this motion, 323; resumes the subject of our foreign trade, 325; particularly in reference to South America, 328; joins Lord Goderich's administration, 330; supports the motion for repealing the Test and Corporation acts, 333; and that of Catholic emancipation, 338; advocates the cause of parliamentary reform, 347; abstract of his speeches on this subject, 348, &c.; sketch of his character, 370; his remarks on the tithe question in Ireland, 821; his plan for the relief of the clergy there, 822.
- Leopold, King of Belgium, his marriage, 845.
- Lambton, Mr., his family descent, 398; birth and education, 399; enters parliament as member for Durham, 409; brings forward the state of our representation, *ibid*; his history of the British parliament, 404. (See *Durham*, Lord.)
- La Vendée, insurrectionary movements there, in favour of the Bourbons, 717.
- Leeds Political Union, resolutions passed at the, 752; proceedings on the recall of ministers, 813.
- Liverpool Political Union, resolutions passed there, 782; proceedings on the recall of ministers, 812.
- Livery of London, proceedings of the, 767.
- London, proceedings of the Common Council, 767.
- Louis the Fourteenth, sketch of his character and reign, 640.
- Louis the Fifteenth, sketch of his character and reign, 641.
- Louis the Sixteenth, his unhappy reign, 642.
- Lucia, St. island of, recent proceedings there, 733.
- Lyndhurst, Lord, his sinister treatment of the reform bill, 761; his woful disappointment, 787; how castigated by Sir Francis Burdett, 800; his prophecy of the effects of the reform bill, 801; his explanation in the House of Peers, 802.
- Lyons, tumultuous proceedings at, 715.
- Magee, Archbishop of Dublin, his humble origin, &c., 579.
- Manchester Political Union, their petition to the Commons, 781; resolutions on the recall of ministers, 813.
- Melbourne, Lord, his family, &c., 569; educated at Eton, *ibid*: is made chief secretary for Ireland, 570; no favourite with the radicals, *ibid*; defends the



- reform bill, 571 ; his reply to the Duke of Wellington, 574 ; appeals to the Lords in defence of the bill, 578.
- Metropolitan National Union*, meeting of, 760 ; resolutions moved, and petition to the Lords, 761 ; proceedings on the resignation of ministers, 765 ; specimen of speeches on the occasion, 766.
- Milton*, Lord, his strictures on the Duke of Wellington, 790.
- Molineux*, Lord, presides at a meeting in Liverpool, 782.
- Murray*, Mr. J. A., his address at the meeting in Edinburgh, 813.
- Mulgrave*, Earl, his strictures on the Duke of Wellington's conduct, 806.
- O'Connell*, Daniel, his eloquent address to the Westminster electors, 774.
- Oporto*, recent proceedings at, 847.
- Parkes*, Mr. one of the Birmingham delegates, 771.
- Paine's 'Rights of Man,'* prosecuted, 12.
- Paisley*, meeting there on the recall of ministers, 814.
- Palmer*, Mr. Fyshe, his remarks on the passing of the reform bills, 817.
- Palmerston*, Lord, his family and titles, &c. 451 ; education, &c. 452 ; is made war secretary, *ibid* ; how chastised by Mr. Brougham, 453 ; his defence of himself, 455 ; his political career not very consistent, 456 ; disapproved of the Duke of Wellington's conduct towards Mr. Huskisson, 457 ; supports the Catholic relief bill, 459 ; but opposed the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, 463 ; advocates the cause of parliamentary reform, 472 ; his reply to Mr. Bulwer, 844.
- Parliament*, prorogation of, 834.
- Petty*, Lord Henry, his family descent and education, 289 ; enters parliament, 290 ; his reply to Mr. Pitt on Lord Melville's impeachment, 291 ; made chancellor of the exchequer, 296 ; raised to the dignity of peer, 297. (See *Lansdown*.)
- Peel*, Sir Robert, refuses the premiership, 787.
- Pearson*, Charles, his speech in Common Hall, 769.
- Perceval*, Spencer, his strange conduct in the House of Commons, 745.
- Pitt*, William, first advocated the cause of parliamentary reform, and then opposed it, 9, 11, 17 ; his bill to prevent seditious meetings, 22 ; how he subsidized the continental powers, 24 ; his death, 28.
- Philippe*, Duke of Orleans, succeeds to the throne of France, 705.
- Plater*, Count, his speech at the Leeds meeting, 836.
- Plunkett*, Lord, his humble origin, 579 ; his education and call to the bar, 580 ; opposes the union of England and Ireland, *ibid* ; is made attorney-general for Ireland, 581 ; is successful in his profession, *ibid* ; Grattan's partiality for him, 582 ; his praiseworthy conduct during Lord Wellesley's government, *ibid* ; his able defence of the first reform bill, 583 ; his reply to the Earl of Carnarvon, 584 ; to the Earl of Falmouth, 687 ; to the Duke of Wellington, 590 ; to Lord Wharncliffe, 594 ; refutes objections against the bill, 602 ; compared with Lord Brougham, 584.
- Polignac*, Prince, his administration of the French government, 700 ; his curious letter to Baron Pasquier, 713 ; sentenced to imprisonment for life, 714.
- Poland*, its history concisely sketched, 646 ; melancholy fate of, 655.
- Polish Refugees*, their appeal to the British nation, 648.
- Portugal*, its present condition described, 688 ; history of its affairs resumed, 847.
- Reform Bills*, history of the passing of the, 738 ; after the return of ministers to office, 815.
- Resignation of Ministers*, 763 ; their recall, 8
- Richmond*, Duke of, his family, &c. 523 ; enters the army under Lord Wellington, *ibid* ; some account of his services as a military man, 524 ; appointed post-master-general, 526 ; defends the reform bill against Lord Wharncliffe, 527 ; vindicates the right of Brighton to the elective franchise, 529 ; how attacked by the Earl of Falmouth, 531 ; and vindicated by Earl Grey, 533 ; courted by the Tories, 535 ; character, &c., 536.



- Russell*, Lord John, his family, 74 ; birth and education, 75 : first parliamentary effort, 76 ; his mock lament over Grampound, 78 ; becomes the advocate of reform, 80 ; defeated, but renews his efforts, 89 ; moves for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, 90 ; advocates the Catholic relief bill, 103 ; is appointed paymaster of the forces, 104 ; brings in the parliamentary reform bill, 105 ; his triumph in the cause, 110 ; estimate of his talents and services to his country, 111 ; his censure of the Duke of Wellington's conduct, 793.
- Rutland*, Duke of, his eulogy on the King, 807.
- Salisbury* Marquis, defends the Duke of Wellington, 806.
- Scholefield*, Mr., one of the Birmingham delegates, 768 ; addresses the Westminster National Union, 779.
- Scotch Reform Bill*, history of the passing of the, 817.
- Scotland*, progress of the cholera there, 827.
- Shrewsbury*, Earl of, his defence of the reform bill, 748.
- Southwark*, borough of, proceedings at a meeting there, 780.
- Spain and Portugal*, their abortive efforts to procure liberty, 675 ; some account of the present royal family of Spain, 679.
- Speaker of the Commons*, his resignation, and able conduct, 833.
- Stanley*, Mr. E. G., his family, &c., 553 ; enters parliament as member for Preston, *ibid* ; obtains the office of Irish secretary, 554 ; opposes Mr. Hume's motion for an inquiry into the state of the Irish church, 555 ; his plans for the relief of Ireland, 556 ; ably defends the ministerial measure of parliamentary reform, 559.
- Sutton*, Mr. Manners, resigns the Speaker's chair, 833 ; estimate of his high qualifications, 834 ; his address to the King, 835.
- Taylor*, Sir Herbert, his circular letter to the Tory peers, 816.
- Thurlow*, Lord, pronounced the Scotch elections "a mockery," 15.
- Times Journal*, quoted, 809.
- Tithes*, the payment of, resisted in Ireland, 819, 823.
- Tories*, their discomfiture on the recall of the ministers to office, 785.
- Torrijos*, General, his history and unhappy fate, 682.
- Torrijos*, Madame, letter of, 684 ; her history, 685 ; obtains sympathy in England, 688.
- Trade and Commerce*, how affected by the reform bills, 788.
- Trinidad*, island of, recent proceedings there, 736.
- Vyryan*, Sir Richard, loses his seat for Cornwall, 739.
- Watson*, Bishop, what he thought of the Corporation and Test acts, 94.
- Waithman*, Alderman, censures the Duke of Wellington, 793.
- Wellington*, Duke of, protests against the reform bill, 751 ; subsequently truckles for office to pass it, 787 ; his explanation on the failure of his negotiation, 802.
- Westminster Political Union*, their petition to the House of Commons, 777.
- West Indies*, state of the British colonies there, 723.
- Whately*, Archbishop, his evidence on Irish tithes, 822.
- Whitbread*, Mr. Samuel, advocates parliamentary reform, 16.
- Winchilsea*, Earl of, his memorable threat, 749 ; his opposition to the reform bill, 762.
- Wolverhampton*, proceedings there, 812.
- Wrottesley*, Sir John, his speech on Earl Grey's return to office, 807.
- York*, archbishop of, his speech in parliament, 807.



























Jones, William

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